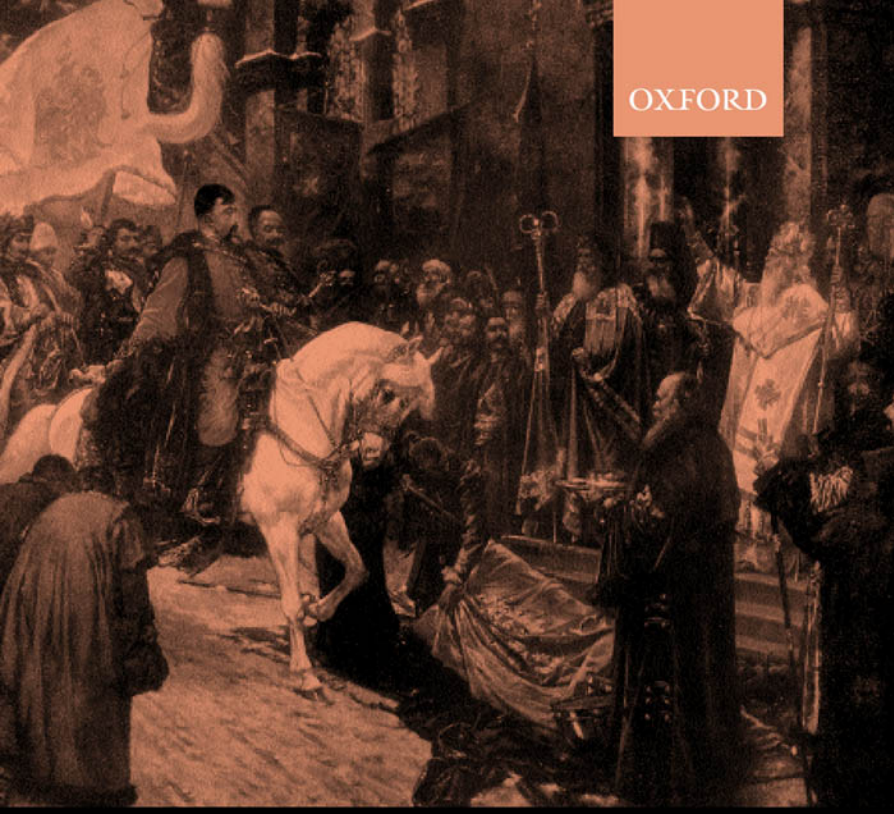


OXFORD

The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine

Serhii Plokhy

The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine

The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine

SERHII PLOKHY

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP
Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in
Oxford New York
Athens Auckland Bangkok Bogotá Buenos Aires Cape Town
Chennai Dar es Salaam Delhi Florence Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi
Kolkata Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi
Paris São Paulo Shanghai Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto Warsaw
and associated companies in Berlin Ibadan
Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and certain other countries
Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York
© Serhii Plokhy 2001
The moral rights of the author have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)
First published 2001
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above
You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer
British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available
Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Plokhy, Serhii.
The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine / Serhii Plokhy.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Ukraine—Church history. 2. Cossacks—History. I. Title.
BR937.U4 P56 2001 274.77—dc21 200-1032178
ISBN 0-19-924739-0
1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2
Typeset in Plantin
by Jayvee, Trivandrum, India
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
T.J. International Ltd.,
Padstow, Cornwall

To
Olena, Andrii, *and* Olesia

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ix

INTRODUCTION 1

1. THE UKRAINIAN COSSACKS 16

2. THE RELIGIOUS CRISIS 65

3. WARRIORS FOR THE FAITH 100

4. ORDER, RELIGION, AND NATION 145

5. A WAR OF RELIGION 176

6. A HETMAN SENT BY GOD 207

7. HETMANS AND METROPOLITANS 236

8. IN SEARCH OF AN ORTHODOX MONARCH 274

CONCLUSIONS 334

BIBLIOGRAPHY 345

INDEX 391

Acknowledgments

THIS BOOK was written on two continents in the course of a decade that proved crucial in every respect for the lands of Eastern Europe and for the historiography of the region. These changes could not help but influence the character of the present volume. In the late 1980s, when I began working on the book in Ukraine, I had to consider—in view of prevailing circumstances—how to conceal my references to Mykhailo Hrushevsky and to Western historians who did not meet with official approval. By the time I completed the first draft of the work in Canada, I not only had free access to literature previously inaccessible in the Soviet Union and the opportunity to cite any author relevant to my theme, but had profited greatly from my work on the scholarly editing of Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine–Rus'* in English translation.

In the course of my work, I have accumulated considerable debts to many people and institutions in both the old world and the new. I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who have given me the greatest assistance in completing this project. My special thanks go to Frank Sysyn, without whose help, support, and encouragement over many years this book either would not have been written or would have been sorely diminished in quality. He was constantly involved in discussions about the book's content, shared copies of materials from Polish and Russian archives, and attentively read the first draft of the present work. I am also deeply grateful to my colleague Myroslav Yurkevich, an editor of many years' experience, who offered considerable advice about the content of the book and its bibliography. He patiently and conscientiously edited my English text and translated those portions of the work that were originally written in Ukrainian.

I am very grateful to Zenon Kohut for his support and advice given in the course of many discussions about the content and structure of the book. I have also profited greatly from comments by Paul Bushkovitch, the Reverend Iurii Mytsyk, Mikhail Dmitriev, John-Paul Himka, and Peter Rolland on various drafts of the manuscript. Father Mytsyk, Edward Fram, and Tatiana Yakovleva generously shared scholarly materials and bibliographic information, for which I am particularly grateful to them. Andrij Hornjatkevyč's advice on terminology helped me to render numerous Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian ecclesiastical terms in English.

I have benefited considerably from discussions on various aspects of the problems treated in this book with Stephen Velychenko, the Reverend

Borys Gudziak, Natalia Pylypiuk, and Iaroslav Isaievych, as well as with my former professor at Dnipropetrovsk University, Mykola Kovalsky, and my colleagues in the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Natalia Yakovenko, Oleksii Tolochko, and Vasyl Ulianovsky.

My work on this book has been made possible by support from several institutions and charitable foundations. I wish to acknowledge particularly the support of the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research and the Ukrainian Church Studies Program at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. I have also derived great benefit from my association with the departments of History and Slavic and East European Studies at the University of Alberta, where I held a Stuart Ramsay Tompkins visiting professorship, as well as from a grant to scholars from Eastern Europe awarded by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.

I offer my sincere thanks to Dushan Bednarsky, who compiled the index, and to Peter Matilainen, who repeatedly helped me solve computer-related problems that arose in the course of my work on this book in Edmonton. Lada Bassa assisted me with the editing of the bibliography. Special thanks are due to Ruth Parr, commissioning editor for history at Oxford University Press, whose interest in my initial manuscript proposal was a great encouragement to prepare the work for publication. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers, whose comments were taken into account in the final revision of the manuscript. All remaining errors and shortcomings are, of course, my sole responsibility: the development of computer technology has eliminated the 'institution' of typist, leaving authors with no one to blame for their errors but themselves.

In conclusion, I wish to express my profound thanks to the members of my family. This book could not have appeared without the constant assistance, encouragement, and self-sacrifice of my wife, Olena, and without the willingness of my children, Andrii and Olesia, to endure my extended absences on research trips. It is to them that I dedicate this book.

Introduction

Ukrainian Cossackdom, which is first mentioned in historical sources of the late fifteenth century, was one of the social phenomena produced by the existence of an open steppe frontier between the settled agricultural population of Eastern Europe and the nomads of the Eurasian plains. That frontier stretched thousands of kilometers from the Danube estuary in the west to the Pacific lowlands in the east. Different civilizations dealt with the steppe and the dangers emanating from it in a variety of ways. The Chinese sought to protect themselves from steppe attackers with a great fortified wall. States on the European steppe borderland, such as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland, and the Tsardom of Muscovy (later the Russian Empire), attempted to create a system of fortified towns to defend their borders. These fortified settlements eventually became bases for the armed Eastern Europeans who adopted the Turkic name of Cossacks. Because of conditions prevailing on the advancing frontier, the Cossacks developed a particular set of social institutions, as well as a deeply rooted love of freedom and independence of central government authorities. Besides defending the steppe frontier, Cossackdom became an instrument for the gradual conquest of the steppe from the nomads and for its subsequent economic development.

Ukrainian Cossackdom existed for almost three hundred years and was ultimately abolished, along with its autonomous institutions, in the late eighteenth century. The Zaporozhian Sich, the headquarters of the free Cossack domain on the lower Dnipro, was destroyed in 1775. The process came to a head in the 1780s with the incorporation of the Hetmanate, the autonomous Cossack polity on the Left Bank of the Dnipro, into the Russian state. The abolition of Ukrainian Cossackdom was part of the general process of centralization in the Russian Empire, made possible by the 'closing' of the Black Sea steppe frontier after the victories of Russian arms over the Ottoman Empire, and by Russia's neutralization and subsequent annexation of the Crimean Khanate, which was the main threat in that part of the steppe frontier.[1]

[1] On the fate of Ukrainian Cossackdom, see the general histories by Günter Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums* (= Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München, no. 3) (Munich, 1953); Philip Longworth, *The Cossacks* (New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, 1969); and Albert Seaton, *The Horsemen of the Steppes: The Story of the Cossacks* (London, 1985).

For monographs in Western languages specifically devoted to the Ukrainian Cossacks, see Linda Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions: Social Turmoil in the Sixteenth-Century Ukraine* (Albany, N.Y.,

Despite its relatively peaceful demise, Ukrainian Cossackdom left deep and markedly dissimilar traces in the historical memory of the Ukrainian people and its neighbors. In Polish historical consciousness, formed at least partially under the influence of the vivid novelistic treatments of Henryk Sienkiewicz, the Ukrainian Cossacks long figured not only as social rebels but also as traitors to the Polish nation whose stubborn attachment to their own church and culture brought down the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. In Jewish tradition, Ukrainian Cossackdom and the first phase of the uprising led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648 are strongly associated with one of the most tragic pages of Jewish history, which recorded the destruction of numerous Jewish communities of Ukraine in the whirlwind of the Cossack rebellion. In Ukrainian historical memory and historiography, Cossackdom left a unique imprint, whose true significance becomes apparent when one compares it with the treatment of Russian Cossackdom in the Russian historiographic tradition. If such Russian Cossack leaders as Kondrat Bulavin and Emelian Pugachev occupy fairly marginal places in the 'grand narrative' of Russian history, surpassed in popularity by their antagonists, Tsar Peter I and Tsarina Catherine II, Ukrainian Cossack hetmans on the order of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa have almost single-handedly monopolized the attention of scholars and readers of the corresponding periods of Ukrainian history, making the Cossack one of the main symbols of Ukrainian historical identity.[2]

The subject of this book is the interaction of Cossackdom and religion—the role of the Cossacks in the religious conflict that began in Ukraine in the late sixteenth century and the influence of religion on the ideology, social and political behavior, and identity of the Cossacks. Another aspect of this theme is the effect of Cossack intervention in religious

1983); Carsten Kumke, *Führer und Geführte bei den Zaporoger Kosaken: Struktur und Geschichte kosakischer Verbände im polnisch-litauischen Grenzland (1550–1648)* (Berlin, 1993); Leo Okinshevich, *Ukrainian Society and Government, 1648–1781* (Munich, 1978); Orest Subtelny, *The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Boulder, Colo., 1981); Zenon E. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); and the recently published opening volume of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's subseries on the Ukrainian Cossacks: *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, vol. 7, *The Cossack Age to 1625*, ed. Serhii Plokhy and Frank E. Sysyn, with the assistance of Uliana M. Pasicznyk, trans. Bohdan Strumiński (Edmonton and Toronto, 1999).

[2] On the role of Cossackdom in the formation of Ukrainian historical consciousness, see Frank E. Sysyn, 'The Reemergence of the Ukrainian Nation and Cossack Mythology', *Social Research* 58, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 845–64; id., 'The Changing Image of the Hetman', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 46, no. 4 (1998): 531–45; Serhii Plokhy, 'Historical Debates and Territorial Claims: Cossack Mythology in the Russian–Ukrainian Border Dispute' in *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (Armonk, N.Y., and London, 1994), pp. 147–70; id., 'Revisiting the Golden Age: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Early History of the Ukrainian Cossacks', introduction to Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, vol. 7, *The Cossack Age to 1625*, pp. xxvii–lii.

affairs on the Ukraine's Orthodox Church and its relations with other churches and religious groups.

The period examined in this book, extending from the late sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, was one of the growth and development of Ukrainian Cossackdom as a distinct social estate. This process was accompanied by violent Cossack rebellions against the Commonwealth that began with a revolt under the leadership of Kryshtof Kosynsky in 1591 and continued until the 'great uprising' led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the mid-seventeenth century. This period of Cossackdom's sustained development as a military, social, and political force also saw the definitive shaping of its ideological orientation, which manifested itself, among other things, in Cossack involvement in the religious struggle then taking place in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian religious crisis was closely associated with the establishment of the Union of Brest (1596) between part of the Kyivan Orthodox metropolitanate and the Roman curia. In many ways, this regional union was based on the principles that brought Eastern and Western Christianity together in the Union of Florence (1439), which provided for the preservation of the Orthodox Eastern rite in exchange for the acceptance of Catholic dogma and subordination to papal jurisdiction. The Florentine tradition and attempts to establish a new church union in Eastern Europe were revived in Rome after the Council of Trent (1545–63) and were at least partly inspired by efforts to compensate for the losses suffered by the Catholic Church in Western and Central Europe as a result of the Reformation.[3] One of the basic assumptions of the present work is that the Ukrainian religious crisis of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries must be understood as part of the upheaval of the European Reformation, which led to the confessionalization of religious and civic life throughout the continent. The changes introduced by the Reformation thus provide the context for the implementation of church union in Ukraine and the confrontation of Counter-Reformation Catholicism with East European Orthodoxy, in which the Ukrainian Cossacks took an active part.

The Cossacks' numerous interventions in the religious struggle on the side of the Orthodox Church have been extensively studied in historiography. Equally well known is the abundance of religious slogans employed

[3] As one of the forerunners of the Union of Brest, Benedykt Herbest, noted apropos of this development, 'now that the Germans have turned away from Peter of Rome, perhaps the Lord God will unite [the people] with us in our Rus', as He has done in the Indies'. See Benedykt Herbest, 'Wypisanie drogi', in *Historia literatury polskiej*, ed. Michał Wiszniewski (Cracow, 1845), 7: 569–81, here 579.

On the prehistory of the Union of Brest, see Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); and Oscar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)* (Hamden, Conn., 1968).

in the Cossack revolts, most notably in the Khmelnytsky Uprising. By contrast, the influence of religious ideas on the general outlook of the Ukrainian Cossacks, as well as on their legal and political ideology, is less familiar and has remained almost entirely unresearched to the present day. It is these questions, which concern political, social, and cultural notions, attitudes, and stereotypes, as well as the dominant religious and political discourse in Ukrainian society of the day, that are the principal subject of the present work.

In my efforts to focus the work on the problems just indicated, I have found myself confronting a whole series of challenges, as was only to be expected. The most important of these are the complications involved in sifting through the mass of contemporary ideas, notions, and intellectual stereotypes in order to identify those relevant to the topic under consideration. In the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, religion was one of the basic sources for the development of political, social, and legal views and concepts, hence a separate treatment of it in the context of the history of ideas and attitudes necessarily involves a degree of artifice. Nevertheless, this somewhat contrived separation of the religious component from the admixture of many other elements of contemporary political discourse is absolutely indispensable to the present study. In carrying it out, I have often found myself obliged to walk a rather narrow path, striving to avoid, on the one hand, the extremes of Marxist notions of religion and religious discourse as mere shells for the expression of secular ideas, themes, and concepts, and, on the other, the temptation to present the whole ideology of the epoch as an exclusively religious phenomenon.

Another problem to be overcome in working on this book was the rather limited source base available for research. Studying the history of the popular masses or of an entire people without a state of its own, lacking an established system of archives, whose private papers have been inadequately preserved, always presents the historian with additional difficulties. This pertains especially to the history of ideas, attitudes, and identities: given the lack or dearth of sources produced by the social group under study, it is very difficult to reconstruct its view of itself and of the world around it. One such 'mute' or, rather, 'semi-mute' social group is Ukrainian Cossackdom, about which we can glean only partial information from sources deriving from the Cossack milieu *per se*, making it necessary to rely on sources of non-Ukrainian provenance.

One way of overcoming these problems was to adopt an interdisciplinary approach to my research, drawing as broadly as possible on the available sources for the political, social, intellectual, and cultural history of Ukraine of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Another was to use microhistorical methods of research in order to penetrate

now-forgotten ways of early modern thinking and to reconstruct the process whereby religious, political, social, and cultural identities took shape in Cossack Ukraine. The source base for the present study consists of official documents of the Cossack administration and of the Orthodox Church, polemical religious literature, treaty texts, Polish Diet resolutions on the Cossacks and the Orthodox Church, diplomatic and official correspondence, and private letters, all of which contain information on the views of the Cossack leadership and, to a lesser extent, of the rank and file.

Another source of our notions about the thoughts, ideas, and stereotypical consciousness of the Ukrainian Cossacks is information about their conduct presented mainly in non-Ukrainian documents pertaining to Cossack uprisings and disturbances. Especially valuable for the present work are the materials of the Muscovite diplomatic service, which have been rather well preserved and published in considerable quantity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Given their character and the circumstances of their creation, these documents do not provide exhaustive answers to the question of how and why particular decisions were made at the tsar's court, but they do contain statements and speeches of Ukrainian clergymen and Cossacks, either quoted directly or related by Muscovite diplomats or scribes. This material constitutes a unique source for the study of religious and other discourse prevailing in Ukraine at the time. The main problem involved in making use of these and other diplomatic sources is that of determining to what extent they reflect the words and opinions of the Cossacks themselves, as opposed to the thoughts and conceptions of the Muscovite officials who composed them.[4]

From the historiographic viewpoint, a major difficulty besetting the present study has been the dearth of research concerned with the history of ideas and their social setting. Given the lack of synthetic works on the history of Ukrainian religious and political thought in the early modern period, the reconstruction of religious, political, social, and cultural ideas held by the Cossacks becomes an exceedingly complex task.[5] To some

[4] For Muscovite sources on Russian–Ukrainian relations, see Panteleimon Kulish, ed., *Materialy dlia istorii vossoedineniia Rusi*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1877); *Akty IuZR* (St Petersburg, 1861–92; repr. The Hague and Paris, 1970), vols. 3, 10, 14; *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei. Dokumenty i materialy* (= *VUR*), ed. P. P. Gudzenko *et al.*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1954). The most recent addition to this corpus of documentary sources is a volume compiled by Lev Zaborovskii, *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty. Problemy religii v russko-pol'skikh otnosheniiakh kontsa 40kh—80kh gg. XVII veka*, vol. 1, *Istochniki vremeni getmanstva B. M. Khmel'nitskogo* (Moscow, 1998).

[5] Something of an exception to this rule are the numerous histories of Ukrainian literature that include general treatments of the 'polemical literature' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e. the religious polemics of the period. See Mykhailo Vozniak, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1922); Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, vol. 5 (Kyiv, 1926–7; repr. New York, 1960), vol. 6 (Kyiv, 1995); Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *A History of*

extent, these difficulties are lessened by the considerably better, though still inadequate, treatment of these problems in Polish and Russian historiography. The works of Polish historians present the ideas and concepts then dominant in the Commonwealth, thereby providing some context for the study of prevailing views and opinions in the Ukrainian lands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.[6] The works of Russian historians and literary scholars discuss various aspects of Muscovite political culture and discourse that the Ukrainian Orthodox élites encountered and in which they participated to some degree in the mid-seventeenth century.[7]

As for the treatment of themes traditional in Ukrainian historiography, most notably the political and military history of Cossackdom, there is no reason to complain of scholarly neglect. Equally well represented in existing historiography is the factual side of relations between the Ukrainian Cossacks and the Orthodox Church, a subject long at the center of

Ukrainian Literature: From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century (Littleton, Colo., 1975). Of particular interest to the historian of Ukrainian religious and political thought is Hrushevsky's *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, in which, given his interest in the history of socio-political thought, he sought to encompass and present all the 'polemical' material available to him. For an attempt to survey Ukrainian philosophical thought of the period, see V. M. Nichyk, V. D. Lytvynov, and Ia. M. Stratii, *Humanistychni i reformatsiini ideï na Ukraïni (XVI—pochatok XVII st.)* (Kyiv, 1990).

[6] On the history of Polish political ideas and institutions, see Juliusz Bardach, Bogusław Leśnodorski, and Michał Pietrzak, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego* (Warsaw, 1979), pp. 183–254; Antoni Mączak, 'The Structure of Power in the Commonwealth of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *A Republic of Nobles: Studies in Polish History to 1864*, ed. J. K. Fedorowicz (Cambridge, UK, 1982), pp. 109–34; Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Sejmiki Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Warsaw, 1991); Edward Opaliński, *Kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej w latach 1587–1652. System parlamentarny a społeczeństwo obywatelskie* (Warsaw, 1995).

For works by Polish political, philosophical, and religious writers, see *Filozofia i myśl społeczna XVII wieku*, ed. Zbigniew Ogonowski, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1979) and *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy, 1648–1668: publicystyka, eksorbitancje, projekty, memoriały*, vol. 1, *1648–1660*, ed. Stefania Ochmann-Staniszewska (Wrocław, 1989).

[7] On Muscovite political thought of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see the following works: V. E. Val'denberg, *Drevnerusskie ucheniia o predelakh tsarskoi vlasti. Ocherki russkoi politicheskoi literatury ot Vladimira Sviatogo do kontsa XVII veka* (Petrograd, 1916); A. A. Zimin, *I. S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki. Ocherki po istorii russkoi obshchestvenno-pravovoi mysli serediny XVII veka* (Moscow, 1958); N. M. Zolotukhina, *Razvitie russkoi srednevekovoi politiko-pravovoi mysli* (Moscow, 1985); L. N. Pushkarev, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia mysl' Rossii: vtoraia polovina XVII veka. Ocherki istorii* (Moscow, 1982). See also studies of the ideological content of Muscovite polemics produced by Russian literary scholars: I. U. Budovnits, *Russkaia publitsistika XVII veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947); Ia. S. Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaia bor'ba v russkoi publitsistike kontsa XV—nachala XVI v.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960); A. N. Robinson, *Bor'ba idei v russkoi literature XVII veka* (Moscow, 1974); A. S. Eleonskaia, *Russkaia publitsistika vtoroi poloviny XVII veka* (Moscow, 1978). For the application of semiotics to the study of Russian political and religious ideology, see B. A. Uspenskii and V. M. Zhivov, 'Tsar' i Bog. Semioticheskie aspekty sakralizatsii monarkha v Rossii' in B. A. Uspenskii, *Izbrannye trudy*, vol. 1, *Semiotika istorii. Semiotika kul'tury* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 110–218; B. A. Uspenskii, 'Raskol i kul'turnyi konflikt XVII veka', ibid., 333–67; id., *Tsar' i patriarkh. Kharizma vlasti v Rossii (Vizantiiskaia model' i ee russkoe pereosmyslenie)* (Moscow, 1998).

attention and debate among historians committed to particular religious viewpoints. Russian imperial and especially Orthodox historiography has traditionally devoted considerable attention to the Cossack struggle against Poland, which was also represented as a struggle conducted against Catholicism and the Union in the defense of Orthodoxy.[8] Polish historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries generally regarded the Cossacks as an unruly, rebellious element bereft of any higher ideological or religious motives and loyalties, and stirred up against the Union and Catholicism by the Orthodox clergy.[9]

Ukrainian national historiography, which originated mainly in eastern, Orthodox Ukraine, interpreted Cossack support for the officially persecuted Orthodox hierarchy as an alliance of the people and the intelligentsia on a Ukrainian national platform, involving a commitment on the part of Cossackdom to the defense of Ukrainian national interests.[10] Ukrainian Catholic historiography, both in western Ukraine and abroad, has generally found itself in difficulty when dealing with the relationship between Cossackdom and religion. Most of its representatives have been torn between two loyalties—their own church, which was persecuted by the Cossacks, and the Ukrainian national tradition, for which the Ukrainian Cossack has become the most recognizable symbol.[11] A distinct legacy has been left to this field by Soviet historiography, which strove at its peak to combat both religion and 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism' (with Cossackdom as its historical icon), seeking to explain most historical events as outcomes of class struggle, and later as progress toward or

[8] Among the popularizers of this tradition in Ukrainian historiography was Mykola Kostomarov (see, e.g., his *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii*, various editions). As for Russian Orthodox historiography, see the treatment of these problems in the classical work on the history of the Russian church by Metropolitan Makarii (M. P. Bulgakov), *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 12 vols. (St Petersburg, 1864–86; repr. Düsseldorf, 1968–9), here 11: 182–628; 12: 535–91. Makarii's *Istoriia* was reprinted, with a detailed scholarly commentary, in connection with the celebrations of Moscow's 850th anniversary in 1998. Cf. the text of this work on the Internet: http://www.magister.msk.ru/library/history/makary.

[9] These ideas and related notions were shared to a greater or lesser extent by many Polish historians, from Julian Bartoszewicz to Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński, and influenced even so solid a historian of Ukraine as Aleksander Jabłonowski. See the survey of Polish research of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the history of Cossackdom and Catholic–Orthodox relations in Stephen Velychenko, *National History as Cultural Process: A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914* (Edmonton, 1992), pp. 54–63. A position similar to that of these Polish historians was taken by Panteleimon Kulish in his *Istoriia vossoedineniia Rusi*, 3 vols. (St Petersburg, 1874–7), vol. 2. See Hrushevsky's critique of Kulish's views in his *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 304–5, 445, 464.

[10] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 302–74.

[11] See the treatment of the link between Cossackdom and Orthodoxy in Atanasii Velykyi (Athanasius Welykyj), *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*, vols. 4–6 (Rome, 1971–3). Although this work is a popularization, it is based on a large number of previously inaccessible Vatican sources.

consequences of 'eternal friendship' between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples.[12]

While the extraordinarily politicized and confessionalized attitudes of historians to the history of Cossackdom and Orthodox–Catholic relations have had a negative effect on the historiography of the subject, they have also attracted the attention of leading scholars, who have built up a solid foundation of established factual material for further research. Here one must note particularly the contribution of the patriarch of Ukrainian national historiography, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who produced a fundamental history of Ukrainian Cossackdom (to the mid-seventeenth century), published as volumes 7–10 of his *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy* (History of Ukraine–Rus'), which remains unsurpassed for comprehensiveness and depth of analysis of the available sources.[13]

One of the accomplishments of historiography on the subject of Ukrainian Cossackdom is the research carried out by historians of the latter half of the twentieth century on the prevailing ideas and conceptions of Ukrainian statehood in the Khmelnytsky era. Interest in these themes was already apparent in the Cossack volumes of Hrushevsky's *History*, but they received particular attention from historians influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the statist school of Ukrainian historiography. Of crucial significance for the development of this school of thought have been the works of Oleksander Ohloblyn, who proceeded from the research undertaken by Ivan Krypiakevych[14] on the Cossack polity of the mid-seventeenth century to an analysis of the political views of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the problem of relations between temporal and spir-

[12] In the postwar period, the official ideological approach to the study of Ukrainian history was formulated in the *Tezisy o 300—letii vossoedineniia Ukrainy s Rossiei (1654–1954)* (Moscow, 1954), which were 'approved' by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Their influence was reflected in the works of many Soviet historians, including the collective study *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï RSR*, ed. Iu. Iu. Kondufor *et al.*, 10 vols. (Kyiv, 1977–9), 1: bk. 2, pp. 116–25, 198–272; 2: 13–89.

In the post-Soviet period, scholars in Ukraine and Russia have striven with considerable success to change the paradigm for the study of the Union of Brest and its times. On the Ukrainian side, one should note the multi-volume publication of the materials of the 'Brest Readings', edited by Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii: see especially *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koï unii i pershe pouniine pokolinnia* (= Materialy Pershykh 'Beresteis'kykh chytan'') (Lviv, 1995); *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti* (= Materialy Chetvertykh 'Beresteis'kykh chytan'') (Lviv, 1997). Especially noteworthy on the Russian side is a collective monograph: M. V. Dmitriev, B. N. Floria, and S. G. Iakovenko, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorussii v kontse XVI—nachale XVII v.*, pt. 1, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. Istoricheskie prichiny* (Moscow, 1996); M. V. Dmitriev, L. V. Zaborovskii, A. A. Turilov, and B. N. Floria, ibid., pt. 2, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. Istoricheskie posledstviia sobytiia* (Moscow, 1999).

[13] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, vol. 7; id., *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10 vols. (Lviv and Kyiv, 1898–1937; repr. New York, 1954–8; Kyiv, 1991–8), vols. 8–10.

[14] See Ivan Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 67–81; 144–5 (1926): 109–40; 147 (1927): 55–80; 151 (1931): 111–50.

itual authority in the Hetmanate.[15] Over the past decade, this theme has attracted considerable attention among historians in independent Ukraine, who have devoted a number of special studies to the development of Khmelnytsky's political program and the idea of Ukrainian statehood.[16]

A broader spectrum of problems associated with the ideology of the Khmelnytsky Uprising is raised in the (so far unpublished) doctoral dissertation of the Canadian historian Stephen Velychenko, who seeks to reconstruct the socio-political views of the mid-seventeenth-century Cossack officers and situate them in a general European context.[17] One should also note as pertinent to our subject the recent work of the Ukrainian historian Petro Sas on the political culture of Ukrainian society of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Building on the methodological developments and cumulative research of Polish historiography, Sas seeks to establish the main parameters of political consciousness among the various strata of early modern Ukrainian society, most notably the Cossacks. His survey of relations between Cossackdom and the Orthodox Church adds a number of new elements to the interpretation of Cossack attitudes toward the Orthodox faith.[18] Besides these studies by Velychenko and Sas, those most relevant to the present work are the works of David Frick, Mikhail Dmitriev, and Natalia Iakovenko on Ukrainian religious and social thought.[19] Also notable in this context are

[15] See Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Dumky pro Khmel'nychchynu* (New York, 1957); id., 'Problema derzhavnoï vlady na Ukraïni za Khmel'nychchyny i Pereiaslavs'ka uhoda 1654 roku', *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 2, nos. 1–2 (1965): 5–13; nos. 3–4 (1965): 1–16, here 8–9.

[16] See Iaroslav Fedoruk, *Zovnishn'opolitychna diial'nist' Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho i formuvannia ioho politychnoï prohramy (1648—serpen' 1649 r.)* (Lviv, 1993); Iu. A. Mytsyk, 'Politychni kontseptsiï Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho: deiaki aspekty realizatsiï' in *Doba Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*, ed. Valerii Smolii *et al.* (Kyiv, 1995), pp. 25–39; Valerii Smolii and Valerii Stepankov, *Ukraïns'ka derzhavna ideia XVII–XVIII stolit': problemy formuvannia, evoliutsiï, realizatsiï* (Kyiv, 1997), pp. 10–121.

[17] See Stephen Velychenko, 'The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas on the Politics of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Cossack Officers between 1648 and 1657', Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics, University of London, 1980.

[18] See Petro Sas, *Politychna kul'tura ukraïns'koho suspil'stva (kinets' XVI—persha polovyna XVII st.)* (Kyiv, 1998).

[19] See David Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); id., '"Foolish Rus'": On Polish Civilization, Ruthenian Self-Hatred, and Kasijan Sakovyč', *HUS* 18, nos. 3–4 (December 1994): 210–48; id., 'Misrepresentations, Misunderstandings, and Silences: Problems of Seventeenth-Century Ruthenian and Muscovite Cultural History', in *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann (DeKalb, Ill., 1997), pp. 149–68; Mikhail Dmitriev, 'The Religious Programme of the Union of Brest in the Context of the Counter-Reformation in Eastern Europe', *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (Summer–Winter 1992): 29–44; id., 'Kontseptsiï uniï v tserkovnykh i derzhavnykh kolakh Rechi Pospolytoï kintsia XVI st.' in Gudziak and Turii, ed., *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koï uniï i pershe pouniine pokolinnia*, pp. 39–73; Natalia Iakovenko, 'Roztiatyi svit: kul'tura Ukraïny–Rusy v dobu Khmel'nychchyny', *Suchasnist'*, no. 4 (1994): 59–70; id., 'Symvol "Bohokhranymoho hrada" u kyïvs'kii propahandi 1620—1640-kh rokiv', *MU*, no. 4 (1995): 52–75.

studies on the formation of Ukrainian national consciousness by Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, Frank Sysyn, Zenon Kohut, Ihor Ševčenko, Oleksii Tolochko, and Boris Floria,[20] as well as articles on Ukrainian intellectual history and mentality published in recent years in the Kyiv journal *Mediaevalia Ucrainica*.[21]

In my consideration of problems involved in the interrelation between religious, political, social, and cultural ideas in the world-view of Ukrainian Cossackdom, I have also attempted to contribute to the discussion of several broader questions currently being debated in historical literature. Most important among them is the problem of the confessionalization of religious life in early modern Europe and its effect on society, political thought, nation-building and state-building projects, and eventually on the continental balance of power. What was the effect of confessionalization on religious life in Ukraine, and how did it influence the fate and outlook of Ukrainian Cossackdom?

In the broadest terms, confessionalization may be defined as a modern variant of Christianity that came into existence during the Reformation, influencing the religious and social life of early modern Europe on both sides of the Catholic–Protestant divide. The major characteristics of the newly formed confessions (Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, and Catholicism, to list the largest ones) include the clear formulation of

[20] See Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa kozaczyzny i szlachty ukraińskiej w XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1985); id., 'The National Consciousness of Ukrainian Nobles and Cossacks from the End of the Sixteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 377–92; Frank E. Sysyn, 'Ukrainian–Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Role of National Consciousness and National Conflict in the Khmelnytsky Movement' in *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj (Edmonton and Toronto, 1980), pp. 58–82; id., 'Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620–1690', *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 393–423; id., 'The Cultural, Social and Political Context of Ukrainian History-Writing: 1620–1690', *Europa Orientalis* (Rome), no. 5, ed. Giovanna Brogi Bercoff (1986): 285–310; id., 'The Cossack Chronicles and the Development of Modern Ukrainian Culture and National Identity', *HUS* 14, nos. 3–4 (December 1990): 593–607; Zenon E. Kohut, 'The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding', *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 559–76; Ihor Ševčenko, 'The Rise of National Identity to 1700' in his *Ukraine between East and West: Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century* (Edmonton and Toronto, 1996), pp. 187–93; Oleksii Tolochko, '"Rus'" ochyma "Ukraïny": v poshukakh samoidentyfikatsiï ta kontynuïtetu', *Suchasnist'*, no. 1 (1994): 111–17; Borys (Boris) Floria, 'Natsional'no-konfesiina svidomist' naselennia Skhidnoï Ukraïny v pershii polovyni XVII stolittia' in Gudziak and Turii, ed., *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy*, pp. 125–34; id., 'O nekotorykh osobennostiakh razvitiia ėtnicheskogo samosoznaniia vostochnykh slavian v ėpokhu srednevekov'ia—rannego novogo vremeni' in *Rossiia–Ukraina: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii*, ed. A. I. Miller, V. F. Reprintsev, and B. N. Floria (Moscow, 1997), pp. 9–27.

See also articles by Omeljan Pritsak, Jerzy Ochmański, Janusz Tazbir, Harvey Goldblatt, and Paul Bushkovitch on Ruthenian, Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian identities in *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe*, ed. Ivo Banac and Frank E. Sysyn with the assistance of Uliana M. Pasicznyk (= *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 [December 1986]).

[21] See *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei*, ed. Natalia Iakovenko, Oleksii Tolochko *et al.*, nos. 1–5 (Kyiv, 1992–8).

religious beliefs, the creation of religiously uniform and coherent communities, the reinforcement of church discipline, the formation of a new type of clergy, and the development of close co-operation between church and state.[22]

It is one of the arguments of this book that confessionalization, as a phenomenon associated with the Reformation in Western Europe, also had a notable influence on the Orthodox lands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Responding to the challenge issued by the West, the Kyivan metropolitanate, which split into Uniate and Orthodox branches, embarked on its own project of confessionalization. The church became more dependent on the state, which applied equally to the Uniates, who enjoyed the conditional support of the authorities, and to the Orthodox, who were in opposition to them. In both churches there was a tendency toward the expansion of hierarchical authority in matters of internal church discipline and greater control over questions of the faith. This period saw the development of a new type of parish and monastic clergy that obtained its religious education in domestic and foreign institutions of higher learning. Parallel to this, there was a growing role for the lay element in church affairs, well illustrated in Ukraine by the work of religious brotherhoods, the activity of princes and nobles, and, last but not least, the intervention of the Cossacks in the life of the church. All these changes that took place in Ukraine of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have direct or more distant parallels in phenomena denoted by the term 'confessionalization' in the history of the nations and churches of Western and Central Europe.

In noting parallels and similarities between Western and Eastern processes of confessionalization, it is also necessary to indicate the significant differences between them. The most important of these, in my view, pertains to the dissimilar effect of confessionalization on the Christian community as a whole. If in the West confessionalization involved the division of previously unitary Christendom (*Christianitas latina*) into a number of confessionalized churches, in the East it fostered the revival and growth in particular Orthodox churches of a sense of belonging to one Orthodox ecumene (*Christianitas orthodoxa*). In structural terms, the medieval Orthodox Church was traditionally divided into independent (autocephalous) or autonomous churches closely associated with political authority and national tradition, including the use of Church Slavonic

[22] For a discussion of the concept of confessionalization and a bibliography on the subject, see Heinz Schilling, 'Confessional Europe' in *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, vol. 2, *Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1995), pp. 641–82; Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford and New York, 1991), pp. 361–88; Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 356–9.

as a liturgical language in the Slavic lands. Accordingly, many Reformation ideas, especially those related to the 'nationalization' of ecclesiastical institutions and making the language of sacred texts and liturgical services comprehensible to the laity, were neither new nor original to the Orthodox. At the same time, the new-found aggressiveness and proselytizing spirit of the confessionalized Western churches, most notably on the part of post-Reformation Catholicism, aroused a tendency in the Orthodox East toward the re-evaluation and reformation of its own ecclesiastical tradition.

In many respects, especially during the tenure of Petro Mohyla as metropolitan of Kyiv (1633–47), Kyivan Orthodoxy led the way in the process of Orthodox confessionalization. If the Uniate Church, the main rival of the Orthodox Ukrainians, declared its adherence to Catholicism and found a measure of support in Rome for the formulation, expression, and defense of its new doctrine, the Orthodox were in a more difficult position. The search for theological enlightenment in conservative Muscovy (which condemned not only Western but also Greek practices and innovations as heretical) and the Orthodox East, oppressed by the Turks, ended in failure, and the Kyivan clergy was obliged to reform its own church single-handedly, as well as to compose its own credo. The Orthodox confession of faith, written with the active participation of Petro Mohyla, was ratified in 1643 by the Eastern patriarchs, with a number of revisions, as an official account of the Orthodox faith.[23] Kyiv was clearly turning into the motive force of Orthodox confessionalization, and Ruthenian society was one of the first in the Orthodox East to experience the numerous changes associated with this process of the reform of religious and social life.

Religious divisions and the confessionalization of political life were among the factors that helped to establish and legitimize the rule of secular and spiritual princes in early modern Western and Central Europe. No less important a role was played by confessionalization in creating what Heinz Schilling has called a 'balance of confessions' in the international arena.[24] The confessionalization of domestic and international politics was also strongly felt in Ukraine, where it played an outstanding role in the ideological substantiation and international legitimation of Cossack statehood. The characteristic Western association of a ruler's legitimacy (as well as that of the entire political structure that he headed) with divine election and sanction was fully manifested in the treatment of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who was viewed by his panegyrists as a ruler

[23] The Orthodox confession of faith was first published in Ukrainian under the title *S"branie korotkoy nauky o artykulakh vïry pravoslavno-kafolycheskoy* (Kyiv, 1645).

[24] See Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', p. 641.

sent by God Himself. From the very beginning of its existence, the young Cossack state found itself in a world sharply divided by religious and confessional boundaries. In entering the international arena as an independent actor, it had to take account of those realities. The same was true of the Cossack polity's decision to accept the protectorate of the Muscovite tsar at the beginning of 1654, which was largely justified in terms of confessional affinity—an international development that changed the long-term balance of both political power and religious confessions in Eastern Europe.

Did the religious struggle and the confessionalization that proceeded under Western influence in the Kyivan metropolitanate have an effect on nation formation in the Ukrainian lands of the Commonwealth? In the present study, I maintain that it did; indeed, I consider that effect so important that unless it is taken into account, one cannot properly grasp the complex and contradictory process of the 'nationalization' of Ukrainian Cossackdom described in this book. The Union of Brest 'awakened' intellectually stagnant Ukrainian society. The publication of the Bible in Church Slavonic in 1580–1 and the distribution of printed polemical literature discussing questions of church union and ecclesiastical and ethnic divisions were important factors promoting the crystallization of pre-modern national consciousness in Ruthenian (Ukrainian–Belarusian) society of the time.[25] In my view, Ruthenian identity was in constant flux during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, adapting to several processes, of which the most important were the religious division of Rus', a change in the perception of the social characteristics of national allegiance, and the formation of distinct Ukrainian and Belarusian identities. In all these developments, Ukrainian Cossackdom was fated to play an important role.

These are the ideas and approaches that have influenced the direction of my research and the structure of the book. Its first two chapters present the main tendencies in the development of Ukrainian Cossackdom and the Ruthenian Orthodox Church, providing a broader socio-political and ecclesiastical context for the work as a whole. The third chapter gives a rather detailed account of the Cossacks' growing involvement in the religious struggle in Ukraine from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. In writing these chapters, I proceeded from the premise that the major factors determining the interaction of Cossackdom and religion in the Ukrainian lands were, on the one hand, the formation of a distinct social estate on the basis of the Cossack register, followed by the successful

[25] For the role of religious divides and vernacular literature in nation formation, see Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, UK, 1997), esp. pp. 1–34.

Cossack state-building efforts of the Khmelnytsky era; and, on the other, religious conflict and the confessionalization of religious life in Ukraine.

Chapters 4–8 examine the influence of religious ideas and conceptions on the Cossacks. Chapter 4 considers the interrelation of religious, social, and ethnocultural elements in the formation of Ukrainian Cossack identity. Chapter 5 is concerned with the role and place of the religious factor in the ideology of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, which, more than any previous Cossack rebellion, comprised elements of a religious war against Catholics on the one hand and Jews on the other. In Chapters 6 and 7 attention is focused on the congeries of religious, political, and legal ideas that significantly influenced the Cossack state-building project, contributing to the legitimation of the hetman's revolutionary authority and that of the polity he represented and helping to determine the balance of political power between hetman and metropolitan in Cossack Ukraine. Chapter 8, which concludes the volume, examines the role of Orthodoxy in the Ukrainian Cossacks' international alliances. It considers the problem of establishing a dialogue between Polish–Lithuanian and Muscovite Rus' on the basis of religious affinity and the role of the discourse thereby initiated in Khmelnytsky's decision to accept the protectorate of Muscovy.

In this book, I make extensive use of terminology that reflects premodern political, territorial, ethnic, and national concepts and identities of the region. I use the term 'Rus'' to denote East Slavic territory and popu-lation, with particular reference to the East Slavic population of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. I also use 'Ruthenian' to designate the common Ukrainian–Belarusian culture and identity of the early modern period. In most cases, the terms *Rossiia* and *ruskii* (the Greek-influenced forms of *Rus'* and *rus'kyi*), which were used by the Ruthenian Orthodox clergy and Cossack officers to define their land and cultural identity, are rendered here as 'Rus'' and 'Ruthenian'. I translate these same terms as 'Russia' and 'Russian' when they pertain to early modern Russian territory and identity. As a rule, I use 'Ukrainian' to designate lands, institutions, and people closely associated with the territory of Ukraine. This pertains first and foremost to the Dnipro Cossacks and the Hetmanate, a Cossack state established on Ukrainian territory as a result of the Khmelnytsky Uprising.

My use of 'nation' generally reflects the sense attributed to this term in early modern Europe, where it defined a pre-modern concept of group identity based on ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and historical commonality. Toponyms are usually transliterated from the language of the country in which the designated places are currently located. As a rule, personal names are given in forms characteristic of the cultural traditions to which

the given person belonged, with the names of Cossacks rendered according to the Ukrainian tradition. If an individual belonged to (or is claimed by) more than one national tradition, alternative spellings are given in parentheses. In this case, as in the use of specific terminology related to the history of the Cossacks and titles of East European officials and institutions, I follow the practice established by the editors of the English translation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine–Rus'*.[26]

In the text, the modified Library of Congress system is used to transliterate Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Russian personal names and toponyms. This system omits the soft sign (ь) and, in masculine personal names, the final 'й' (thus Khmelnytsky, not Khmel'nyts'kyi). In the notes and bibliography, the full Library of Congress system (ligatures omitted) is used, and the titles of publications issued after 1800 are given in modernized spelling.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Julian calendar used by the Eastern Slavs was ten days behind the Gregorian calendar, which was used in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and Western Europe. Dates in this study are generally given according to the Julian calendar; where both styles appear concurrently, the Gregorian-calendar date is given in parentheses, for example 7 (17) April.

[26] Cf. editorial prefaces and glossary in Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: xix–xxvi, liii–lvi.

ONE

The Ukrainian Cossacks

The Origins

At the dawn of the modern world, the Eurasian steppe was undergoing significant and lasting change. The disintegration of the Golden Horde in the course of the fifteenth century into smaller and weaker khanates notably altered the geopolitical configuration of the steppe. As Fernand Braudel points out, after the Noghays crossed the Volga from west to east around 1400, 'the turn of the tide was felt in Europe. The peoples who had flowed towards the West and frail Europe for over two centuries now turned eastwards for the next two or three, attracted by the weakness of distant China.'[1]

In the mid-sixteenth century, the two most powerful states of Eastern Europe, the Tsardom of Muscovy and the Kingdom of Poland, 'set out' almost simultaneously for the east. In the brief period between 1552 and 1556 the Muscovite forces managed not only to defeat and subjugate the two largest Tatar khanates on the Volga, those of Kazan and Astrakhan, but also to subordinate the Siberian khanate and the Circassian and Kabardian princes.[2] The attempt of Tsar Ivan the Terrible to expand his dominions to the west turned out unsuccessfully, however, giving rise to the lengthy Livonian War (1558–83), which brought no advantage to the Tsardom of Muscovy.[3] Not only did it fail to bring about Muscovy's

[1] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, vol. 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, translation from the French revised by Siân Reynolds (New York, 1979), p. 97. Braudel based his observations on the studies of Alexandre and Eugène Kulischer, and, following the traditions of imperial Russian historiography, made no distinction between Russians on the one hand and Ukrainians and Belarusians on the other. Accordingly, he wrote about Russian, not Ukrainian, expansion along the Dnister River into the black-earth lands of the south, noting that lands abandoned by 'Russian' peasants were taken over by migrants from the Baltic lands and Poland.

On the history of that part of the steppe frontier, see William H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800* (Chicago, 1964); Józef Jasnowski, 'Problems of the Frontier with the Steppes of the North Black Sea', *Antemurale* 2 (1955): 40–5.

[2] On Muscovy's eastern policy in the mid-sixteenth century, see Jaroslaw Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology, 1438–1560s* (The Hague, 1974).

[3] On the Livonian War and Muscovite policy toward the West in the sixteenth century, see V. D. Koroliuk, *Livonskaia voina* (Moscow, 1954); B. N. Floria, *Russko-pol'skie otnosheniia i politicheskoe razvitie Vostochnoi Evropy vo vtoroi polovine XVI—nachale XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1978). For sources on the history of the Livonian War, see *Dokumenty Livonskoi voiny: podlinnoe deloproizvodstvo prikazov i voevod, 1571–1580*, ed. I. Gralia *et al.* (Moscow and Warsaw, 1998).

desired advance into the Baltic region, but it also provoked an eastward movement on the part of the Kingdom of Poland, presenting Muscovy with a new and powerful competitor on the steppe frontier. In 1569 the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, enmeshed in the Livonian War with Muscovy, resolved to strengthen its old tie with Poland and unite with it into a single state, the Commonwealth. The Union of Lublin (1569) created a new political framework that allowed the Kingdom of Poland to augment its old Ukrainian holdings, Galicia and western Podilia, with new ones—Volhynia and the Kyiv and Bratslav regions (previously part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania)—thereby becoming an active and influential presence on the East European steppe frontier.[4]

It should be noted that the relative 'vacuum' on the steppes attracted the attention not only of Muscovy and the Commonwealth, but of the Ottoman Empire as well. The Crimean Khanate, which seceded from the Golden Horde in 1449, was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Turkish sultan as early as 1478. Thus, between the Don and Dnister rivers, the advance of settlement from the north was blocked by a powerful opponent that not only had no intention of migrating from the Crimean peninsula, but also, relying on the support of Istanbul, maintained several nomadic hordes of the northern Black Sea region as vassals. In the late fifteenth century, the Crimean Tatars and their nomadic vassals began regularly raiding the territory of neighboring states—the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Tsardom of Muscovy. Tatar attacks were an everyday feature of steppe life, only partly dependent on relations of war and peace between the Tatars and their neighbors. In attacking the settled East Slavic population, the Tatars claimed their booty mainly in the form of captives, whom

[4] On the Union of Lublin, see Jaroslaw Pelenski, 'The Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands of Old Rus' into Crown Poland (1569): Socio-Material Interest and Ideology—A Reexamination' in *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists (Warsaw, August 21–27, 1973)*, vol. 3 (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. 19–52; Bardach *et al.*, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*, pp. 128–31, 191; Natalia Iakovenko, 'Zdobutky i vtraty Liublins'koï uniï', *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 3 (1993): 77–85; Olena Rusyna, *Ukraïna pid tataramy i Lytvoiu* (= *Ukraïna kriz' viky*, vol. 6) (Kyiv, 1998), pp. 196–204; V. I. Picheta, 'Pol'sha na putiakh k kolonizatsii Ukrainy i Belorussii. Liublinskaia uniia i ee politicheskie posledstviia', *Istoricheskie zapiski* 7 (1940): 59–90. For the text of the Union of Lublin, see *Akta Unii Polski z Litwą, 1387–1791*, ed. Stanisław Kutrzeba and Władysław Semkowicz (Cracow, 1932).

On the status of the Ukrainian lands in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, see the following works: F. M. Shabul'do, *Zemli Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v sostave Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo* (Kyiv, 1987); Rusyna, *Ukraïna pid tataramy i Lytvoiu*; M. M. Krom, *Mezh Rus'iu i Litvoi: zapadnorusskie zemli v sisteme russko-litovskikh otnoshenii kontsa XV—pervoi treti XVI v.* (Moscow, 1995); A. Iu. Dvornichenko, *Russkie zemli Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo (do nachala XVI veka). Ocherki istorii obshchiny, soslovii, gosudarstvennosti* (St Petersburg, 1993); M. H. Krykun, *Administratyvno-terytorial'nyi ustrii Pravoberezhnoï Ukraïny v XV–XVIII st. Kordony voievodstv u svitli dzherel* (Kyiv, 1992).

they took to the Crimea and sold in the slave markets of Turkish-controlled ports.[5]

The steppe expanses of southern Ukraine, known in the early modern period as the Wild Fields (*dyke pole*), were not fully controlled by any of the states bordering on them. In the times of Kyivan Rus', this territory was traversed by organized bands of exiles and migrants of East Slavic origin who became known as *brodnyky* (from the verb *brodyty*, 'to roam'). From the time of the Mongol invasion, the steppe became an area of nomadic wandering and foraging, subject to no official regulation, by bands of fishermen, hunters, and freebooters who began to be called 'Cossacks'. The origin of this name, which means 'freeman' or 'bandit' in the Turkic languages, indicates the Tatar origin of the Cossack phenomenon. Nevertheless, beginning in the late fifteenth century, historical sources make ever more frequent reference to Slavic Cossacks rather than Turkic ones. The term 'Cossacks' was probably first used with reference to the Ruthenian population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1492, in correspondence between the Crimean khan and the Lithuanian grand prince. In the following year, the khan also complained to the grand prince of Muscovy about the Ruthenian Cossacks. In the early sixteenth century, the appellation 'Cossack' began to be broadly applied in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to residents and foragers from Cherkasy and other Dnipro castles. The term acquired a life of its own, independent of its original meaning and usage.[6]

[5] On the history of the Turkish border north of the Black Sea, see the studies by Gilles Veinstein, 'L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière lituano-tatare' in *Passé turco-tatar, présent soviétique: Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, ed. Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay (Louvain and Paris, 1986), pp. 123–55; id., 'Les "çiftlik" de colonisation dans les steppes du nord de la Mer Noire au XVIe siècle', *Ömer ütfi Barkan Armağani, Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmausi, Istanbul* 41, nos. 1–4 (1982–4): 177–210. On the history of the Crimean Khanate at that time, see V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoi Porty do nachala XVIII veka* (St Petersburg, 1887). Concerning Tatar attacks on the Ukrainian lands and their consequences, see the following works: Ia. I. Dzyra, 'Tataro-turets'ki napady na Ukraïnu XIII–XVI st.' in *Ukraïns'kyi istoryko-heohrafichnyi zbirnyk* (Kyiv), no. 1, ed. I. O. Hurzhii *et al.* (1971): 83–102; Maurycy Horn, 'Chronologia i zasiąg najazdów tatarskich na ziemie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1600–1647', *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 8, no. 1 (1962): 3–71; id., *Skutki ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1605–1633 na Ruś Czerwoną* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1964). On Ukrainian prisoners in the Crimea, see Michalon Lituanus (Mikhalon Litvin), *O nravakh tatar, litovtsev i moskvitian* (Moscow, 1994); Kh. P. Iashchurinskii, 'Iuzhno-russkie plenniki v Krymu', *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii* 47 (1912): 158–66.

[6] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 52–64. Surveys of the literature on early Cossack history are to be found in Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*, updated for the years 1917–1956 by Olexander Ohloblyn (New York, 1957); Linda Gordon's bibliographic essay in her *Cossack Rebellions*, pp. 249–63; V. O. Holobuts'kyi, 'Problema kozatstva v ukraïns'kii ta inozemnii istoriohrafii', *UIZh*, no. 1 (1960): 109–17, and Liubomyr Vynar (Lubomyr Wynar), 'Ohliad istorychnoï literatury pro pochatky ukraïns'koï kozachchyny', *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 2 (1965), nos. 5–6: 28–37; nos. 7–8, 17–38; Frank E. Sysyn, 'Recent Western Works on the Ukrainian Cossacks', *Slavonic and East European Review* 64, no. 1 (1986): 100–16.

As may be judged from the sources for this period, there were at least two types of Ukrainian Cossackdom. One was a kind of steppe piracy, or 'steppe sport', as Mykhailo Hrushevsky called it. It involved armed Cossack bands, acting either under the leadership of local officials or against their will, which attacked traders and couriers traversing the steppe, as well as Tatar uluses and Turkish fortresses in the northern Black Sea region. In the course of the sixteenth century, as periods of war and peace succeeded one another and foreign alliances were made and broken, Cossackdom became the characteristic mode of existence in this borderland, which was far removed from any center of state authority. It attracted banished noblemen, professional soldiers, and adventurers not only from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but also from the Kingdom of Poland, the Tsardom of Muscovy, and other neighboring states.

Another type of Cossack activity, practiced by bands originating in the towns and small settlements of the upper Dnipro and its tributaries, also developed and became ever larger in scope. As a rule, these bands traveled down the Dnipro as far as the Rapids and the marshlands beyond them, where they engaged in fishing, hunting, or beekeeping. In winter they usually returned home or to the fortresses of the middle Dnipro, the best-known of which was Cherkasy. Here the local starostas (royal officials in charge of castles and surrounding domains) taxed the Cossacks on their catch. As this was not to the Cossacks' liking, they sought to avoid the starostas' castles as much as possible, establishing their own defenses, known as *horodky* (small forts) or *sichi* (fortified camps), in the areas of their activity. Given the dangers awaiting them in the steppe borderland, the tradesmen had to be well armed and prepared to defend themselves against Tatar attacks; often they engaged in steppe banditry themselves. Thus the distinction between Cossack warriors and tradesmen was rather arbitrary, and Cossacks could easily turn from one type of activity to the other. Moreover, both types were bound together by the Cossacks' devotion to the personal freedom available on the steppe frontier.[7]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Polish and Lithuanian authorities found themselves obliged to deal not only with incessant Cossack conflicts with the Crimean Tatars and their campaigns into Moldavia but also with their Black Sea expeditions, in the course of which the Cossacks attacked Turkish ships and raided Turkish ports in the Crimea and the maritime territories of the Ottoman Empire, including the capital, Istanbul.[8] On the one hand, these seagoing expeditions

[7] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 64–87.

[8] The best contemporary description of Cossack Black Sea expeditions is to be found in Guillaume Le Vasseur, Sieur de Beauplan, *A Description of Ukraine*, ed. and trans. Andrew B. Pernal

were a natural extension of the struggle waged on land, with the Tatars seizing captives and property and the Cossacks freeing the captives and robbing Tatar and Turkish caravans and towns. On the other hand, by launching seagoing expeditions, the Cossacks were taking part in the piracy that was then well developed in the Mediterranean basin. The Cossacks' existence beyond the pale of state jurisdiction, their active involvement in acts of robbery forbidden by officialdom, as well as the toleration and occasional approval of such actions by the local population associated them in some measure with the 'social bandits' and pirates of Western and Southern Europe.[9] The social organization of Cossack foraging bands, as well as of later Cossack fortified camps on the lower Dnipro, with their elective leadership, independent judicial system, and severe military discipline, was reminiscent of the organization of pirate communities and associations.[10] Piracy flourished in Western and Southern Europe in the late sixteenth century, and the Cossacks of the Dnipro were well prepared to keep pace with the times.

While the Ukrainian Cossacks' only competitors on the Black Sea were their colleagues and frequent allies, the Don Cossacks,[11] the Mediterranean was a traditional arena of conflict between Christian and Muslim pirates. In the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire protected the pirates of the Barbary Coast (the north African littoral), where the rule of the Turkish sultan had been established in the second half of the sixteenth century. Based in Algiers and other semi-autonomous ports that figured as city-states, the Muslim pirates raised high the flag of religious struggle, directing their attacks and raids almost exclusively against the ships and ports of the sultan's Christian opponents in Southern and Western Europe. The activity of Catholic corsairs, supported by the Knights of Malta and the Tuscan Knights of St Stephen, also proceeded under the banner of religion, raised in this instance by Christians warding off the Muslim threat. Not surprisingly, Mediterranean piracy, which flourished during

and Dennis F. Essar (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), pp. 62–70. He also provides a drawing of a Cossack *chaika*. Significantly, one of the first references to the Ukrainian Cossacks in historical sources refers precisely to their expeditions down the Dnipro to the Black Sea. This is a report dating from 1510 about the plans of a Tatar khan to build a fortress between the Dnipro and Buh estuaries, as well as to span the Dnipro with chains in order to prevent Cossack expeditions to the Black Sea (details in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 82–6).

[9] For the application of Eric Hobsbawm's views on 'social banditry' to the history of Ukrainian Cossackdom, see Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, esp. pp. 65–7.

[10] The best-known of these, Libertalia, arose in the eighteenth century and was also established on democratic principles, thereby constituting a challenge to neighboring polities governed by autocratic rulers. See Marcus Rediker, 'Libertalia: The Pirate's Utopia' in *Pirates: Terror on the High Seas—from the Caribbean to the South China Sea*, consulting ed. David Cordingly (North Dighton, Mass., 1998), pp. 124–39.

[11] On joint seagoing expeditions by the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks, see Viktor Brekhunenko, *Stosunky ukraïns'koho kozatstva z Donom u XVI—seredyni XVII st.* (Kyiv and Zaporizhia, 1998), pp. 107–234.

periodic conflicts and wars between Christian Europe and the Islamic Ottoman Empire, established the military, political, and religious context within which contemporaries perceived the naval expeditions launched by Ukrainian Cossacks against Ottoman ships and domains on the Black Sea littoral.[12]

West European authors of the seventeenth century actually drew certain parallels between the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Knights of Malta.[13] Although the Zaporozhian Cossacks did not conduct Mediterranean expeditions, they were directly acquainted with the conflict between Christian and Muslim corsairs in the region. Many Ukrainian captives sold in Crimean slave markets were imprisoned on Turkish galleys and Barbary Coast pirate ships. Several revolts of galley slaves on Turkish ships are known to have been led by Ukrainian Cossacks. The rebels generally sought the support of Christian rulers, and some of them eventually returned to their homelands. One of the best known of these revolts took place on a Turkish galley and was led by Ivan Sulyma, who later became a Cossack hetman. After the successful uprising, he was received by the pope and awarded a papal medal.[14]

Who were the first Ukrainian Cossacks by ethnic and social origin? Some Western observers, especially the Commonwealth authorities, insisted on the multinational character of early Cossackdom. Rather typical in this regard was a statement by King Zygmunt III of Poland in a letter of 1615 to the sultan, in which he asserted that the Cossacks were an assembly of Muscovites, Wallachians, Magyars, Greeks, Tatars, and Turks (in another letter, he added Ruthenians and Moldavians as well).[15] The

[12] On Mediterranean piracy, see Richard Platt, 'Corsairs of the Mediterranean' in *Pirates: Terror on the High Seas*, pp. 76–99; Peter Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary* (London, 1970); J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450–1620* (Montreal, Kingston, London, and Buffalo, 1998), pp. 80–1.

[13] See, e.g., a remark by Pierre Chevalier in his *Histoire de la gverre des Cosaqves* (*Istoriia viiny kozakiv proty Pol'shchi* [Kyiv, 1960], pp. 39–40).

[14] On Sulyma and his fate, see the notes of Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, trans. and ed. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1980), 1: 493–5, and a biographical sketch by Vitalii Shcherbak, 'Ivan Sulyma' in *Volodari het'mans'koï bulavy* (Kyiv, 1994), pp. 141–51. For an account of a revolt on a Turkish galley in 1643, see Iu. A. Mytsyk, 'Na turets'kykh galerakh' in *Zaporozhtsi. Do istoriï kozats'koï kul'tury*, ed. Iurii Kosenko *et al.* (Kyiv, 1993), pp. 232–42; id., 'Povstannia kozakiv-nevil'nykiv na turets'kykh halerakh' in Iurii Mytsyk, Serhii Plokhii, and Ivan Storozhenko, *Iak kozaky voiuvaly. Istorychni rozpovidi pro zaporiz'ke kozatstvo*, 2nd edn. (Dnipropetrovsk and Kyiv, 1991), pp. 181–9. In the Ukrainian oral tradition, the revolts of Christian galley slaves were memorialized in the popular *duma* about Samiilo Kishka (see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 454–5).

[15] *Zherela do istoriï Ukraïny–Rusy* (henceforth *Zherela*) 8 (1908), no. 90, p. 114. Cf. Władysław Tomkiewicz, 'O składzie społecznym i etnicznym kozaczyzny ukrainnej na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku', *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 249–60, here 255–6. In his report of 1586 on the Cossacks, Carlo Gamberini (an agent of the Warsaw-based Nuncio Alberto Bolognetti) wrote: 'There are mercenaries from every nationality: Poles, Germans, French, Spanish, and

problem with these and some other royal statements is that official Polish pronouncements on the national and political allegiance of the Dnipro Cossacks cannot be taken at face value. Royal declarations on the subject were usually made in response to Turkish accusations of the Commonwealth's unwillingness to curb Cossackdom and were intended to convince the sultan's court that the Cossacks were not subjects of the Polish king, but represented a variety of states and nationalities. The question, however, is not so much one of establishing the fact of the Cossacks' multinational composition as of determining the proportion of representatives of various countries and regions in the Cossack Host.

The earliest source pertinent to this question appears to be the register of the Cossack regiment that took part in the Livonian War in 1581. As many of the surnames and sobriquets of the Cossacks listed in the register have 'territorial' roots and indicate the places of origin of individual Cossacks, the register permits a partial reconstruction of the territorial and thus ethnic composition of the Dnipro Cossack Host of the day.[16] Susanne Luber and Peter Rostankowski have managed to establish with reasonable certainty the origins of 356 of the 530 Cossacks whose names appear in the register. According to their calculations, 82 per cent of the 'identified' Cossacks came from Ukraine and Belarus, 8.4 per cent from Muscovy, 4.8 per cent from Poland, and 4.8 per cent from Lithuania. As for the Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belarusian) element in the Cossack regiment, 26.1 per cent came from Volhynia or Podilia, 22.8 per cent from the upper Dnipro region and Belarus, 17.4 per cent from the middle Dnipro region, and 15.7 per cent from the Prypiat basin.[17] Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who also studied the register, drew attention to the high percentage of Cossacks from what is now Belarus and attempted to explain this by the advance of the Cossack regiment through Belarus on its way to the theater of operations, which apparently entailed recruitment on Belarusian territory.[18]

Italian . . .' (see *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks*: *The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau, 1594*, ed. Lubomyr R. Wynar, trans. Orest Subtelny [Littleton, Colo., 1975], p. 117). On the ethnic composition of Cossack detachments, see also Vitalii Shcherbak, 'Osobovyi ta etnichnyi sklad zaporozhtsiv ta reiestrovykh', *Naukovi zapysky. Natsional'nyi universytet 'Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia'*, no. 3, *Istoriia* (Kyiv, 1998), pp. 75–80.

[16] The 'Register of Lower Dnipro Zaporozhian and River Cossacks Who Went to Moscow in the Service of His Royal Majesty the King' was published in *Źródła dziejowe*, 20: 154–64. One of the first attempts to establish the territorial origins of the Ukrainian Cossacks on the basis of this register was made by A. V. Storozhenko in his *Stefan Batorii i dneprovskie kazaki: issledovanie, pamiatniki, dokumenty i zametki* (Kyiv, 1904), pp. 18–20. For Hrushevsky's calculations and interpretation, see his *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 119–21.

[17] Susanne Luber and Peter Rostankowski, 'Die Herkunft der im Jahre 1581 registrierten Zaporoger Kosaken', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s. 28 (1980): 368–90, here 377.

[18] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 120.

Although the particular circumstances of the Livonian War and military operations on Belarusian territory help to explain the predominance of references in contemporary sources to Belarusian centers of Cossackdom, it is also necessary to note the special role of Belarusians in the making of Ukrainian Cossackdom. As may be judged from documentary references to Cossack units that took part in the first stage of the Livonian War, in the 1560s the principal centers of Cossackdom were located on the Left Bank of the Dnipro from Orsha to Oster and in the Prypiat River basin (Ukrainian and Belarusian Polisia and Volhynia).[19] Since the middle and lower reaches of the Dnipro were effectively cut off from the remainder of Ukraine's settled territory by the steppe, which was a danger zone because of Tatar attacks, the Dnipro and its tributaries allowed the residents of Belarusian river settlements and adjoining territories to move southward with relative ease. At first they went to Kaniv and Cherkasy and then ventured further south to Zaporizhia. It is no accident that in a lustration of the Cherkasy castle (1552), residents of Mazyr, Petrykaŭ, and Bykhaŭ are mentioned as having obtained foraging rights along the Dnipro from the starosta of Cherkasy on equal terms with residents of Kyiv and Chornobyl.[20] Nor is it surprising that most of the Cossacks enlisted in the 1581 regiment also came from the basin of the Dnipro and its tributaries, the Prypiat (with its own tributaries, the Horyn and Sluch), Biarezina, and Sozh.[21]

As for the social origins of the Cossacks, the first Ruthenians noted in late fifteenth-century sources as participants in the Cossack phenomenon were burghers from Kyiv and Cherkasy. Later sources also frequently mention the participation of burghers, who are known to have constituted a significant proportion of the Ukrainian border population. In the first half of the seventeenth century, approximately 60 per cent of this population lived in fortified towns, and the Kyiv palatinate alone accounted for about one-third of all Ukrainian towns. The composition of residents of the fortified border towns differed markedly, however, from that of the burgher population in the interior of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. In the mid-sixteenth century, approximately one-third of the population of Cherkasy was made up of burghers (223 persons), another third of the starosta's retinue, civic servitors, and soldiers (253 in all), and the remaining third of Cossacks (250 individuals). There were a mere nine persons of princely, nobiliary, or

[19] See Serhii Lep"iavko, *Ukraïns'ke kozatstvo u mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh (1561–1591)* (Chernihiv, 1999), p. 29.

[20] See *AIuZR* (1886): pt. 7, vol. 1, p. 85. Cf. Vitalii Shcherbak, *Formuvannia kozats'koho stanu v Ukraïni (druha polovyna XV—seredyna XVII st.)* (Kyiv, 1997), p. 70.

[21] See the map in Luber and Rostankowski, 'Die Herkunft'.

boyar origin.[22] In time, Cossacks actually increased as a proportion of the urban population. In 1600, there were 960 burghers and 1,300 Cossacks in Kaniv.[23]

By the late sixteenth century, the peasantry was joining the Cossack ranks *en masse*. During the revolts that began to shake Ukraine in the 1590s, the Cossacks conducted lengthy campaigns throughout the 'settled area' (*volost'*) all the way into Belarus, gladly accepting rebellious peasants as recruits. Peasants also came from long-settled interior regions to join the Cossacks and began to account for a larger proportion of residents of the steppe borderland. The peasants were driven into the untamed and dangerous steppe by the 'second serfdom' that was then beginning to develop on the territory of the united Polish–Lithuanian state.[24] Apart from that, in an attempt to settle parcels of land granted on Ukrainian territory by Polish kings, the nobility brought in peasants, attracting them with promises of temporary exemption from taxes in the new tax-free settlements (*slobody*). When the period of exemption ended, the peasants would often move further into the steppe, establishing new tax-free villages. This advancing frontier in eastern Ukraine, like every such frontier from Siberia to North America, brought with it a weakening of official control, opened new economic possibilities, and promoted specific forms of social organization.[25]

[22] According to Shcherbak (*Formuvannia kozats'koho stanu*, p. 28), the structure of the urban population was also similar in the border towns of Podilia, especially in Vinnytsia and Bratslav.

[23] See Ivan Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 2nd edn. (Lviv, 1990), pp. 26–31; Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, 2nd edn. (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1994), pp. 107–11. On towns and the urban population of Ukraine, see O. S. Kompan, *Mista Ukraïny v druhii polovyni XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1963); P. V. Mykhailyna, *Vyzvol'na borot'ba trudovoho naselennia mist Ukraïny (1569–1654)* (Kyiv, 1975); P. M. Sas, *Feodal'nye goroda Ukrainy v kontse XV—60kh godakh XVI v.* (Kyiv, 1989).

[24] One of the theories developed to explain this phenomenon pertains to the globalization of the European grain trade. The growth of cities in Western Europe, as well as other social and economic developments there, caused a sharp rise in demand for East European grain, which in turn stimulated the growth of the manorial economy in the Commonwealth. That economy could develop only through the enserfment of the local peasantry, which was migrating in ever greater numbers to the virgin lands of the Dnipro region. The notion that the European grain trade influenced the growth of the 'second serfdom' was developed on the basis of evidence drawn from Polish history. Linda Gordon, the first scholar to apply this theory to the interpretation of Ukrainian Cossack history, has argued that it cannot account for a whole range of phenomena characteristic of Ukrainian life of the period and that it completely fails to explain the development of the 'second serfdom' in the Tsardom of Muscovy, which took almost no part in general European trade at the time. See Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, pp. 37–46. For Ukrainian involvement in international trade of the period, see Olena Sydorenko, *Ukraïns'ki zemli u mizhnarodnii torhivli (IX—seredyna XVIII st.)* (Kyiv, 1992).

[25] For types of settlement in the steppe areas, see the studies by Peter Rostankowski, *Siedlungsentwicklung und Siedlungsformen in den Ländern der russischen Kosakenheere* (Berlin, 1969); id., *Die Entwicklung osteuropäischer ländlicher Siedlungen und speziell der Chutor-Siedlungen* (Berlin, 1982).

On the settlement of Ukraine, see the following works: Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński, 'Zaludnienie i jego charakter w granicach tworzącej się kozaczyzny', *Biblioteka Warszawska* 73,

According to historiographic tradition, the first leaders of Cossackdom were border starostas, that is, state servitors of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Among those who figure most prominently in this tradition are Ostafii Dashkovych, Przecław Lanckoroński, Bernard Pretwicz,[26] and, most particularly, Dmytro Vyshnevetsky. The latter's activity is an interesting example of the close association between the local border administration and Cossackdom, as well as of the semi-legal nature of that association in the eyes of the government. Vyshnevetsky acted alternately as starosta of Cherkasy and Kaniv under the jurisdiction of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and as a volunteer seeking to enter the service of the Muscovite tsar or the Turkish sultan. In the 1560s he built a castle on the island of Khortytsia beyond the Dnipro Rapids that served for a time as a Cossack outpost in the struggle against the Tatars. As Grand Prince Zygmunt August represented the castle's functions in a letter of 1557 to Vyshnevetsky, it was intended to prevent the penetration of the region by the Muscovite state and to keep the Cossacks from harassing Tatar herdsmen and damaging their uluses.[27]

Vyshnevetsky's struggle with the Tatars, as well as his martyr's death in Istanbul in 1563 (after the failure of his campaign against Moldavia), helped to make this Cossack prince a popular hero. Many researchers have seen him as the model of the Cossack Baida, who was celebrated in Ukrainian epic songs (*dumas*). He also became a hero of Ukrainian national historiography as the founder of the Khortytsia castle, the prototype of the Zaporozhian Sich. Vyshnevetsky's activities in the Dnipro

no. 4 (1913): 352–76; A. I. Baranovich (O. I. Baranovych), 'Naselenie predstepnoi Ukrainy v XVI v.', *Istoricheskie zapiski* 32 (1950): 198–232; id., *Ukraina nakanune osvoboditel'noi voiny serediny XVII veka (Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskie predposylki voiny)* (Moscow, 1959); O. S. Kompan, 'Do pytannia pro zaselenist' Ukraïny v XVII st.', *UIZh*, no. 1 (1960): 65–77; Zenon Guldon, 'Badania nad zaludnieniem Ukrainy w XVII wieku', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 13 (1965): 561–6; M. H. Krykun, 'Naselennia podil's'koho voievodtsva v pershii polovyni XVII st.' in *Ukraïns'kyi istoryko-heohrafichnyi zbirnyk* (Kyiv), no. 1, ed. I. O. Hurzhii *et al.* (1971): 115–35; id., 'Dokumenty TsDIA URSR u m. Kyievi iak dzherelo do vyvchennia mihratsiï naselennia na Ukraïni u pershii polovyni XVII st.', *Arkhivy Ukraïny*, no. 5 (1985): 49–57.

On the Ukrainian peasantry, see Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 2nd edn., pp. 18–26; I. D. Boiko, *Selianstvo Ukraïny v druhii polovyni XVI—pershii polovyni XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1963).

[26] On Dashkovych, see the studies by Bohdan Buchyns'kyi, 'Pochatky politychnoï kar"iery Ostafiia Dashkovycha', *ZNTSh* 113 (1913): 23–43; Władysław Pociecha, 'Daszkiewicz (Daszkowicz), Eustachy (Ostafij)' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, ed. Władysław Konopczyński (Cracow and Wrocław, 1935ff.), vol. 4 (1938): 444–7, and V"iacheslav Seniutovych-Berezhnyi, 'Ostap Dashkovych (Dashkevych)—vozhd' kozats'kyi', *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 6, nos. 1–3 (1969): 118–26. On Lanckoroński, see Henryk Kotarski, 'Lanckoroński Przecław (Krzesław)' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 16 (1971): 449–50. On Pretwicz, see Andrzej Tomczak, 'Pretwicz (Pretfic) Bernard' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 28 (1984–5): 433–5; id., 'Memoriał Bernarda Pretwicza do króla z 1550 r.', *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 6, no. 2 (1960): 328–57.

[27] See Shcherbak, *Formuvannia kozats'koho stanu*, pp. 36–8. In 1557, after two assaults, the castle was taken by the khan's forces, and Vyshnevetsky had to withdraw northward along the Dnipro with his Cossacks.

basin, which spanned a gray area between loyal service to the grand prince and leadership of steppe brigandage, make it possible to regard his castle as a foreshadowing not only of the Sich, but also of the fortress built above the Rapids at Kodak in 1635 as a Polish outpost to maintain control over Cossack activity.[28]

From the beginnings of Ukrainian Cossackdom, princes such as Dmytro Vyshnevetsky were its first patrons as well as its earliest antagonists. The princes Hlynsky, Vyshnevetsky, Ostrozky, and Ruzhynsky, who controlled the offices of palatine and starosta in steppe Ukraine, organized and maintained Cossack units to defend the border and conduct campaigns against the Tatars, but imposed taxes on those same Cossacks and punished them for land and sea expeditions against the Crimea and other Ottoman dominions. With the nobiliary colonization of the Wild Fields, more and more representatives of the nobility and the boyars looked to the steppe for land grants and improvement of their economic and social status. As mass colonization of the Dnipro region and Podilia proceeded in the late sixteenth century, it was precisely the princely families (above all the Ostrozkys, Vyshnevetskys, and Ruzhynskys), and later Polish nobiliary clans (especially the Żółkiewskis, Kalinowskis, Potockis, Koniecpolskis, and Łaszczes), who managed to accumulate the greatest latifundias, often driving out their initial assistants, the Cossackized nobility and Cossack officers.[29]

If the conditions of the Cossacks' everyday economic and military life were largely determined by their relations with local starostas and magnates, their social status depended above all on their relations with the central government and the success or failure of negotiations at the time of their recruitment for state service by the royal administration. The idea of employing the Cossacks as state servitors on the uncertain

[28] On Vyshnevetsky, see Liubomyr Vynar (Lubomyr Wynar), *Kniaz' Dmytro Vyshnevets'kyi* (Munich, 1964); Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, 'Un condottiere lithuanien du XVIe siècle le prince Dimitrij Višneveckij et l'origine de la seč zaporogue d'après les archives ottomanes', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 10, no. 2 (1969): 258–79. For a discussion of the oral tradition and its links with the historical Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, see Hrushevs'kyi, 'Baida-Vyshnevets'kyi v poeziï i istoriï', *ZUNT* 3 (1909): 108–39. Volodymyr Holobuts'kyi presents a critique of Hrushevsky's views from the viewpoint of Soviet Marxist historiography in his (V. A. Golobutskii) *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo* (Kyiv, 1957), pp. 84–7.

[29] On the role of princely and magnate families in the colonization of Ukraine, see Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 2nd edn., pp. 15–18; Natalia Iakovenko, *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta z kintsia XIV do seredyny XVII st. (Volyn' i Tsentral'na Ukraïna)* (Kyiv, 1993), pp. 115–20, 203–19; Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, pp. 39–41, 73. The role of the Polish nobility in the colonization of steppe Ukraine is discussed in Frank E. Sysyn, 'The Problem of Nobilities in the Ukrainian Past: The Polish Period, 1569–1648' in *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton, 1981), pp. 29–102; Zbigniew Anusik, 'Struktura społeczna szlachty bracławskiej w świetle taryfu podymnego z 1629 roku', *Przegląd Historyczny* 76, no. 2 (1985): 233–53; Henryk Litwin, *Napływ szlachty polskiej na Ukrainę, 1569–1648* (Warsaw, 2000).

south-eastern border of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was first proposed as early as the 1520s.[30] Documented attempts to enlist them, as well as to endow them with specific rights and freedoms, date from several decades later—the 1560s and 1570s. Beginning in 1561, Cossacks were actively recruited for the Livonian War with Muscovy by order of Grand Prince Zygmunt August. Local officials entered their names in 'registers' and issued pay for services from the state treasury. Payment ceased, however, with the end of the military campaign.[31]

In 1568, on the eve of the Union of Lublin between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Zygmunt August decided to create a standing Cossack army. He issued a special proclamation to the Cossacks forbidding them to provoke subjects of the Turkish sultan and calling on them to abandon the lower Dnipro for border castles, where they would be taken into service.[32] Judging by a later royal proclamation of June 1572, a Cossack unit was eventually recruited. It was headed by the Polish nobleman Jan Badowski, who was not only to command the unit but also to administer justice to the enlisted Cossacks. Badowski himself and his unit were exempt from the jurisdiction of the local administration (except in the event of 'violence and bloody deeds') and were directly subordinate to Crown Field Hetman Jerzy Jazłowiecki. Separate jurisdiction was an important feature of the new Cossack register, as was its durability: in 1575 and 1576, there was still a unit of 300 Cossacks in the royal service receiving payment from the state treasury.[33]

In 1578, the new king of Poland, Stefan Batory, recruited a new unit, now numbering 500 Cossacks, to take the place of the old one, which had evidently disintegrated because of the non-payment of wages. This unit was to serve in the Livonian War, for which the Cossacks were to receive a higher wage; after the war, they were to revert to regular pay, as in the times of Zygmunt August. Batory's proclamation, which established the principles on which the new register was to be drawn up, somewhat reduced the status of the Cossack unit. It was no longer subordinate to the Crown hetman but to the starosta of Kaniv and Cherkasy, Mykhailo Vyshnevetsky. Nevertheless, the proclamation increased the size of the unit and established continuity between the old and new registers, as well as consistency in the official policy of assigning wages for the Cossacks and exempting them from the jurisdiction of the local authorities. In 1582, in response to Cossack complaints about restrictions on their rights, Batory issued a proclamation to border palatines and officials

[30] On this, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 79–82.

[31] See Lep"iavko, *Ukraïns'ke kozatstvo*, pp. 15–32.

[32] See the text of the proclamation in *AIuZR* (1863): pt. 3, vol. 1, no. 3 (p. 6).

[33] On the Cossack register in the times of Zygmunt August, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 110–12.

confirming that the Cossacks were under separate jurisdiction and forbidding the imposition of taxes or death duties upon them, thereby asserting the right of the Cossacks to pass on their property by inheritance. This proclamation later became the basis of Cossack claims to their particular rights and freedoms.[34]

In recruiting Cossacks for state service and exempting those enrolled in the register from taxes and other obligations, Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory were doing nothing unusual by the standards of the time. Many European rulers of the day were creating militias to defend their borders and fight neighboring powers. In 1533, an armed militia was recruited from the local population in Urbino, in 1560 in Ferrara, in 1566 in Piedmont, and in 1588 in England (where the most battle-ready units were specially trained and separated from the others in 1573). In Croatia, which bordered on the Ottoman Empire, as did Ukraine, a reform of the *granicari* (military border settlers) was carried out in 1578, and the border strip became a separate military administrative unit. Peasants and burghers recruited for military service were usually exempt from taxation and particular labor obligations; they also acquired certain privileges with respect to the administration of justice.[35]

The rulers' decision to arm their subjects was not, however, free of controversy. This policy aroused heated debate in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe. There was, first of all, the danger of revolt on the part of armed militias. Although Justus Lipsius wrote that only tyrants had reason to fear their own people, while Giovanni Botero called on rulers to provide military training for their subjects, such advice was greeted with skepticism by the rulers themselves. In the German lands, for example, the first armed militias were established only in the last two decades of the sixteenth century for fear of revolt by an armed peasantry. It was generally considered that militias could be rather effective in defending their native lands from enemy attack, but that they would be unreliable in military operations in foreign lands or at an appreciable distance from their home territory. As for police functions, which the militias were also expected to fulfill, their loyalty to the ruler depended on

[34] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 117–24. For a discussion of the importance of Batory's policy toward the Cossacks, see Aleksander Jabłonowski, 'Kozaczyzna a legitymizm. Dwie legendy polityczno–historyczne Ukrainy—batoryańska i baturyńska', *Ateneum* (Warsaw) 3 (1896): 246–70; A. V. Storozhenko, *Stefan Batorii i dneprovskie kazaki*; Włodzimierz Jarosz (Volodymyr Iarosh), 'Legenda Batoryańska. Krytyczny szkic z dziejów Zaporoża', *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 17 (1903): 596–616; Vasyl' Domanyts'kyi, 'Chy bula reforma Batoriia?' in *Naukovyi zbirnyk prysviachenyi profesorovi Mykhailovi Hrushevs'komu uchenykamy i prykhyl'nykamy z nahody ioho desiatylitn'oï naukovoï pratsi v Halychyni (1894–1904)* (Lviv, 1906), pp. 237–48; Ivan Kryp"iakevych, 'Kozachchyna i Batoriievi vol'nosti', *Zherela* 8 (1908) (=Materiialy do istoriï ukraïns'koï kozachchyny, vol. 1, Dokumenty po rik 1631): 1–46.

[35] See Hale, *War and Society*, pp. 73–4, 202–3; G. E. Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522–1747* (Urbana, Ill., 1960).

the extent to which they shared the aims and convictions of those engaged in rebellion or revolt. Thus the militias gave their first loyalty to their own communities and properties; only then could they be counted upon by one ruler or another.[36]

The formation and activity of various European militias has a good deal in common with the history of the Cossack register and Cossackdom's relations with the Commonwealth authorities. At the same time, there were significant differences between the militias of West European rulers and the Cossack units recruited into the service of the Polish kings. One of the most significant is that in the latter half of the sixteenth century, when the first registers were drawn up, the grand prince of Lithuania and, subsequently, the king of Poland did not require special Cossack detachments for the defense of their south-eastern borders. Conditions in the dangerous border area, where a Tatar raid could be expected at any moment, were such that the whole population was under arms; when danger struck, it mobilized in the defense of the border castles.[37] Ironically, the Cossack register was first established not to oppose Tatar attacks with Cossack might but to curb the Cossacks and stop them from provoking the Tatars and Turks, with whom Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory wished to maintain peaceful relations.

In recruiting Cossacks for state service and ordering them out of the lower Dnipro region, Zygmunt August was merely reacting to the demands of the Turkish sultan to put an end to Cossack harassment of the Tatar population. Batory was also largely responding to the sultan's threats in connection with Cossack campaigns against the Tatars and Moldavia. By renewing the Cossack register established by his predecessor, Batory in effect carried out the plan recommended to him by the Crimean khan, who advised that he take the best of the Cossacks into the royal service and punish the rest. Pursuant to this advice, one aspect of the king's strategy for curbing the Cossacks consisted of taking into his employ the registered Cossacks who had been recruited for the Livonian War, which removed the most battle-ready Cossack element from the steppe borderland. Furthermore, in 1578, the leader of a Cossack campaign against Ottoman-controlled Moldavia, Ivan Pidkova, was executed, and a punitive expedition organized by Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky was sent to the lower Dnipro region.[38] Thus, unlike militias in other European lands, the Cossack 'militia' was recruited not in order to defend the borderland from an external enemy but to avoid diplomatic and military conflict with the enemy.

[36] See Hale, *War and Society*, pp. 202–3, 249–50.

[37] See Shcherbak, *Formuvannia kozats'koho stanu*, pp. 18–19, 26–7.

[38] For a more detailed account of the establishment of the first registers, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 108–12, 117–24.

The growth of the Cossacks' military significance in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the success of their struggle with the Tatars were due at least in part to the military revolution that swept Europe in the early modern period. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, the large-scale adoption of firearms increased the importance of the infantry. Infantrymen armed with muskets gradually displaced the nobiliary (gentry) cavalry, the traditionally small medieval armies began to increase rapidly with the addition of infantrymen, and European rulers required ever greater numbers of infantry musketeers. This revolution in the art of war increased the significance of militias in Western Europe and enhanced the role of the Ukrainian Cossacks in Commonwealth military campaigns of the early seventeenth century. As infantrymen bearing firearms displaced mounted warriors armed with swords, lances, or bows, the Ukrainian Cossacks, who were predominantly infantrymen, became more successful in their struggle with the steppe nomads and the Crimean Tatars, who fought mainly on horseback. The use of gunpowder should therefore be regarded as one of the major preconditions for the colonization of the Ukrainian steppe and the growing power of Ukrainian Cossackdom.[39]

Among other reasons for the growth of the Cossack phenomenon, one should note the specific policy of the Commonwealth government with respect to the defense and administration of the steppe borderland. To defend this territory, the government at first relied mainly on the standing army, initially established in 1562 for the defense of Galicia and Podilia and supported by one-fourth (*kwarta*) of the revenues from the royal domains, as well as on diplomatic measures to maintain peace with the Crimea and the Ottomans. As a rule, the Polish cavalry was more effective than the Cossack infantry in checking Tatar attacks. Nevertheless, given the small size of Poland's standing army, the Cossacks automatically became the major protagonists in steppe warfare with the nomads. Given the Polish nobility's ever-increasing tendency to deny the king funds for military campaigns and to ignore his appeals for participation in levies *en masse*, the royal administration never managed to develop an effective defense system that could dispense with Cossack participation.[40]

[39] On the military revolution in early modern Europe and its consequences, see Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1992); Jeremy A. Black, *A Military Revolution? Military Change and European Society, 1500–1800* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., and Basingstoke, 1991); William H. McNeill, *The Age of Gunpowder Empires* (Washington, D.C., 1989).

[40] On the defense of the Polish and Lithuanian steppe frontier, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 16–31; Matei Cazacu, 'À propos de l'expansion lituanienne au nord de la Mer Noire aux XIVe–XVIe siècles: Czarnigrad, la "cité noire" de l'embouchure du Dniestr' in *Passé turco-tatar, présent soviétique*, pp. 99–123; Ludwik Kolankowski, 'Obrona Rusi za Jagiellonów na przełomie XV i XVI wieku' in *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Bolesława Orzhechowicza*, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1916), pp. 475–80; Jerzy Ochmański, 'Organizacja obrony w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim przed napadami tatarów krymskich w XV–XVI wieku', *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 5

Even so, throughout most of the sixteenth century, the authorities sought not so much to deploy the Cossacks for border defense as to curb and neutralize Cossack zeal in the struggle with the Tatars.

The consequences of this border policy on the part of the Commonwealth authorities become particularly apparent when one compares it with the attitude of the Muscovite government to the defense of its steppe frontier. Here the border problem traditionally attracted special attention from governing circles, which found it necessary to mobilize extensive human and material resources for border defense and had the capacity to do so. The system of castles and fortifications that became known as the defensive line (*zasechnaia cherta*) not only helped to prevent Tatar attacks on Muscovy from the steppe but also entailed a special role for the government in promoting Muscovite expansion to the south and east. The Russian Cossacks were part of this process, but owing to the state's leading role in the defense and colonization of the steppe areas, they remained a rather marginal borderland phenomenon as compared with their comrades on the Dnipro.[41] The particular features of the Commonwealth's political organization and the relative weakness of its military machine were thus among the important factors that turned Ukrainian Cossackdom into the most dynamic force on the 'great frontier'.

From Cossack Register to Corporate Estate

For the most part, the Cossack army proved relatively inexpensive to the state treasury, but the price that the whole Commonwealth had to pay for the services of this army, both in the international arena (where it was

(1960): 349–98; Marek Plewczyński, 'Udział jazdy obrony potocznej w walkach na południowowschodnim pograniczu Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1531–1573', *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 26 (1983): 111–42. On the *kwarta*, see *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, ed. Zygmunt Gloger, 4 vols. (Warsaw, 1900–3; repr. Warsaw, 1972), 3: 127–8.

On the defense system, see the following works: O. S. Hrushevs'kyi, 'Pytannia oborony zamkiv V. Kn. Lytovs'koho v XVI v.', *Zbirnyk Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 46 (1928): 1–9; Ievfym Sichyns'kyi, 'Oboronni zamky zakhidn'oho Podillia XIV–XVII st. Istorychno-arkheolohichni narysy', *Zapysky Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 17 (1928): 64–160; O. Mal'chenko, 'Typolohiia zamkovykh ta mis'kykh fortyfikatsiinykh system na pivdennoskhidnomu ukraïns'komu porubizhzhi (kinets' XIV—seredyna XVII st.)' in *Naukovi zapysky. Zbirnyk prats' molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv*, no. 1 (Kyiv, 1996), pp. 5–23; id., 'Oboronna systema Podillia, Bratslavshchyny, Kyïvshchyny ochyma suchasnykiv (XV–XVIII st.): ohliad naratyvnykh dzherel', ibid., pp. 24–48.

[41] On Muscovite defenses in the steppe borderland in the early modern period, see A. A. Novosel'skii, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s tatarami v pervoi polovine XVII veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1948); V. V. Kargalov, *Na stepnoi granitse: oborona 'krymskoi ukrainy' Moskovskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1974); Carol Belkin Stevens, *Soldiers on the Steppe: Army Reform and Social Change in Early Modern Russia* (DeKalb, Ill., 1995). On the Russian Cossacks, see A. L. Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina v Rossii: kazachestvo na perelome istorii* (Moscow, 1990); N. A. Minenkov, *Donskoe kazachestvo na zare svoei istorii* (Rostov-na-Donu, 1992).

always necessary to guard against Cossack actions capable of provoking a war) and at home (given the damage caused by Cossack revolts), considerably exceeded the savings realized by the treasury.

The second half of the 1580s was marked by the growth of Cossack campaigns on land and sea against the dominions of the Ottoman Empire, drawing a sharply negative reaction from Istanbul, which began to threaten the Commonwealth with a major war. In an atmosphere of growing danger from the Turks, the Commonwealth Diet adopted a special resolution concerning the Cossacks of the lower Dnipro and Ukraine in 1590, and in the following year the king introduced an ordinance (*ordynacja*) that established new conditions of Cossack service. It provided for a Cossack force of a thousand men to be maintained in the steppe, beyond the settled area, not only to protect the borders against Tatar expeditions but also to prevent the remaining Cossacks from undertaking expeditions against Ottoman domains. A castle was to be built on the middle Dnipro for this Cossack detachment, but because the Turkish danger passed temporarily and the treasury lacked funds to pay the wages of the registered Cossacks, the ordinance of 1591 remained mainly a statement of intent. Cossackdom, however, required the government's continued attention, and soon its activity turned from the state's outer limits to its interior.[42]

Having increased in numbers and military significance, the Cossack Host decided to settle accounts at home, primarily with its godfathers, the Ukrainian princes. They were developing large landholdings in Ukraine and forcibly annexing to them not only Cossack foraging grounds but also royal land grants to the petty nobility. One of the nobles wronged in this way was the Cossack leader Kryshtof Kosynsky, whose holdings, recently granted by the king, were claimed by the Ostrozky family. Toward the end of 1591, Kosynsky led a Cossack revolt that began with an attack on Bila Tserkva, the residence of the local starosta, Janusz Ostrogski (Ianush Ostrozky). Soon the rebels took over the largest fortresses in the region, including the town of Pereiaslav on the Left Bank of the Dnipro. They seized the artillery in the castles and forced the local population to swear allegiance to the Cossack hetman. Kosynsky's attempts to extend the revolt westward, especially his foray into Volhynia, led the local nobility to mobilize under the leadership of Janusz Ostrogski and his father, Kostiantyn. In February 1593, rebel units were defeated by the forces of the Ostrozkys near the small town of Piatka, and Kosynsky had to retreat to Zaporizhia. In May of the same year, a new army raised by Kosynsky was defeated by Prince Oleksander Vyshnevetsky at

[42] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 132–8.

Cherkasy, while the rebel leader himself perished under mysterious circumstances.[43]

A characteristic trait of Kosynsky's uprising was the royal court's avoidance of intervention in the conflict between the Cossacks and the prince-magnates. The latter also invested little hope in the central authorities: after the Battle of Piatka, for example, Kosynsky was given a letter to sign in which he apologized on behalf of the Cossacks not to the king or the Commonwealth, as one might expect, but to Kostiantyn Ostrozky in person. Similarly, after the Battle of Cherkasy, Oleksander Vyshnevetsky consented to a rather liberal settlement with the Cossacks, even though the resolutions of the Diet of 1593 amounted to a call for their extermination.

The peasant masses, partly spurred to participation in the revolt by the famine of 1591–2, became an important source of recruits for Kosynsky's forces. Peasants and burghers also played a considerable role in the next Cossack uprising, which was led by Severyn (Semerii) Nalyvaiko and lasted from 1594 to 1596. To some extent, one may speak of the existence of two quite separate movements in this period: one headed by Nalyvaiko, in which the leading role was played by Cossackized burghers and peasants; and another under the leadership of Hryhorii Loboda and Matvii Shaula, in which pride of place went to the old Cossacks of the lower Dnipro. There was no clear plan of action, and the rebels alternated campaigns against Moldavia and Hungary with pillage deep in the settled area, including the Kyiv region, Podilia, Volhynia, and Belarus. Some of these actions took place with the joint participation of Nalyvaiko's men and the Zaporozhians, while other campaigns were undertaken independently. Friction and disagreement between the two groups, which had existed from the outset, became especially acute in the camp on the Solonytsia River, where the rebels were surrounded in May 1596 by forces under the command of Crown Field Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski. At first Nalyvaiko's men took the upper hand, and their opponent, Loboda, was executed by order of the Cossack council. Subsequently, however, the 'old' Cossacks took their revenge by agreeing to Żółkiewski's demand that the leaders of the uprising, including Nalyvaiko and Shaula, be handed over. Nalyvaiko's men attempted to defend their leader, but he was seized, surrendered to Żółkiewski, and executed in Warsaw the following year.[44]

[43] On the course of the uprising, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 139–50; Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, pp. 99–142; Serhii Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny kintsia XVI st. v Ukraïni* (Chernihiv, 1996), pp. 45–92.

[44] On the course of the Nalyvaiko revolt, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 155–80; Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, pp. 143–204; Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, pp. 93–224. For a survey of source publications and secondary literature on the Cossack wars of the 1590s, see the bibliographic note with my supplement in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 458–61.

The Nalyvaiko and Kosynsky uprisings led to the loss of the special rights and privileges previously conferred on the registered Cossacks, but the loss proved temporary. The military and political situation in which the Commonwealth found itself at the beginning of the seventeenth century favored a rapprochement between the Cossacks and the central authorities, which meant a 'rehabilitation' of Cossackdom and the restoration of some of its rights and privileges. A need for additional military contingents was created first by Commonwealth intervention in Moldavian affairs and then by the new war in the Baltic region, and the Cossacks were glad to be of service to the Warsaw government. These campaigns were followed by the Time of Troubles in Muscovy, in which the Ukrainian Cossacks played an even more important role. Cossack contingents also proved useful in 1618 during Royal Prince Władysław's campaign against Moscow.[45]

The growth of Cossackdom was not, however, an unalloyed foreign-policy benefit to the Commonwealth, for it also created significant problems in the international arena. Frequent Cossack attacks on the Crimea and the Black Sea littoral of Turkey (including surprise assaults on Istanbul in 1615 and 1620) led to a worsening of Commonwealth relations with the Ottomans and forced the Polish–Lithuanian government to seek ways of curbing the unruly Cossacks. This was the prime objective of the official commissions that negotiated with the Cossacks in 1614, 1617 and 1619. Their efforts proved unsuccessful, and an Ottoman–Polish war broke out in 1620, largely as a result of Cossack seagoing expeditions.[46] The war began badly for the Commonwealth with a devastating defeat at Ţuţora in the autumn of 1620. In the following year, at Khotyn,

[45] On Sahaidachny's campaign against Muscovy, see Kazimierz Tyszkowski, 'Kozaczyzna w wojnach moskiewskich Zygmunta III (1605–1618)', *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 8 (1935): 37–85; id., 'Aleksander Lisowski i jego zagony na Moskwę', *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 5 (1932): 1–28. For contemporary accounts of the campaign, see *DRA*, nos. 52–171; 'Relacja Sahajdacznego z wyprawy na Moskwę w r. 1618', *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 8 (1935): 117–19.

[46] Ukrainian Cossack military expeditions against the Ottomans are discussed in Mihnea Berindei, 'La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues, 1600–1637', *HUS* 1, no. 3 (September 1977): 273–307; Iu. A. Mytsyk, 'Novye dannye o chernomorskikh pokhodakh zaporozhskogo kazachestva protiv Osmanskoi imperii i Krymskogo khanstva v kontse XVI—pervoi polovine XVII v. (na materialakh arkhivokhranilishch PNR)' in *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v basseine Chernogo moria v drevnosti i srednie veka*, ed. Iu. Korolev (Rostov-na-Donu, 1986), pp. 126–37; Victor Ostapchuk, 'An Ottoman *Ġazānāme* on Halīl Paša's Naval Campaign against the Cossacks (1621)', *HUS* 14, nos. 3–4 (December 1990): 482–521; Viktor Ostapchuk and Oleksandr Halenko, 'Kozats'ki chornomors'ki pokhody u mors'kii istoriï Kiatiba Chelebi "Dar velykykh muzhiv u voiuvanni moriv"' in *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu Iaroslava Dashkevycha z nahody ioho 70-richchia*, ed. Ihor Hyrych *et al.* (Lviv, Kyiv, and New York, 1996), pp. 341–426; S. N. Plokhii (Plokhy), 'Papskie diplomaty o chernomorskikh pokhodakh zaporozhtsev nakanune i v khode Khotinskoi bitvy' in *Torgovlia i moreplavanie v basseine Chernogo moria v drevnosti i v srednie veka*, ed. Iu. Korolev (Rostov-na-Donu, 1988), pp. 101–7; Iu. P. Tushin, *Russkoe moreplavanie na Kaspiiskom, Azovskom i Chernom moriakh* (Moscow, 1978).

Commonwealth forces managed to turn the tide of the conflict by defeating an army led by the Turkish sultan Osman II. The victory was due in no small measure to the successful mobilization of Cossack forces. The Cossacks managed to field an army of almost 40,000 men under the command of Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny that decided the outcome of the campaign.[47]

Having grown in strength in the wars with Muscovy and the Ottoman Empire and proved their usefulness to the state, the Ukrainian Cossacks now demanded new privileges and concessions from the authorities. They also continued to intervene in foreign conflicts. In the first half of the 1620s, the Cossacks became actively involved in Crimean affairs, backing one pretender to the khan's throne against another. Nor did they cease their expeditions on the Black Sea, which damaged the Commonwealth's relations with the Ottomans and gave rise to the threat of another large conflict with Istanbul.[48] Not until 1625 was the Polish–Lithuanian government finally able to begin putting a curb on the Cossacks. Armed encounters took place between Polish and Cossack forces in the Dnipro region, and after several clashes near Lake Kurukove, they signed an agreement that left many Cossacks dissatisfied, but still greatly expanded the Cossack rights and privileges recognized by the central government and increased the Cossack register to 6,000 men.[49]

On the basis of the Kurukove agreement, Hetman Mykhailo Doroshenko divided the Cossack Host into six regiments, designating regimental towns and territories for them. After Kurukove, the Cossack presence in the settled area took on definite organizational forms; in some measure, it institutionalized the differences and disparities already apparent by that time between the registered Cossacks in the settled area

[47] On the Battle of Ṭuṭora, see Ryszard Majewski, *Cecora. Rok 1620* (Warsaw, 1970). The Khotyn campaign is discussed in Leszek Podhorodecki and Noj Raszba (Noi Rashba), *Wojna chocimska 1621 roku* (Cracow, 1979) and Leszek Podhorodecki, *Chocim 1621* (Warsaw, 1988). On Cossack participation in the Khotyn War, see Agnieszka Biedrzycka and Janusz Kaczmarczyk, 'Kozacy zaporoscy w wojnie chocimskiej 1621 roku' in *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.* (Kyiv, 1998), pp. 62–80.

[48] On Cossack intervention in international politics, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 398–411; Ivan Kryp"iakevych, 'Kozachchyna v politychnykh kombinatsiiakh 1620–1630 rr.', *ZNTSh* 117/118 (1913): 65–114; Bohdan Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629* (Łódź, 1948). On the participation of Cossack detachments in the events of the Thirty Years' War, see Alexander Baran and George Gajecky, *The Cossacks in the Thirty Years War*, 2 vols. (=*Analecta OSBM*, section 1, vols. 24, 42) (Rome, 1969–83).

[49] On the Cossacks in the second half of the 1620s, see Stepan Rudnyts'kyi, 'Ukraïns'ki kozaky v 1625–30 rr. Krytychno-istorychna rozvidka', *ZNTSh* 31 (1899): 1–76. On the Kurukove commission, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 425–39; Michał Antonow, 'Rola Stanisława Koniecpolskiego w przygotowaniu komisji kurukowskiej' in *Prace historyczne wydane ku uczczeniu 50-lecia Akademickiego koła historyków Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza 1878–1928* (Lviv, 1929), pp. 265–79; Oleksander Baran, 'Kozaky pid frantsuz'kym praporom v kuruts'kim povstanni', *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 10, nos. 37–8 (1973): 107–11.

and the Zaporozhians of the lower Dnipro. During the Nalyvaiko uprising, it was the Zaporozhians who had represented the conservative aspect of Cossackdom, rather favorably inclined to the government, while the settled area had been the hotbed of the most radical stratum—new recruits to Cossackdom from the towns and villages. In the 1620s, by contrast, the settled area became the abode of the more established and comparatively prosperous Cossacks, while Zaporizhia turned into the base of the poor Cossacks and a center of social protest. One of the reasons for this change was the successful colonization of the Dnipro region in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, which allowed Cossacks already established on the middle Dnipro to turn their previous foraging areas into lucrative properties, while burghers and peasants newly arrived from the interior of Ukraine and Belarus had to go far beyond the Rapids to ply the Cossack trade.

Friction between the town Cossacks and the Zaporozhians became apparent during the hetmancies of Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny and Mykhailo Doroshenko, who had to compete for the hetman's mace with candidates from the Zaporozhian rank and file. These differences grew especially acute during the Cossack uprising of 1630. On the eve of the revolt, a crisis of dual power emerged among the Cossacks: Taras Fedorovych became hetman in Zaporizhia, while Hryhorii Chorny held the same office in the settled area. The government recognized and supported Chorny, who took action against those Cossacks who opposed the authorities and found refuge beyond the Rapids, striking them from the register. The Zaporozhians responded with a foray into the settled area, where they captured Chorny and executed him. Soon the uprising spread to the Korsun, Kaniv, and Pereiaslav regions. The local population supported the rebels, not least because of the government's decision to billet Polish soldiers in Ukraine, while the registered Cossacks vacillated between the government and the rebels. At first, some 3,000 registered Cossacks joined the Crown army, but later, during the Battle of Korsun, most of them went over to the Zaporozhians, leaving only an insignificant remnant with the Polish army commanded by Stanisław Koniecpolski. After protracted engagements between Polish and Cossack forces, a treaty that amounted to a *de facto* Cossack victory was signed at Pereiaslav in May 1630, increasing the register to 8,000 men.[50]

[50] On the 1630 Cossack revolt, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 10 vols. (repr. New York, 1954–8), vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 45–73, 107–29; Władysław Tomkiewicz, 'Powstanie kozackie w r. 1630', *Przegląd Powszechny* 187 (1930): 104–28; Mykhailo Antonovych, 'Pereiaslavs'ka kampaniia 1630 r.', *Pratsi Ukraïns'koho istorychno-filolohichnoho tovarystva v Prazi* 5 (1943): 5–41; K. G. Guslistyi (K. H. Huslystyi), 'Krest'iansko-kazatskie vosstaniia na Ukraine v 30-kh godakh XVII veka' in *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei, 1654–1954. Sbornik statei*, ed. A. I. Baranovich *et al.* (Moscow, 1954), pp. 66–7; Golobutskii, *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo*, pp. 204–10.

The treaty did not, however, put an end to discontent among the Cossacks. This was best indicated by the subsequent actions of Fedorovych, who remained dissatisfied with the conditions of the compromise and set off for Zaporizhia, and then for the Don, at the head of a detachment of Zaporozhians. Although Cossack participation in the Commonwealth's wars with Muscovy (1632) and Sweden (1635) provided something of an outlet for their energy, the inability of the state treasury to pay for their services was a constant source of discontent in the Cossack milieu. The construction of a Polish fortress above the Rapids at Kodak (1635), which blocked the Dnipro route to the Black Sea, increased that discontent even more. An early warning of the coming storm was a Cossack attack on Kodak, which was seized and destroyed by a detachment led by Ivan Sulyma. The registered Cossack officers, seeking to maintain peace with the government, handed over Sulyma, who was executed in Warsaw after a trial at the Diet, but that did not prevent the outbreak of another Cossack war in 1637.[51]

The new revolt also began in Zaporizhia, where the unruly Cossacks were headed by Pavlo But (Pavliuk), who had led an expedition to the Crimea not long before. At first his agitation in the settled area proved extraordinarily effective: the registered Cossacks arrested their hetman and chancellor and handed them over to the rebels for execution. But the fortunes of war soon turned against the rebels. After an unsuccessful battle at Kumeiky, the Cossacks had to submit to Crown Field Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, who appointed a new hetman for the registered Cossacks. Meanwhile, Zaporizhia remained in rebel hands. In 1638, it was the source of a new Cossack revolt headed by Iakiv Ostrianytsia and Dmytro Hunia, and once again it ended in a Cossack defeat. Cornered by Potocki at a camp on the Starets River, the Cossacks had to accept the burdensome conditions of a new agreement with the Commonwealth. The ordinance of 1638 reduced the Cossack register to 6,000 and placed it under strict Polish control: the commissioner who headed the registered army and all the colonels were now to be appointed by the king from among the Polish nobility. The fortress at Kodak was rebuilt in 1639, and for ten long years, until the outbreak of the uprising led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648, the so-called 'golden peace' held sway in Ukraine. It seemed that the Commonwealth authorities had finally succeeded in bringing the recalcitrant Cossacks to heel.[52]

[51] On Cossack participation in Commonwealth wars of the first half of the 1630s, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 201–19; Oleh Tselevych, 'Uchast' kozakiv v Smolens'kii viini 1633–4 rr.', *ZNTSh* 28 (1899): 1–72; B. N. Floria, 'Nachalo Smolenskoi voiny i zaporozhskoe kazachestvo' in *Mappa Mundi*, pp. 443–50. On the history of Kodak, see Aleksander Czołowski, *Kudak, przyczynki do założenia i upadku twierdzy* (Lviv, 1926).

[52] On the Cossack revolt of 1637–8, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 258–317; Władysław Tomkiewicz, 'Ograniczenie swobód kozackich w roku 1638', *Kwartalnik*

Even though the registered Cossacks were indeed brought under the control of the central administration after the failed uprisings of 1637–8, by the end of the 1630s Cossackdom had been largely transformed into a corporate estate with its own particular rights and privileges that had to be acknowledged and maintained even in the ordinance of 1638. How did this happen? An analysis of the Cossack demands advanced in the course of their uprisings and negotiations with the government commissioners in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries makes possible a partial reconstruction of the process whereby the Cossacks came to regard themselves as a separate order and negotiated (in the postmodern sense of the term) their entry into the social structure of the Commonwealth. By the same token, Polish responses to these demands and official attempts to 'regulate' the Cossack question give a good idea of the extent to which the Commonwealth government was prepared to accept or reject Cossackdom as a corporate estate at any particular time.

Regardless of the multiformity and variability of Cossack relations with the authorities, there was a large measure of inner continuity between the problems raised and discussed in negotiations between the two sides, which may be provisionally divided into three general categories. The first consisted of questions pertaining to the Cossacks as unruly privateers and hired soldiers in the service of the Commonwealth. The second and, significantly, much larger category consisted of problems associated with the Cossacks as a new corporate estate that was just coming into existence within the traditional social structure of the Polish–Lithuanian state. Questions of a religious and national character made up the third category of problems put forward and discussed in the course of Cossackdom's relations with the government. Here we shall consider only the first two categories, as problems of religion, culture, and nationality will be discussed in separate chapters below.[53]

Historyczny 44 (1930): 125–75; id., 'Bitwa pod Kumejkami (16.XII.1637)', *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 9 (1937): 239–61; V. E. Shutoi, 'Kanun osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–54 gg.: krest'iansko-kazatskoe vosstanie na Ukraine 1637–38 gg.', *Istoricheskie zapiski* 46 (1954): 23–77; Guslistyi, 'Krest'iansko-kazatskie vosstaniia', pp. 69–76; Golobutskii, *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo*, pp. 222–49.

[53] A detailed account of these relations is given in the appropriate chapters of Hrushevs'kyi's *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vols. 7 and 8. The following account of Cossack demands and of their negotiations with the Commonwealth authorities is based on the historical studies and sources cited below.

A general survey of the complicated relations between the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ukrainian Cossacks in the first two decades of the seventeenth century is given by Władysław Serczyk, 'The Commonwealth and the Cossacks in the First Quarter of the Seventeenth Century', *HUS* 2, no. 1 (March 1978): 73–93. The text of the ordinance of 1591 is published in *AIuZR* (1863): pt. 3, vol. 1, no. 11. For the text of the Cossack agreement with Oleksander Vyshnevetsky, as cited in a letter from Józef Wereszczyński to Janusz Zamoyski, see A. V. Storozhenko, *Stefan Batorii*, pp. 307–9. The documents of the commission of 1614 are reproduced in *Zherela* 8 (1908), nos. 107, 108; *AIuZR* (1863): pt. 3, vol. 1, no. 58; those of the

Let us begin with questions pertaining to the first of the above-mentioned categories. One of the leitmotifs of Cossack negotiations with the government throughout the period under discussion was the problem of Cossack seagoing expeditions. Their campaigns against Turkish dominions on the Black Sea littoral and land-based expeditions against the Crimea, Moldavia, and Wallachia created problems for the Commonwealth similar to those afflicting West European states of the period in their relations with privateer armadas. Such forces took part in naval action on the Mediterranean or on the Atlantic on the side of their king, but upon the conclusion of peace, they would refuse to give up the armed aggression that brought them profits and sustained their way of life.[54] Almost every Diet constitution on the Cossack question stressed the need to stop unsanctioned Cossack campaigns against neighboring states. The Diet of 1590 and the government ordinance adopted as a result of its decisions in 1591 attempted to put an end to Cossack aggression against the Turks and Tatars. In 1614, the royal commissioners again demanded that the Cossacks cease attacking the Commonwealth's neighbors; the demand was repeated by the commissions of 1617 and 1619.

At Khotyn, having rendered the Poles a very considerable military service, the Cossacks asked for the right to hire themselves out to other Christian rulers as well. The Kurukove agreement of 1625, however, not only prohibited seagoing expeditions and alliances with other states but also called for the burning of Cossack boats and forbade the construction of new ones.[55] Prohibitions on sea campaigns against Turkish possessions often proved dangerous for the interior regions of the Commonwealth, to which the Cossacks would repair in search of 'billets and quarters'. Such expeditions would end with the Cossacks not only robbing the local gentry and the burgher élite, but also rousing the poor townspeople and peasants to revolt. Then the officials would hasten to remind the Cossacks that their obligation was to make war on the infidels, not on their own country, and such appeals would close the vicious circle of Commonwealth policy toward the Cossacks.

commission of 1617 in *AIuZR* (1863): pt. 3, vol. 1, no. 41; *Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego*, ed. August Bielowski (Lviv, 1861), pp. 311–22, 515–18; those of the commission of 1619, ibid., pp. 330, 334, 362–3. The texts of the Cossack petition drawn up at Khotyn in 1621 and of the instructions to the Commonwealth commissioners are in *Zherela* 8, nos. 152, 153. For the documents of the Kurukove commission and the agreement of 1625, see *Zbiór pamiętników do dziejów polskich* 6: 149–241; *AIuZR* (1863): pt. 3, vol. 1, no. 78. The records of the negotiations of 1630 are given in *Zherela* 8, nos. 215–18. For a discussion of the Diet ordinance of 1638, see Tomkiewicz, 'Ograniczenie swobód kozackich w roku 1638'.

[54] See Hale, *War and Society*, pp. 80–1.

[55] As early as the following year, 1626, the Cossacks asked the Diet to permit them to accept payment from Muscovy for the release of captives. In fact, the point at issue was probably that of the Cossacks undertaking expeditions against the Crimea and the Turks at the behest of Muscovy. See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 23.

The case of the Kodak fortress, which was rebuilt by the government in 1638 and effectively curbed the Cossack expeditions along the Dnipro to the Black Sea, shows how difficult were the choices that confronted the government in its dealings with the Cossacks. After the ordinance of 1638, which provided that the fortress at Kodak should be rebuilt and manned with a hired garrison, the Ukrainian Cossacks adopted a new tactic and began to make more active use of the Don route, first to the Sea of Azov and then across the Strait of Kerch to the Black Sea. Until the fortress of Azov (Oziv, Azak) was lost by the Don Cossacks and Zaporozhians to the Turks in 1642, it served as the point of departure for their joint sea campaigns.[56] With the Turkish seizure of Azov, the Cossacks were effectively cut off from the sea, but the Commonwealth had to pay dearly for this achievement. During the Khmelnytsky Uprising, the Cossacks, reinforced by the Crimean Tatars and to some extent by the Ottomans as well, turned their energies on the state itself, against the very government that seemed at last to have resolved the painful dilemma of Cossack expeditions to the menacing Ottoman Empire.

Closely linked with the Cossack seagoing expeditions were problems pertaining to relations between the government and Cossackdom as a military unit in the service of the Commonwealth. An important question affecting the central government's relations with the Cossacks was that of the payment of wages (*żołd*), which were traditionally promised by Commonwealth officials but almost never paid on time, if at all. The establishment and disbursement of wages was constantly at the heart of Polish–Cossack negotiations. The government had to agree to progressive pay increases to the Cossacks (along with increases in the register), from 10,000 zlotys in 1614 to 40,000 in 1619, then to 50–60,000 in 1621, and 60,000 (with a separate payment to the officers) in 1625. But the money was not paid, or paid with delays, which led to incessant Cossack complaints. Delays in the payment of wages were among the factors that gave impetus to almost every Cossack revolt. Typically, the first justification offered for the Kosynsky revolt took the form of complaints against the government for its inability to pay the registered Cossacks their due wages. This was the burden of the letter that Kosynsky wrote to his comrades in August 1591 from the town of Pykiv, which he had taken. He informed them that the government was in no hurry to disburse funds and was delaying the matter until winter set in; accordingly, Kosynsky called on the Cossacks to inform government representatives that they could no longer await payment, but would have to fend for themselves.[57]

[56] See Brekhunenko, *Stosunky*, pp. 222–34.

[57] *Listy Stanisława Żółkiewskiego*, ed. T. X-że L. [Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski] (Cracow, 1868), p. 22. On the date of Kosynsky's letter, see Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, p. 56.

Chronic insolvency and inability to pay the registered Cossacks their due wages was not a problem for the Cossacks alone. It was often faced by Polish soldiers as well, and the Kosynsky and Pavliuk uprisings were preceded by soldiers' confederations.[58] Revolts of unpaid mercenaries were an everyday occurrence in war-ravaged early modern Europe (in the Netherlands alone there were forty-six such uprisings on the part of Spanish soldiers between 1572 and 1607), and the Commonwealth was no exception to the rule. Revolts of this kind often turned into long-term arrangements in which the rebels managed to stabilize the conduct of daily life on the territory they controlled, including taxation of the local population, a distinct system of regulations and penalties, the election of a leader, and so on. Many of these features were also characteristic of Cossack revolts.[59]

Another important element that related the Cossack wars to the revolts of mercenaries and soldiers was the demand to provide the Cossacks with grain and winter quarters in periods between military campaigns. Insistence on Cossack rights to 'billets and quarters', reinforced by complaints about the non-payment of promised wages, was an important component of Cossack relations with the authorities throughout the period under consideration. The first complaints against the Cossacks for demanding provisions from private estates even though they had undertaken military campaigns spontaneously, and not on the king's orders, are dated as early as the beginning of the 1580s. The ordinance of 1591 dealt with this matter, stating that provisions were to be sent to the Cossacks on the lower Dnipro, and that they were to be denied billets and quarters of any kind in the settled area. The Cossacks, naturally, ignored this order, as is apparent from Kosynsky's decision to collect duties from the population on the territory controlled by his forces. The duties were then distributed to the Cossacks for their maintenance (along with the portion of wages disbursed by the government).[60]

Severyn Nalyvaiko, for his part, attempted to explain and justify Cossack actions in the settled area by citing the right of the Cossack Host to winter quarters and provisions. Since his units had returned from their campaign against Moldavia by that time, Nalyvaiko, who treated the campaign as a service to the Commonwealth, represented Cossack assaults on towns and nobiliary properties in Volhynia and Belarus precisely as efforts to secure military provisions prior to a new expedition in the king's service. Hryhorii Loboda, the leader of the Lower Dnipro Cossacks, also insisted on their right to remain in the settled area after the conclusion of a campaign.

[58] See Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, pp. 53–4; O. A. Bevzo, ed., *L'vivs'kyi litopys i Ostroz'kyi litopysets'. Dzhereloznavche doslidzhennia*, 2nd edn. (Kyiv, 1971), p. 117.

[59] See Hale, *War and Society*, p. 171.

[60] See Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, pp. 56–7, 70.

After the Cossacks had 'rehabilitated' themselves for the actions of Kosynsky and Nalyvaiko by taking part in the Livonian campaign of 1602, they began to take 'quarters' by force in Belarus, and their hetman, Ivan Kutskovych, stated that the king had allegedly given them Mahilioŭ and the entire Dnipro region to the south of it for 'billets' in return for their services. After the Khotyn War of 1621, the Cossacks also demanded that 'quarters' be granted them and that Polish soldiers not be billeted in the Kyiv region. Not surprisingly, in demanding quarters for themselves even as they protested the posting of soldiers to their own lands (in Ukraine), the Cossacks found themselves in a highly ambiguous situation. Their demands of this and later periods combined the psychology and agenda of mercenaries with the demands of a settled population whose properties suffered from the quartering of other military forces. The complicated relations between Cossackdom and the Commonwealth government in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were determined, however, not only by the standoff between a mercenary army and a government unable to pay its wages. Most important in this connection was the relationship between a new corporate estate growing in numbers and influence and a weak elective monarchy dependent on the support of traditional social strata. As J. R. Hale notes, the goal of military revolts was 'not revolution but blackmail', and the rebels 'protested against the failure of authority to protect working conditions, not against social systems or war aims'.[61] Cossack uprisings, by contrast, generally had a much broader agenda, as indicated by their clear social demands.

Let us begin our examination of the social aspect of the Cossacks' differences with the authorities by considering the problem of Cossack self-government. Quite early on, it came to center on the question of the election or appointment of the Cossack hetman or leader. Cossack tradition, fully manifested in the course of Cossack uprisings and negotiations with the government, called for the election of the leader. The authorities, who had organized the Cossack register first and foremost in order to establish effective control over the Cossacks, took the position that their leader should be appointed. In the days of Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory, leaders of the registered Cossacks were appointed, but during the wars of the 1590s, the Cossacks acted exclusively under the leadership of hetmans elected by them. After the defeat of those uprisings, in an effort to rehabilitate themselves, the Cossacks asked the government to appoint a commissioner for them, but in time, feeling more sure of themselves, they revived the practice of electing their hetmans and soon began to demand that the government confirm this right once again.

[61] Hale, *War and Society*, pp. 171–2.

Thus, the condition laid down by the government commission of 1614 on royal appointment of the Cossack leader was effectively rejected by the Cossacks. During the commission of 1617, the Cossacks proposed a compromise—the government was to confirm the leader elected by the Cossacks themselves—but at the meeting of the subsequent commission in 1619, they had to agree to the appointment of the leader by the authorities, even though the actual appointment was postponed to the next Diet. In responding to the Cossack petition after the Khotyn War, the king again insisted on his right to designate the hetman. Only at Kurukove was the government forced to change the formula and accept the earlier Cossack proposal: the leader was to be elected by the Cossacks and confirmed in office by the government. The failed uprisings of 1637–8 then deprived the Cossacks of the victory they had won at Kurukove. According to the ordinance of 1638, the principles of Cossack democracy and self-government were set aside, and the registered army came under strict official control: the king now appointed not only the Cossack leader (a commissioner) but also the Cossack colonels, who were selected exclusively from Commonwealth nobiliary circles.

The right of the Cossacks to be judged by their own officers was another disputed issue in their troubled relations with the government. The right to a separate Cossack jurisdiction in all cases except criminal ones had been guaranteed them by directives dating back to Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory. The ordinance of 1591 also confirmed the separate jurisdiction of the registered Cossacks. The Cossacks' agreement of 1593 with Oleksander Vyshnevetsky shows a clear effort on their part to extend this privilege to Cossackdom as a whole and to expand its application from the lower Dnipro region, as provided by the ordinance of 1591, to the settled area, as in the times of Zygmunt August and Batory. The failure of the revolt led by Nalyvaiko and Loboda was a great setback to the realization of this Cossack demand, but by no means removed it from the agenda of Polish–Cossack relations. In 1600, when the Cossacks' participation in the Moldavian campaign was being negotiated, they demanded confirmation of the liberties granted by Batory. The Cossack leader Samiilo Kishka made representations for this, as well as for the appointment of a special commissioner (that is, an official directly responsible for the administration of justice to the Cossacks) before the Diet of 1601. The king promised to appoint a special judge for the Cossacks, extending Cossack rights to those prepared to take part in the Livonian campaign. He also recognized the jurisdiction of the Cossack leader over his men while on campaign. In the settled area, however, Cossacks were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the local starostas. That restriction was reinforced by a Diet resolution of 1607 that did not recognize Cossack jurisdiction in the settled area (either in the royal domains or on nobiliary

holdings). The same position was taken in a Diet resolution of 1609 that nevertheless implied the *de facto* existence of separate Cossack courts in the settled area. The commission of 1614 also denied recognition of the Cossacks' right to separate jurisdiction.

It was only the turbulent rise of Cossackdom during the first two decades of the seventeenth century and the need for their services in the war with Muscovy that forced the Commonwealth government to make concessions. The commission of 1619 not only increased the Cossack register but also acknowledged the separate jurisdiction of the registered Cossacks on royal domains in the settled area. The Kurukove agreement of 1625 had confirmed the Cossacks' right of separate jurisdiction on the lower Dnipro and in the royal domains, but not on private estates, as they had demanded since the end of the Khotyn War. Not surprisingly, the Cossacks were in no hurry to fulfill their old promises to depart from private estates for the royal domains, and effectively availed themselves of their own jurisdiction there as well.[62] The ordinance of 1638, while assigning exclusive jurisdiction over the Cossacks to a royal commissioner, generally upheld the principle that the Cossacks were not subject to local authority. Thus, as a result of protracted armed conflicts and difficult negotiations, the registered Cossacks acquired the right of separate jurisdiction, but their numbers and territory of residence were strictly regulated by the ruling circles.

The question of economic privilege also played an important role in Cossack relations with the government. From the very beginning, the Cossacks insisted on special hunting and fishing rights. Even Stefan Batory's well-known proclamation of 1582 had been issued as a result of Cossack complaints that royal officials were infringing on these 'liberties' of theirs. Later the Cossacks continually raised demands that the liberties granted by Batory be confirmed, and after Khotyn they requested special permission to hunt and fish at will.[63] At Kurukove the government found itself obliged to grant the Cossacks the right to practice trades, engage in commerce and sell liquor, and later the Cossacks asked for a special royal privilege to that effect. Another painful question in relations between the Cossacks and the Commonwealth government was that of the *vidumershchyna*—the right of the Cossacks, guaranteed since the times of Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory, to pass on their property as an inheritance. Since royal officials were constantly attempting to claim this property, the Cossacks insistently demanded their right to *vidumershchyna*. In time, the issue receded into the background (the government

[62] Soon afterwards, at the Council of Pereiaslav (1627), the Cossacks were already demanding special rights in their lawsuits with the nobles, who were evidently extending their jurisdiction over those Cossacks who had not departed from their properties.

[63] The king referred the matter to starostas and municipal officials for decision.

evidently managed to obtain compliance with this Cossack right from the starostas), while that of recognizing the entitlement of Cossack widows and children to Cossack rights—that is, establishing such rights as valid not only for the duration of an officially sanctioned campaign, and as pertaining not only to the Cossack, but also to his entire family, even after his death—grew more acute.

Surprisingly enough, these demands were effectively recognized in the ordinance of 1638, which was otherwise disastrous for the Cossacks. The cadastre of Cossack landholdings and proprietors, which was to serve as the basis for the subsequent recruitment of the registered Cossack Host, not only acknowledged the entitlement of Cossack families to Cossack rights, but also recognized Cossackdom as a distinct hereditary order of landowning warriors.[64] Despite considerable restrictions on Cossack self-government and the effective subordination of the register to government officials, the ordinance of 1638 represented a distinct victory for Cossackdom as a corporate estate. All that the government sought to do under the circumstances was to restrict the new estate in numerical and social terms. Especially significant with regard to the latter restriction were the points of the ordinance prohibiting Cossacks from residing in towns and owning municipal land (the only exceptions were Korsun, Cherkasy, and Chyhyryn) and forbidding burghers to join the Cossack Host, enroll their sons in it, or permit their daughters to marry Cossacks. From the very beginning, burghers had been an important source of new recruitment, as they lived alongside Cossacks in castles and forts, which gave them unlimited opportunities to enter Cossack ranks. This provision of the 1638 ordinance followed the line taken by the commission of 1617. At that time, the government had made the specific demand (accompanied by a list of urban professions and trades) that burghers be barred from the Host and prohibited from enrolling in Cossack units in the future.

In the course of its dealings with the Cossacks, the Commonwealth government generally sought to limit the number of registered Cossacks, as they not only required payment but were also supposed to enjoy special rights and privileges. What the Commonwealth ruling circles wanted was an inexpensive (at times even unpaid) army that was ready to be mobilized at any moment. Under these conditions, every mobilization of the Cossacks for war was accompanied by promises of payment and the granting of special rights, while every termination of military operations

[64] Initially, in the eyes of the government and, to all appearances, in the eyes of the Cossacks themselves, there were no specific Cossack rights of landownership. As a rule, royal land grants pertained to noble servitors in the registered army. Rank-and-file Cossacks and Cossack officers of non-noble origin had the same rights as other non-noble landholders, most notably burghers and boyars (Shcherbak, *Formuvannia kozats'koho stanu*, pp. 74–5).

was followed by attempts to disband the Cossacks without paying the promised wages and decreasing (if not entirely abolishing) the Cossack register. The Cossacks, for their part, made use of every military campaign to regain (and often enlarge) their former rights and privileges and, above all, to increase the number of registered Cossacks eligible to enjoy those rights. They usually referred to the privilege granted by Stefan Batory, who had first established a list of Cossack rights and liberties, as well as to freely interpreted royal letters of intent, Diet resolutions, and ordinances. The government, for its part, almost always sought to limit Cossack privileges to the duration of military campaigns and to the Cossacks whose names were entered in the register. Conversely, the Cossacks maintained that privileges once granted were permanently valid.

The question of the number of Cossacks in the register was one of the most difficult in relations between Cossackdom and the Commonwealth government. In general, the register showed a tendency to expand. At first it increased from 300 Cossacks under Zygmunt August to 500 under Stefan Batory. The ordinance of 1591 attempted to keep it to 1,000 men, but by 1600 there were already 4,000 taking part in the Moldavian campaign, and 6,000 in the Livonian campaign of 1602. The numbers increased even more during the early seventeenth-century expeditions against Muscovy. This trend notwithstanding, the commission of 1617 attempted to bring the number of registered Cossacks back down to 1,000. The Cossacks refused, as they had every reason to do. By the following year, Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny had already fielded an army of 20,000 men for participation in the Muscovite War. The commission of 1620 had to take this into account and proposed to limit the register to 3,000. The Cossacks replied that they had already dropped 5,000 men from the register, while the rest were to be maintained out of the salary assigned to 3,000 registered Cossacks. Thus the question of how many Cossacks were to remain enrolled in the register was never settled.

In return for their participation in the Khotyn War, in which the Cossacks mustered an army of 40,000, they asked the king to increase the official register, but the reply from Warsaw was negative. Not until the clash of the Cossack and Commonwealth armies at Kurukove (1625) was the register officially increased to 6,000. After the Cossack uprising of 1630, Stanisław Koniecpolski had to agree to a register of 8,000, but this figure was not ratified by the Diet, which agreed only to 7,000. The defeat of the uprising of 1636–7 led to the ordinance of 1638, which again reduced the register to 6,000. As may be judged from data about the number of Cossack forces in the Muscovite and Khotyn Wars, the number of registered Cossacks was at least ten times less than the total of battle-ready men, but Cossackdom attempted to treat the rights extended to those enrolled in the register as rights of Cossacks in general.

What were the social roots of Cossack demands on the Commonwealth government, and who influenced their social and political agenda? It is safe to say that if the growth of Cossackdom was due to the influx of burghers and peasants, in ideological terms the Cossacks most resembled the boyars, the least prestigious element of the military-service stratum of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and subsequently of the Commonwealth, which found itself excluded from the noble order in the process of the latter's formation. In the opinion of Serhii Lepiavko, it was precisely the boyars who, by joining Cossack ranks *en masse* in the latter half of the sixteenth century, infused Cossackdom with certain elements of their social ideology, most notably an emphasis on the rights and privileges that were their due as 'knightly men' rendering military service to the state.[65] Following the adoption of the Lithuanian Statute (1566) and the Act of the Union of Lublin (1569), the boyar servitors found themselves excluded from the noble order and deprived of the privileges accorded the 'noble lords'. The Union of Lublin gave definitive form and legal expression to the rights of the noble order on the whole territory of the Commonwealth, extending the rights of the Polish nobility to the ruling stratum of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Ukrainian lands.

The ideology and social identity of the Cossacks must also have been influenced by members of the petty nobility, whose nobiliary rights were not fully recognized by the government, and who were rather well represented in Cossack ranks. Although Crown Field Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski asserted in the course of the Nalyvaiko uprising, which was characterized by broad peasant participation, that the rebels were seeking to destroy the noble order as a whole,[66] the ideology of the Cossack officers was more pro-nobiliary than anti-nobiliary in the sense that the officers were demanding for themselves certain rights and privileges equivalent to those of the nobility.[67]

The references to knightly rights in the records of the Polish–Cossack negotiations carried on by the Kurukove commission (1625) and the Cossacks' efforts to take part in the election of the new Polish king (1632) may be considered the clearest attempts on the part of Cossackdom to approximate the status of the nobility. In 1632, following the death of Zygmunt III, the Cossacks appealed to the primate of Poland with a letter in which they effectively claimed the right to take part in the election of the new king. The letter noted that 'all together and unanimously we

[65] See Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, pp. 33–43. Nevertheless, the 'boyar theory' of the origins of the Cossack estate presented here cannot be considered fully proven. This applies, *inter alia*, to Lepiavko's postulate about the government's treatment of the Cossacks as a 'remnant of the old knightly order' (p. 38).

[66] See *Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego*, p. 151.

[67] For more detail on this, see Ch. 4 of the present work.

should choose and enthrone by free election . . . the most illustrious Władysław'. The Cossacks also 'humbly' asked the primate that Royal Prince Władysław, with whom they were well acquainted from the Khotyn campaign, become the 'Lord of the Kingdom of Poland and of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania'.[68]

A similar formula was repeated in the letter of 9 June 1632 from the Zaporozhian Host to the Convocation Diet. Here the Cossacks wrote that as members of the Commonwealth, they humbly and submissively requested Władysław's election to the Polish throne.[69] Mute evidence of the Cossacks' desire to take part in the election of the king is also contained in the request, included in the instructions to their delegation, that the 'freedoms belonging to knightly men' be granted them at last.[70] At a private audience, the Cossack envoys gave clearer expression to the desire of the Cossack officers to participate in the king's election, only to be rebuffed with an answer that was not only negative but demeaning.[71] By the beginning of the seventeenth century the era of social mobility was a historical relic, military service was no longer being rewarded with land grants, and the rare instances of attainment of noble status were taking place on an individual basis.

The Cossack State

The spring of 1648 saw the outbreak of a new revolt in Zaporizhia that was fated to bring about a fundamental change in the status of Cossackdom and its relations with other elements of Ukrainian society, as well as to involve Cossackdom in the process of state-building, thereby altering state boundaries and the international balance of power in Eastern Europe. At the head of the uprising was a captain from Chyhyryn (after the revolt of 1638, Cossacks were not allowed to assume ranks above that of captain) named Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Descended from the Cossackized petty nobility, Orthodox by religion, Khmelnytsky managed to transform the Cossack revolt into a mighty revolution that swept up all strata of Ukrainian society, from the traditional burgher and peasant allies of Cossackdom to the more cautious higher Orthodox clergy and the nobility, which was generally ill-disposed to the Cossacks. At the same time, the Khmelnytsky Uprising displayed aspects of a peasant revolt, a religious

[68] S. T. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki (Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia)*, 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1883–98), vol. 1, appendixes, p. 402.

[69] See the text of their letter of 9 June 1632, ibid., pp. 403–5.

[70] See the text of the instructions in the appendix to the Cossacks' letter of 9 June 1632, ibid., pp. 405–7.

[71] Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik*, 1: 125, 135.

war, and a regional insurrection against the center; it was also an outstanding example of the close association of political, social, religious, and national elements in the rebellions of the mid-seventeenth century.[72]

The military success of the uprising in its initial stage was achieved through Khmelnytsky's alliance with the Crimean Khan Islam Giray III. In May 1648, with the support of the Noghay Horde led by the khan's vassal Tughay Bey, Khmelnytsky twice defeated the standing army of the Commonwealth (at Zhovti Vody and Korsun), taking prisoner the Crown grand and field hetmans, the military leaders of the Kingdom of Poland. The Cossack victories triggered a peasant war, and during the summer of 1648 the uprising quickly engulfed the settled area. In addition to the Kyiv and Chernihiv palatinates of the Commonwealth, it spread to the Right Bank of the Dnipro. In September, the allied Cossack and Crimean forces routed a large Polish army at Pyliavtsi. After this, the rebel army proceeded westward, laying siege to Polish garrisons at Lviv and Zamość, which meant crossing the Polish–Ukrainian ethnic boundary. In November 1648, having obtained the election of Jan Kazimierz, a candidate acceptable to the Cossacks, to the Polish throne, Khmelnytsky stopped his westward advance and, returning to the Dnipro region, ceremonially entered the ancient princely capital and center of the Orthodox metropolitanate, the city of Kyiv. Thus the Cossack hetman took charge of a territory that had not previously been touched by Cossack revolts, while his military exploits exceeded the boldest expectations of his predecessors.[73]

[72] On the typology of early modern revolts, see Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, UK, 1984), 1: 3–60. For a discussion of the nature of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, see Frank Sysyn, 'War der Chmel'nyćkyj-Aufstand eine Revolution? Eine Charakteristik der "grossen ukrainischen Revolte" und der Bildung des Kosakischen Het'manstaates', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 43, no. 1 (1995): 1–18.

The Khmelnytsky Uprising has a rich historiographic tradition. A survey of the current state of research undertaken by Ukrainian scholars is presented by Iurii Mytsyk in 'Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu 1648–1658 rr. (pidsumky, problemy i perspektyvy doslidzhennia)' in *Bytva pid Korsunem i natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina seredyny XVII stolittia* (Korsun'-Shevchenkivs'kyi, 1998), pp. 27–59. On research into the sources for the history of the uprising, see his *Dzherela z istoriï Natsional'no-vyzvol'noï viiny ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII st.* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1996).

Since the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and the passing of the Soviet interpretation of the Khmelnytsky Uprising as a war for the 'reunification' of Ukraine with Russia, the 'statist' interpretation has become dominant (and, to some extent, official) in Ukrainian historiography, with particular emphasis on state-building and the national element of the uprising. The greatest achievement of 'statist' historiography in this field remains the work of Ivan Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho'.

The current treatment of the Khmelnytsky Uprising in Ukraine is represented by the works of Valerii Stepankov and Valerii Smolii. See Valerii Stepankov, 'Ukraïns'ka natsional'na revoliutsiia XVII st.: prychyny, typolohiia, khronolohichni mezhi (dyskusiini notatky)' in *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 53–61; Valerii Smolii and Valerii Stepankov, *Ukraïns'ka natsional'na revoliutsiia (1648–1676 rr.)* (= *Ukraïna kriz' viky*, vol. 7) (Kyiv, 1999), pp. 69–197.

[73] On the events of the first year of the uprising, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*,

What influence, if any, did this staggering success have on the ideology, demands, and self-assessment of the Cossack order? Let us begin to address this question by examining the Cossack claims that were used to legitimize the commencement of the Cossack war of 1648. Like the first Cossack revolt led by Kryshtof Kosynsky, the Khmelnytsky Uprising began with a personal confrontation between a nobiliary Cossack officer and a royal administrative office. The issue in 1648, as in 1591, was that of the seizure by the starosta's office of an earlier land grant to a Cossack leader. There were considerable differences, however, between these ostensibly similar cases. In rousing the Cossacks to revolt, Khmelnytsky, unlike Kosynsky, could appeal to a well-developed array of Cossack rights and liberties. If, for example, Kosynsky called on the Cossacks to revolt because of a delay in the payment of wages, for Khmelnytsky this violation of the contract between the government and the hired Cossack army was clearly of secondary importance: the non-payment of wages for a whole five-year period was far from the first claim advanced by the Cossacks at the start of the Khmelnytsky Uprising. The main emphasis was on the government's infringement of the rights of Cossackdom as a corporate estate.[74]

The claims of Cossackdom as a whole were most fully presented by Khmelnytsky in instructions to envoys of the Zaporozhian Host who were dispatched to Warsaw after the first rebel victories of June 1648.[75] The document stressed first and foremost that the Cossacks were 'knightly men', servants of the king, hence the tenants (*derzhavtsi*) of royal domains had no right to treat them as slaves. Firstly, the starostas and tenants were alleged to have taken land from the Cossacks and imposed taxes on them. The second charge was violation of the corporate privileges of members of Cossack families: before the uprising, widows, regardless of age, had been obliged either to remarry into the Cossack order or to

vol. 8, pt. 2, pp. 174–95; pt. 3, pp. 5–121; Stepan Tomashivs'kyi, 'Mizh Pyliavtsiamy i Zamostiam', *Zherela* 6 (1913): 1–144; id., 'Narodni rukhy v Halyts'kii Rusi 1648 r.', *ZNTSh* 23–4 (1898): 1–138; id., *Pershyi pokhid Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho v Halychynu (Dva misiatsi ukraïns'koï polityky, 1648 r.)* (Lviv, 1914); Valerii Smolii and Valerii Stepankov, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. Sotsial'no-politychnyi portret* (Kyiv, 1993), pp. 70–150; Ivan Storozhenko, *Bytva na Zhovtykh vodakh*, 2nd edn. (Dnipropetrovsk, 1997); id., *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i voienne mystetstvo u vyzvol'nii viini ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia*, vol. 1, *Voienni diï 1648–52 rr.* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1996), pp. 79–210; Fedoruk, *Zovnishn'opolitychna diial'nist'*, pp. 5–42.

[74] Khmelnytsky's transition from complaints of a personal nature (the seizure of his estate) to a list of grievances of the Cossack order as a whole is well exemplified in the letters that he wrote in the spring of 1648. See *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho, 1648–57* (=*DBKh*), ed. Ivan Kryp"iakevych and I. L. Butych (Kyiv, 1961), nos. 1–2, 4–6. On the development of the aims of the revolt during 1648, see Fedoruk, *Zovnishn'opolitychna diial'nist'*, pp. 5–42; Mytsyk, 'Politychni kontseptsiï Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho'; Smolii and Stepankov, *Ukraïns'ka derzhavna ideia*, pp. 24–45.

[75] *DBKh*, no. 5.

perform labor obligations. The same had applied to parents whom the Cossacks took into their families in order to look after them: the Cossacks had to pay duties to the lord for them as non-Cossacks or perform labor obligations on their behalf. The Cossacks also complained about the colonels appointed by the government, who swindled them instead of protecting them and left them defenseless against the exactions of the soldiers.

Thus, in the settled area, the main problems were the advance of the large latifundia (in this connection, Cossacks first made mention of Jewish leaseholders, who had earlier been absent from their petitions)[76] and the non-recognition of Cossackdom as a corporate estate enjoying specific privileges. In Zaporizhia, the problems were the prohibition of sea campaigns (effectively prevented by the Poles and Ottomans by means of the fortresses at Kodak and Azov) and the taxation of Cossack trades. Not only were the Zaporozhians forbidden to go to sea but the proceeds of their hunting and fishing were also taxed, and their war booty was taken away, along with their Tatar captives.

To what did the Cossacks aspire in June 1648 after their first brilliant victories over the standing army? Aside from putting an end to the violations of Cossack rights about which they had complained, they demanded an increase of the register from 6,000 to 12,000 men, the right to elect their own officers, the payment of their overdue wages, and an end to the persecution of the Orthodox Church. In many ways, this was the traditional list of Cossack claims, reinforced by the demand for a large expansion of the register. Characteristically, the Commonwealth authorities, taken aback by the unexpected success of the uprising, were inclined to accept most of the Cossack demands (if worst came to worst, even the 12,000-man register) in order to stop the war.[77]

In November 1648, after the catastrophic defeat of the Polish forces at Pyliavtsi and the advance of the rebel army to Zamość, the Cossacks dispatched another embassy with new demands to Warsaw. Here they again insisted on the confirmation of a register of 12,000 and asked for the abolition of the standing army in Ukraine, as well as for a free hand in foreign policy. Almost all the points advanced by the Cossacks pertained exclusively to themselves, leaving aside the peasants, burghers, nobility, and other participants in the uprising. In practice, they were seeking new conditions for their incorporation as a corporate estate into a somewhat reformed Commonwealth. According to the new Cossack demands, the hetman was to become a royal starosta and the Cossacks were to be

[76] For references to Jewish leaseholding in Khmelnytsky's correspondence, see *DBKh*, nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7.

[77] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, pp. 24–7.

exempted from any jurisdiction other than that of the king himself, thereby obtaining nobiliary rights at least in the courts. The Cossacks demanded the same judicial rights as those of the Tatars in Lithuania, and, as the Polish note on the matter stated explicitly, the Lithuanian Tatars were subject to nobiliary jurisprudence.[78]

Demands of a broader nature pertaining to political, religious, and national issues were presented at almost the same time in a letter from Khmelnytsky to Royal Prince Jan Kazimierz. Formulated as requests and petitions to the future king, they came down to two postulates: the establishment of the king's authoritarian rule, with concomitant limitations on the power of the border lords or 'kinglets'; and the accommodation of the Orthodox religion through the abolition of the Union.[79] To be sure, not all elements of Cossack ideology or aspirations were reflected in diplomatic sources. Moreover, much of the Cossack battery of ideas may either have been deliberately brought forward or intentionally passed over in silence during the negotiations, depending on the military situation or the current plans of the hetman's administration. Polish observers, for example, constantly suspected that Khmelnytsky was not prepared to end the rebellion and was hatching plans far more ambitious than those elaborated in his letters and embassies.[80] One such plan, according to the information of Polish governing circles, was that of establishing a separate Cossack principality.

Such a project had been in the air since the 1590s. At that time, the Catholic bishop of Kyiv, Józef Wereszczyński, had proposed the creation of a Cossack principality in the Dnipro region to protect the Commonwealth from Tatar attack. In 1596, the notion of demarcating a territory between the Southern Buh and Dnister rivers for the organization of a Cossack army had been advanced by the Cossack rebel leader Severyn Nalyvaiko.[81] Throughout the 1610s and 1620s, some (including King Zygmunt III himself) had accused the Cossacks of making efforts to establish a separate Commonwealth.[82] Not surprisingly, in the summer of 1648, the spectacular achievements of the Cossack uprising revived old fears among the Polish nobility, alarmed by Khmelnytsky's triumphs, that the creation of a Cossack polity was in the offing. Rumors began to circulate among the nobility and government officials of Khmelnytsky's creation of a 'free Cossack principality' and of the establishment of a

[78] These Cossack demands are recorded in point form in Marcin Goliński's notes. See an extract from this source in *DBKh*, pp. 83–4.

[79] See *DBKh*, pp. 80–1.

[80] See Smolii and Stepankov, *Ukraïns'ka derzhavna ideia*, p. 34.

[81] For an account of Wereszczyński's proposal, see Sas, *Politychna kul'tura ukraïns'koho suspil'stva*, pp. 259–80. For more detail on these projects, see ibid., pp. 223–35, 270–80.

[82] See Smolii and Stepankov, *Ukraïns'ka derzhavna ideia*, p. 16.

'Ruthenian monarchy', and the examples of the Netherlands and the Neapolitan revolt of 1647 were recalled.[83]

The first reliable evidence that the idea of sovereignty was current in the Cossack officer milieu dates from February 1649, when Khmelnytsky received a Commonwealth mission in Pereiaslav that had been dispatched to arrange a truce. In response to the government's proposal to increase the official register to 12,000 or even 15,000 and set out on a campaign beyond the borders of the Commonwealth, Khmelnytsky presented a much broader and more ambitious agenda for the new stage of the uprising. In particular, he stated that just as he had earlier fought to avenge his personal injustice, so he would now fight for the Orthodox faith and liberate the whole nation of Rus' from Polish bondage. As the source of his strength and the social base for the realization of his plan, he indicated the common people, 'for this is our right hand—people who, having been unable to endure slavery, have gone to the Cossacks'. Khmelnytsky promised to drive the princes and nobles beyond the Vistula, permitting only those to remain who would accept the authority of the Zaporozhian Host and not 'buck' in the king's direction.[84]

The boundary of the hypothetical Cossack realm was determined by the western limits of Ukrainian ethnic territory, extending as far as Lviv, Kholm, and Halych, or even Lublin and Cracow. Khmelnytsky's goal was to establish a 'sovereign principality' within the Commonwealth, that is, to realize intentions of which the hetman had long been suspected by Polish observers. The hetman referred to himself on one occasion as 'sole ruler and autocrat of Rus'' and on another as 'lord and palatine of Kyiv', but in both cases he was speaking of unlimited, God-given authority ('God gave it to me, and, what is more, through my sword') over the territory taken by the Cossacks.[85] Cossack tradition was represented in Khmelnytsky's project by the idea of establishing the rule of the Zaporozhian Host over the whole territory controlled by the Cossacks. At the same time, because the hetman's plan did not provide for a complete break with the Commonwealth, this also reflected the Ruthenian nobility's dreams of a new order that would create a Ruthenian polity within the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Considering the exigencies of diplomatic negotiations and the specific character of the source that recorded Khmelnytsky's words during the Pereiaslav commission (the diary of the Commonwealth envoys), it is difficult to determine to what extent these words reflected the hetman's immediate plans as opposed to his desire to stir up the worst fears of Commonwealth politicians. After all, having presented the Commonwealth commissioners with the prospect of the further development and

[83] Ibid., pp. 26–34. [84] *VUR*, 2: 108–9. [85] *VUR*, 2: 108, 111.

institutionalization of the uprising, Khmelnytsky in fact agreed to much more modest conditions for an armistice with the Commonwealth. He accepted the royal banner and mace from the commissioners and declared his own loyalty and that of his whole Host to the king and the Commonwealth. The truce conditions considerably limited the territory under the hetman's control, which was off limits to Polish forces, as well as to the royal administration and the nobility. The boundaries of this territory followed the Horyn and Prypiat rivers, extending to Kamianets–Podilskyi in the south-west.[86] This was clearly the territory to which Khmelnytsky referred as an established sovereign state (*udzielne odzierżane państwo*)[87] when he told the commissioners that he did not know whether peace could be preserved if the Cossacks should prove unsatisfied with the 'state' they had obtained and a register of 20,000–30,000.

Although the actual conditions put forward by Khmelnytsky at Pereiaslav were far more modest than the maximum program of creating a sovereign principality with its border at the Vistula, they were also intended to establish Ukrainian autonomy in the Commonwealth, and in that respect they went much further than traditional Cossack demands. There was no mention not only of sea expeditions (these were in fact renounced) or of the payment of wages, but even of the size of the register. Khmelnytsky rejected the commissioners' proposal to attach a specific figure to the Cossack register, asserting, 'why write in so few of them when there can be as many as a hundred thousand of them; there will be as many as I want'.[88] First and foremost were the questions of the boundary of the 'sovereign state', the defense of the Orthodox Church through the abolition of the Union, and the representation of Orthodox Rus' in the Senate. In his letter to the king upon the conclusion of the negotiations, Khmelnytsky devoted special attention to demands of a religious and national character. The king was asked to appoint a Kyivan palatine 'of the Rus' nation' and 'of the Greek rite', as well as to grant the Orthodox metropolitan of Kyiv a seat in the Senate so that there would be at least three representatives of Rus' in that institution—the Kyivan palatine, the castellan of Kyiv, and the Orthodox metropolitan.[89]

The new course of Cossack diplomacy, no longer oriented on the defense of the extraterritorial rights of Cossackdom as an order but of the rights of the territory controlled by the Cossacks as a separate (autonomous) polity, as well as the rights of the Orthodox Church throughout the Commonwealth, became fully apparent in the course of

[86] *DBKh*, pp. 103–4. [87] *VUR*, 2: 113. [88] *VUR*, 2: 110.

[89] *DBKh*, pp. 105–6. Some of these demands were formulated in Khmelnytsky's initial 'points' presented to the Commonwealth commissioners at Pereiaslav (see *VUR*, 2: 111–12).

negotiations with Polish politicians after the victorious Battle of Zboriv in August 1649. At Zboriv, Khmelnytsky almost succeeded in defeating the royal forces, led by the king himself. Only pressure from the hetman's unreliable ally, the Crimean khan, forced him to open negotiations with the king.[90] The most detailed point put forward by the Cossacks at Zboriv pertained to the Cossack register and the demarcation of Cossack territory. The Cossacks themselves undertook to establish the register on the territory that they controlled, but declined to specify the number to be enrolled in advance. The territory under their administration was to extend from the Dnister River to Bar and Starokostiantyniv, then along the Sluch and Prypiat rivers to the Dnipro, past the Dnipro from Liubech to Starodub, and then along the Muscovite boundary.[91]

By moving the western border to the east, from Kamianets to Bar and from the Horyn River to the Sluch, Cossack diplomacy was in fact making a concession to the Poles as compared with the conditions of the Pereiaslav truce. In the final draft of the Polish–Cossack agreement, formulated as a 'Declaration of Grace' on the part of Jan Kazimierz,[92] the western border of Cossack territory was shifted even further east, to Vinnytsia and Bratslav. Khmelnytsky also had to abandon claims to lands along the Prypiat and on the Left Bank. In general, the Zboriv negotiations proceeded under pressure from the Cossacks' unreliable ally, the Crimean khan, who forced the rebels to take a softer line on certain key questions than they had maintained at the Pereiaslav commission.

The number of registered Cossacks had to be limited to 40,000. The Cossacks were prohibited from selling liquor, since that right was reserved to nobiliary landowners. The king placed Chyhyryn 'under the mace' of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and promised to appoint Orthodox nobles to offices in the palatinates of Kyiv, Bratslav, and Chernihiv. Some of the Cossacks' religious demands were thus satisfied by the king, while others, such as the demand for abolition of the Union, were deferred to the Diet. The session of the Diet convened at the end of 1649 refused to outlaw the Uniate Church, but, more importantly for the Cossacks, recognized a separate Cossack polity, which it restricted territorially and militarily.

The Treaty of Zboriv proved only a temporary compromise in the

[90] For a detailed account of the Battle of Zboriv, see Storozhenko, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i voienne mystetstvo*, 1: 225–32.

[91] See *DBKh*, p. 128. By insisting on the demand (approved by the Pereiaslav commission) that the Prypiat River constitute the northern border of Cossack territory and establishing the course of that border on the Left Bank of the Dnipro, Cossack diplomacy was in fact affirming its claims not only to present-day Ukrainian territory then controlled by the Kingdom of Poland, but also to Belarusian lands in the south of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, especially on the right bank of the Prypiat and further, beyond the Dnipro.

[92] See the account of the Zboriv 'Declaration' in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, pp. 215–17.

Cossack war with the Commonwealth. Both sides were dissatisfied with its terms and merely bided their time until they could revise it to their advantage. The Zboriv agreement could not serve (indeed, did not even attempt to serve) as a viable model for the incorporation of the new Cossack polity into the Commonwealth. The Cossack administrative (regimental) system established in eastern Ukraine in the first year and a half of the war bore no relation to the traditional Polish system of palatinates and starosta districts. Khmelnytsky and his officers remained outside that system: the hetman did not become palatine of Kyiv, Bratslav, or Chernihiv. The transfer of Chyhyryn to his rule was more in accord with the older instance of granting the Cossacks Trakhtemyriv as their base than with any notion of including the Cossack hetman in the ruling élite or administrative structure of the Commonwealth. Nor were matters changed by the king's promise to assign offices in the three eastern palatinates to representatives of the Orthodox nobility. A true compromise was not attained not only because the Poles were not prepared for it but also because compromise was no longer acceptable to the Cossacks.[93] Khmelnytsky and his entourage now had their eyes on much broader horizons, described in general terms by the hetman at the proceedings of the Pereiaslav commission.

Regardless of the incongruity between the conditions of the Treaty of Zboriv and the actual victories achieved by Cossack arms in the campaigns of 1648–9, Zboriv marked an important advance for the Cossacks in their quest for international recognition of their polity and became a constant point of reference and benchmark for Cossack diplomacy. After Zboriv, difficult new ordeals awaited the Cossacks. Khmelnytsky's defeat at the Battle of Berestechko in June–July 1651, brought about by the treason of the Crimean khan,[94] led to the signing of the humiliating Treaty of Bila Tserkva in September of the same year. This treaty was a *de jure* abolition of Cossack 'sovereign' statehood, even if a *de facto* continuation was permitted in greatly restricted form. The Cossack register was reduced to 20,000, and the Cossacks were allowed to reside only in the royal domains of the Kyiv palatinate. The nobles gained the right to return to their holdings throughout Ukraine and to take over the collection of all revenues. Hetmans were to be confirmed in office by the king, and colonels by the hetman and the king. The Cossacks were prohibited from maintaining any

[93] In fact, the Cossack administration took over full authority on the territory controlled by the Cossacks. This was the burden of a letter from a Cossack captain, Sakhno Veichyk of Hlukhiv, who reprimanded the voevoda of Sevsk, Timofei Shcherbatov, as follows: 'you do not write to us but to the starostas and to the vice-starostas who fled across the Vistula three years ago now. And you do not write to our sovereign, Lord Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the hetman of the whole Zaporozhian Host, and Lord Martyn Nebaba, the colonel of Chernihiv, also of the Zaporozhian Host' (*VUR*, 3: 25–6).

[94] On the Battle of Berestechko and military action near Bila Tserkva, see Storozhenko, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i voienne mystetstvo*, 1: 233–72.

relations with foreign powers. In many respects, this was a throwback to the situation before the Khmelnytsky Uprising, and the Commonwealth commissioners made no particular attempt to conceal this in their efforts to limit the register to 6,000, or 8,000, or, at most, 12,000 Cossacks.[95]

An attempt was thus made to reduce the Cossacks once again to the status of a numerically limited corporate estate, but it was now too late for this. The clause of the Treaty of Bila Tserkva that forbade the Crown army to billet its soldiers in the Kyiv palatinate (or to proceed beyond Zhyvotiv in the Bratslav region before the register was drawn up) left the Cossacks in *de facto* control of the whole territory of the Kyiv palatinate, which thus became a 'sovereign' Cossack domain. Clearly, the Cossack leadership was not prepared to give up its 'state-building' role. Nor were the new conditions acceptable to the burghers and peasants who were to revert to royal and nobiliary jurisdiction. The Treaty of Bila Tserkva also deprived the Orthodox nobility of the right to hold office in the three eastern palatinates and canceled all grants of property made to the Orthodox Church during the Khmelnytsky Uprising.[96] Thus all Ukraine, not only Cossackdom, was dissatisfied with the treaty conditions, so that the renewal of hostilities was only a matter of time.

The Cossack Host took its revenge for the defeat at Berestechko as early as May 1652 at the Battle of Batih in Podilia. There, a Polish army of 30,000 was surrounded and completely destroyed; its commander, Crown Field Hetman Marcin Kalinowski, his son, and the flower of the Polish cavalry perished.[97] *De facto*, the victory at Batih meant that the conditions of the Treaty of Bila Tserkva no longer applied, but they remained in effect *de jure* until the siege of Zhvanets (also in Podilia), which lasted from September to December 1653. There the Crimean khan played a role similar to the one he had taken on at Zboriv in 1649. Rescuing the Polish army led by King Jan Kazimierz from imminent defeat, the khan refused to continue military action and opened negotiations with the Polish side. In the course of the Tatar–Polish negotiations, in which the Cossack took no formal part, a verbal understanding (not confirmed in writing) was reached to the effect that the status of Cossackdom should revert to the conditions laid down in the Treaty of Zboriv.

It is difficult to determine the meaning of the informal Polish–Cossack agreement reached at Zhvanets.[98] Some scholars construe them as a mere reversion to the Zboriv guarantees given to Cossackdom as an order, not

[95] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 352.

[96] See the text of the Treaty of Bila Tserkva, ibid., pp. 365–6.

[97] On the Batih campaign, see ibid., pp. 430–50; Storozhenko, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i voienne mystetstvo*, 1: 273–82.

[98] Hrushevsky surveys the sources on the Zhvanets agreement in his *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 711–16.

to the Cossack polity with the borders established at Zboriv.[99] Moreover, the lack of any text of the Polish–Tatar agreement, the Cossacks' refusal to participate in the negotiations, and the brief duration of the compromise (owing to the Zaporozhian Host's acceptance of Moscow's protectorate in January of the following year, 1654) make it impossible to ascertain the parameters of the Polish–Cossack understanding in detail. All that can be said with certainty is that both sides considered it to have been imposed upon them by circumstance, and neither regarded it as a lasting arrangement. The Polish side regarded the return to the Zboriv conditions as a defeat, while the Ukrainian side did not believe that the peace would last and, as shown by the subsequent agreement with Muscovy, aspired to much greater rights not only for the Cossack order, but also for the whole Cossack state.

The Cossack Council of Pereiaslav (January 1654), which announced that the Zaporozhian Host and its lands were coming under the 'high hand' of the Muscovite tsar, was the result of the Cossack élite's extensive search for international recognition of the Cossack state as a polity not subject to the Polish king. Khmelnytsky's policy toward Moldavia, beginning in the autumn of 1648 and continuing with his expeditions there in 1650, 1652, and 1653, as well as the marriage of his son Tymish to the daughter of the Moldavian hospodar, Vasile Lupu, gave evidence, among other things, of Khmelnytsky's persistent efforts to join the club of dependent East European rulers by way of a marital alliance.[100] The Crimea, Moldavia, and Wallachia, which were vassals of Istanbul, must have served as models for Khmelnytsky in his negotiations with the Turkish court, which led to the formal acceptance of the sultan's protectorate in 1651. The Ottoman protectorate over the Zaporozhian Host never materialized, but, if it had, the Host would have joined Istanbul's other vassal states in the region, thereby acquiring more or less well-defined rights and obligations with regard to its suzerain. Theoretically, this would have amounted to a considerable step forward in the recognition of Cossack statehood as compared with its indefinite legal status within the Commonwealth.[101]

[99] See Smolii and Stepankov, *Ukraïns'ka derzhavna ideia*, p. 81. Cf. Valerii Stepankov, 'Kam"ianets'ka uhoda i Pereiaslavs'ka rada: sproba doslidzhennia politychnykh naslidkiv zhvanets'koï kampaniï' in *Rosiis'ko-ukraïns'kyi dohovir 1654 r.: novi pidkhody do istoriï mizhnarodnykh stosunkiv* (Kyiv, 1995), pp. 6–13.

[100] On Khmelnytsky's plans to take the Moldavian throne as early as 1648, see Fedoruk, *Zovnishn'opolitychna diial'nist'*, pp. 24–5. For the fullest account of Khmelnytsky's policy toward Moldavia, see the appropriate chapters of Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vols. 8 and 9.

[101] On Cossack–Ottoman relations during the years of Khmelnytsky's rule, see the following works: V. V. Dubrovs'kyi, 'Pro vyvchennia vzaiemyn Ukraïny i Turechchyny u druhii polovyni XVII st.', *Skhidnyi svit* (Kyiv) 5 (1928): 172–83; id., 'Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i Turechchyna', *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, nos. 3–4 (1975): 22–7; Omeljan Pritsak, 'Soiuz Khmel'nyts'koho z Turechchynoiu 1648 r.', *ZNTSh* 156 (1948): 143–64; id., 'Shche raz pro soiuz Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho z Turechchynoiu', *Ukraïns'kyi arkheohrafichnyi shchorichnyk* (Kyiv), no. 2

On what conditions did Khmelnytsky and his entourage agree to accept Moscow's protectorate? The Council of Pereiaslav merely announced the agreement; its conditions were arranged in March 1654, when a representative Cossack delegation visited Moscow. The clauses of the agreement were initially proposed by the Cossack side, while the tsar, for his part, accepted, modified, or rejected particular points. The Cossack 'points', twenty-three in number, were presented in Khmelnytsky's letter of 17 (27) February to the tsar and became known in subsequent tradition as the 'Articles of Bohdan Khmelnytsky'.[102] Two of them pertained to the general recognition of the rights of all corporate estates, one to the confirmation of the proprietary and judicial rights of the nobility, one to the confirmation of the right of municipal officials to be elected from the local population, and one to the confirmation of the rights of the Kyivan metropolitan, which the Cossack envoys were also to discuss separately. Some of the points concerned immediate plans for military action, but most pertained to the rights of Cossackdom, the Cossack officers, and relations between the tsar and the Cossack polity.

Khmelnytsky requested an increase of the register to 60,000 Cossacks who would receive a stipend from the tsar. The hetman also wanted confirmation of the 'rights and liberties . . . of the Host' and separate jurisdiction for the Cossack order. Furthermore, the hetman's administration attempted to entrench and somewhat expand the rights of Cossackdom as an estate. The articles spoke not only of the old problem of extending Cossack rights to widows and children but also of recognizing the legal ownership of properties that had come into Cossack hands as a result of the uprising. As for the rights of the hetman himself and of the Cossack officers, the demands were also greater than those of previous years: the hetman was to obtain not only the town of Chyhyryn but the whole starosta district as well, and the rights requested for the officers included not only additional pay but also the granting of mills to be held *ex officio*. A separate proclamation was to be issued to confirm the corporate privileges of the Cossacks.

As for the status of the Zaporozhian Host under the protection of the tsar, the hetman promised to remain faithful to the tsar and serve according to his orders. The election of the hetman, however, was an internal

(1993): 177–92; Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, 'Comments on Three Letters by Khan Islam Gerey III to the Porte (1651)', *HUS* 14, nos. 1–2 (June 1990): 132–43; András Riedlmayer and Victor Ostapchuk, 'Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Porte: A Document from the Ottoman Archives', *HUS* 8, nos. 3–4 (December 1984): 453–73; Iu. A. Mytsyk, 'Dyplomatychne lystuvannia Osmans'koï imperiï, iak dzherelo do istoriï Vyzvol'noï viiny ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII st.' in *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia i gosudarstvennye struktury v Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope* (Zaporizhia, 1993), pp. 42–9; Fedoruk, *Zovnishn'opolitychna diial'nist'*, pp. 18–25; id., *Mizhnarodna dyplomatiia i polityka Ukraïny, 1654–7*, vol. 1, *1654 r.* (Lviv, 1996), pp. 63–123.

[102] See the text of Khmelnytsky's letter in *DBKh*, pp. 323–5.

Cossack affair: the tsar was merely to be notified of their choice of leader. External affairs remained under the control of the hetman, with the proviso that he inform the tsar about hostile measures of foreign rulers. The principal manifestation of subordinate status was to be the payment of tribute. Khmelnytsky's letter, making reference to tax-collection practice in other lands, proposed that the tsar be paid a predetermined sum based on the number of his subjects.[103] The tribute was to be collected by the Cossacks themselves, not by the tsar's voevodas, unless a 'voevoda' were to be appointed from among the locals. The boundaries of the Cossack state were not specified in the letter, although it appears from other correspondence of the time that the border between the Zaporozhian Host and Muscovy was to follow the Commonwealth–Muscovite border.

In return for his service, loyalty, and tribute, Khmelnytsky requested, besides confirmation of the above-mentioned conditions, the dispatch of tsarist forces to Smolensk against the Commonwealth, the posting of a unit of 3,000 men on the Cossack–Muscovite border, preparations for an attack on the Crimea with the joint forces of the tsar and the Don Cossacks in the event of hostilities on the part of the Horde, and the provision of supplies and matériel to the Kodak garrison and the Zaporozhians. Thus, the issue was that of the tsar's participation in the war, and, taken in isolation, could be treated as the establishment of conditions for a military alliance.[104]

How did the tsar and his advisers react to the conditions proposed by Khmelnytsky? In the charter issued to Khmelnytsky on 27 March 1654,[105] the tsar confirmed the 60,000-man register and all the corporate privileges of Cossackdom enumerated in the hetman's letter. Mention was

[103] By 'other lands', Khmelnytsky probably meant Moldavia or Wallachia. Cf. Andrii Iakovliv, *Dohovir Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho z Moskvoiu 1654 r.* (New York, 1954), p. 47.

[104] Later, following the Treaty of Vilnius between Muscovy and the Commonwealth in 1656, this gave Khmelnytsky a pretext to wage an independent campaign against Poland, and provided present-day historians with grounds to treat the Ukrainian–Muscovite pact as a mere military alliance.

In the opinion of Smolii and Stepankov, 'in content, the agreement most probably provided for a confederation of two states under the supremacy of the Romanov crown directed against foreign enemies' (*Ukraïns'ka derzhavna ideia*, p. 84). It is worth noting nevertheless that the points in Khmelnytsky's letter concerning the collection of tribute and the tsar's responses to those points cast doubt on such assumptions. For a critique of the interpretation of the Pereiaslav Agreement as an act of confederation, see Philip Longworth, 'Ukraine: History and Nationality', *Slavonic and East European Review* 78, no. 1 (January 2000): 115–24, here 117.

The older historiographic tradition on the Muscovite–Ukrainian agreement of 1654, including the views that it established vassal relations and a protectorate, are considered by Andrii Iakovliv in *Dohovir Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*, pp. 63–9. Cf. also Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Ukraïns'ko-moskovs'ka uhoda, 1654* (New York and Toronto, 1954); Olena Apanovych, *Ukraïns'ko-rosiis'kyi dohovir 1654 r.: mify i real'nist'* (Kyiv, 1994); *Rosiis'ko-ukraïns'kyi dohovir 1654 r.: novi pidkhody do istorii mizhnarodnykh stosunkiv* (Kyiv, 1995).

[105] See the texts of two versions of the tsar's reply to Khmelnytsky's articles in Iakovliv, *Dohovir Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*, pp. 93–9, 105–15.

also made of confirming the rights granted by the grand princes of Rus' and the Polish kings 'to people of the clerical and secular orders'. Thus Muscovy agreed to confirm (and, in the case of Cossacks, to extend) the corporate rights and privileges of Ukrainian social strata. The tsar satisfied the hetman's request to place the Chyhyryn starosta district under his mace and agreed to payments of money and grants to the general and regimental staff. As for military plans, the Cossack envoys to Moscow were told that the tsar himself would lead an army against the Commonwealth, would maintain his forces on the Ukrainian border, as always, and would instruct the Don Cossacks to make war on the Crimea in the event of hostile actions on the part of the khan. The tsar, however, deferred the dispatch of provisions to Kodak until the matter of tribute collection was settled and declined to pay a stipend to rank-and-file Cossacks, referring to previous arrangements with Khmelnytsky.

Most of the changes introduced by the tsar referred to points concerning the Cossack polity and its relations with Muscovy. The tsar treated his relationship with the Cossacks as one of absolute submission on their part. As the tsar's proclamation on the matter demonstrates, he agreed to the election of the hetman by the Cossacks themselves, but demanded that the newly elected hetman swear an oath 'of submission and loyalty'.[106] As for the collection of tribute, the tsar agreed that it be carried out by local officials but under the supervision of his representatives (contrary to Khmelnytsky's request). The hetman's foreign-policy prerogatives were also limited. Contacts with the Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire were forbidden unless authorized by the tsar. Envoys from enemy states were to be arrested and the tsar notified in writing; visits by other (friendly) envoys were merely to be reported to the tsar.

Regardless of the tsar's restrictions on the 'articles' of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossack–Muscovite agreement of 1654 was a considerable step forward, both in the confirmation of the corporate privileges of Cossackdom and in the international recognition of Cossack statehood. Khmelnytsky managed to obtain much more from Moscow than he could ever have expected from Warsaw under any circumstances. If one compares the agreement with Muscovy with the alternative of an Ottoman protectorate, Khmelnytsky was successful here as well, obtaining perfectly real, not just nominal, protection, since Muscovite forces were almost immediately dispatched to commence operations against the Commonwealth, while the Ottoman Empire was not prepared to send its armies against the Commonwealth when the Cossacks most needed them.

The model of the Ottoman protectorate nevertheless played an important role in shaping Cossack views of their relations with Muscovy. In all

[106] See the text of the proclamation in *VUR*, 3: 567–70.

likelihood, Khmelnytsky applied the conditions of the Ottoman protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Crimea not only to his relations with the sultan but also to his dealings with the tsar. Since these states sometimes adopted rather independent foreign policies in spite of their dependence on Istanbul, the hetman also permitted himself not to reckon with Moscow in his own foreign policy. In 1656, when Muscovy concluded a separate peace with the Commonwealth without consulting the Cossacks, the hetman's administration was on the verge of breaking relations with Moscow, even though the cessation of hostilities with the Commonwealth did not mean that the tsar was denying his protection to the Zaporozhian Host. Completely ignoring the tsar's prohibition on conducting an independent foreign policy, Khmelnytsky, who never ceased to follow his own inclinations in that sphere, continued hostilities against Poland—his traditional enemy, and now the ally of his nominal protector—with the support of Transylvania.[107]

A breach with Moscow and a new attempt at an understanding with the Commonwealth were initiated after Khmelnytsky's death by his successor, Ivan Vyhovsky, who was hetman from 1657 to 1659. The Treaty of Hadiach, concluded in 1658 between Vyhovsky and the Cossack officers on the one hand and Commonwealth commissioners on the other, not only indicated a significant shift in the direction of the Cossack foreign policy but also attested to the readiness of the new hetman and his milieu to sacrifice certain social rights of the Cossack order.[108] The treaty sought to limit the sovereignty of the Cossack state in order to expand the rights of the Ukrainian nobility within a projected Principality of Rus' that was to become a constituent of the reformed Commonwealth.

Compared with the agreement of 1654, the Treaty of Hadiach as ratified by the Diet in 1659 halved the number of registered Cossacks to 30,000, which was a significant concession on the part of the Cossacks, even in comparison with the Zboriv conditions. True, the hetman

[107] On the last years of Khmelnytsky's hetmancy and his conflict with Moscow, see the following works: Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 1232–52; Wacław Lipiński (V"iacheslav Lypyns'kyi), 'Dwie chwile z dziejów porewolucyjnej Ukrainy' in *Z dziejów Ukrainy. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Włodzimierza Antonowicza, Paulina Święcickiego i Tadeusza Rylskiego*, ed. Wacław Lipiński (Kyiv and Cracow, 1912), pp. 531–4; Smolii and Stepankov, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, pp. 434–6, 445–53; G. A. Sanin, *Otnosheniia Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim khanstvom v seredine XVII veka* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 74–85; Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, 1: 332–8.

[108] For the text of the Treaty of Hadiach, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 331–59; for a survey of its numerous texts and variants, see Tetiana Iakovleva, *Het'manshchyna v druhii polovyni 50-kh rokiv XVII stolittia. Prychyny i pochatok Ruïny* (Kyiv, 1998), pp. 305–23, 428–35. On the contents and significance of the treaty, see Vasyl' Herasymchuk (Harasymchuk), 'Vyhovshchyna i Hadiats'kyi traktat', *ZNTSh* 87 (1909): 5–36; 88 (1909): 23–50; 89 (1909): 49–90; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 288–359; Lipiński, 'Dwie chwile', pp. 591–617; Andrzej Kamiński, 'The Cossack Experiment in *Szlachta* Democracy in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth: The Hadiach (*Hadziacz*) Union', *HUS* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 178–97.

reserved the right to maintain a hired army of 10,000, but these additional military forces potentially only reduced the significance of Cossackdom, making the hetman almost independent of the will of the Cossacks as a whole. Furthermore, the Cossacks lost the right to elect their hetman. In the future, the estates of the three Cossack palatinates were to choose four candidates for the hetmancy, one of whom would be appointed by the king. The Treaty of Hadiach also provided for the reintroduction of the Polish administrative system, with the prospect of eliminating the division into regiments, which ultimately would also have had adverse consequences for Cossackdom.

The status of the Cossack polity, which was becoming less Cossack and more nobiliary in social composition, was also considerably reduced. To begin with, the territory of the future state was effectively limited, for it was to include only the palatinates of Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Bratslav, as established at Zboriv. This was a significant setback as compared with the 1654 understanding with Moscow, which implied that the western boundary of the Cossack state would be moved as far west as conditions permitted. Unlike the agreement with Moscow, the Treaty of Hadiach provided for no payment of tribute, which merely emphasized the transition from treating the Cossack state as a separate polity to regarding it as an integral part of the Commonwealth. The greatest reversal in comparison with the Pereiaslav Agreement was the clause of the Treaty of Hadiach completely prohibiting the Cossack hetman from receiving foreign embassies, that is, conducting foreign policy of any kind.

If anyone was to benefit from the new understanding with the Commonwealth, it was the Ruthenian nobility and the Orthodox hierarchy. The original draft of the Treaty of Hadiach contained a whole series of articles resembling portions of the Treaty of Zboriv that were intended to safeguard the exclusive right of the Orthodox nobility to hold office in palatinates under the control of the Cossacks. Moreover, a considerable number of clauses protected the rights of the Orthodox Church on the territory of the Commonwealth outside the Principality of Rus'. But here, too, Ukrainian supporters of the Treaty of Hadiach were doomed to disappointment. In the final analysis, Cossackdom did not manage to obtain the full abolition of the church union: the Diet merely prohibited the funding of new Uniate churches. Furthermore, the clauses of the treaty's first draft on granting senatorial and other offices to the Orthodox were amended by the Diet so as to provide for the alternation of such offices in the Chernihiv and Bratslav palatinates between Orthodox and Catholic nobles.

According to the conditions of the Treaty of Hadiach as ratified by the Diet, however, the nobility won the right to a separate hierarchical structure for the Principality of Rus', which meant the establishment of offices of chancellors, marshals, vice-treasurers, and so on, as well as the

creation of a separate tribunal. The inclusion of the Cossack officer élite in the ranks of the nobility and the appointment of the hetman as palatine of Kyiv and first senator of the principality were intended to ease the incorporation of the new structure into the Commonwealth. This was the second major attempt after the ordinance of 1638 to incorporate Cossackdom into the social structure of the Commonwealth. In 1638, the authorities attempted to subordinate the Cossacks to officers recruited exclusively from the ranks of the nobility. Twenty years later, they agreed to turn the Cossack officers into nobles.

Such an 'ennoblement' would undoubtedly have robbed the Cossacks of their élite. They would have had to give up some of their social prerogatives in favor of the nobility, relinquish their leading role in society, and renounce most institutional forms of their own statehood. Cossackdom could not and would not accept such losses, which was not the least of the reasons for the failure of the policy represented by Ivan Vyhovsky and his entourage in Ukraine. With the fall of Vyhovsky, the attempt of the Cossackized nobility to take over Cossackdom's state-building project ended in failure. For better or for worse, the Cossacks cemented their grip on the state they had created in the bloody revolt of 1648. Until the last years of its existence in the late eighteenth century, the Hetmanate remained an autonomous Cossack polity at least in the terms of its governmental institutions, if not in the social character of its élites.

In the course of a brief historical period lasting less than a century, the Cossacks underwent an evolution impressive in its dynamism and extent of qualitative change from steppe tradesmen to the main agent of colonization of the vast Dnipro steppelands; from freebooters in the service of local starostas to a threat to neighboring rulers and saviors of the Commonwealth in wars with the Ottoman Empire. This evolution culminated in the recognition of Cossackdom as a distinct corporate order with privileges, liberties, and prerogatives of its own. The outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising led to the establishment by this order of its own state that was recognized, if only to a limited extent, in international agreements. This growth in the influence and significance of Cossackdom did not take place in a vacuum, but was inspired and conceptualized within the framework of the dominant ideological postulates of the day, among the most important of which was the defense of the officially persecuted Orthodox faith. It is hardly an exaggeration to state that without an understanding of the role played by religion and, most particularly, by Orthodoxy in the history of the Cossack movement, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend the process of 'negotiation' that shaped not only the characteristics of Cossackdom as a corporate order but also its social, political, national, and cultural identity.

TWO

The Religious Crisis

Between Rome and Constantinople

The events of the last quarter of the sixteenth century in the Kyivan metropolitanate largely determined the course of further ecclesiastical development, playing a decisive role in the history of the Ukrainian lands. The new era made unprecedented demands on the leaders of the church, its institutions, and the mass of the faithful, while expanding contacts with the West brought the powerful influences of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation to bear on the Ukrainian lands. The impact of confessionalization, which intensified both internal and external pressures on the old traditional structures of the Kyivan metropolitanate, proved overwhelming, and the church, failing to withstand them, split in two. One branch remained under the authority of the patriarchs of Constantinople, while the other subordinated itself to the pope of Rome.[1]

The revival of Rome's interest in the Kyivan church began with the onset of the Counter-Reformation.[2] During the pontificate of Gregory XIII

[1] For general surveys of Ukrainian church history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraïni v XVI–XVII vitsi* (Kyiv and Lviv, 1912), 2nd edn. (n.p. [Vienna], 1919), reprinted in id., *Dukhovna Ukraïna: Zbirka tvoriv* (Kyiv, 1994), pp. 136–255; id., *Z istoriï relihiinoï dumky na Ukraïni* (Lviv, 1925), reprinted in idem, *Dukhovna Ukraïna*, pp. 5–135; Oleksander Savych, *Narysy z istoriï kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraïni ta Bilorusi v XVI–XVIII v.* (Kyiv, 1929); Ivan Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istoriï Ukraïns'koï pravoslavnoï tserkvy*, 4 vols. in 5 books (New York, 1955–66), vols. 1–2; abridged English translation of the first two vols., I. Wlasowsky, *Outline History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church* (New York and South Bound Brook, N.J., 1974–9); V. I. Ul'ianovs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoï dumky v Ukraïni*, vols. 1–2 (Kyiv, 1994); Oleh Kryzhanivs'kyi and Serhii Plokhii (Plokhy), *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoï dumky v Ukraïni*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1994); Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukraïns'ka tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom. Narys istoriï Ukraïns'koï tserkvy* (Philadelphia, 1954); Velykyi, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*, vols. 4–6; Makarii (M. P. Bulgakov), *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, esp. vols. 9–12; Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska. Zarys historyczny, 1370–1632* (Warsaw, 1934); Ludomir Bieńkowski, 'Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce' in *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, 2 vols. (n.p. [Cracow], 1968–9), 2: 733–1050.

[2] On Catholic reform and the Counter-Reformation, see John C. Olin, *Catholic Reform: From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495–1563* (New York, 1990); Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2 vols. (London, 1957–61); H. Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Notre Dame, 1970). On the spread of Counter-Reformation ideas in the Commonwealth, see Jerzy Kłoczowski, 'Catholic Reform in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Belarus)' in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guidebook to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley (St Louis, 1988), pp. 83–111.

(1572–85), the Roman curia began to take a definite interest in the Orthodox East in general and the Ruthenian (Ukrainian–Belarusian) Church in particular. New legions of the faithful had to be recruited to strengthen the Church of Rome, which had suffered significant losses during the Reformation. A Greek Congregation was established in Rome in 1573 and a Greek College in 1579. Rome also began to develop an interest in previous efforts to achieve union, especially the resolutions of the Council of Ferrara and Florence (1439). New ideas concerning Rome's mission in the East were proclaimed and propagated by the nuncio in Warsaw, Alberto Bolognetti, and the papal legate, Antonio Possevino. Working in the same vein were the Polish Jesuits posted in the eastern lands of the Commonwealth, most notably Piotr Skarga, later chaplain to the king of Poland.[3]

The growth of Counter-Reformation tendencies in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth had a great influence on the development of Ukrainian religious life. The first overt indication that Catholic–Orthodox relations had entered a new phase was an attempt to introduce the Gregorian calendar in the Orthodox lands of the Commonwealth. The calendar reform, whose utility aroused no particular doubt, became a wild card in the religious politics of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The enactment of this reform in the East Slavic lands of the Polish–Lithuanian state placed the question of Catholic–Orthodox relations on the agenda and gave rise to the first clash of religious interests on the territory of the Commonwealth in a long time.[4] The events of Christmas 1583–4 in Lviv gained wide notoriety: a group of Catholics attacked the city's Orthodox churches just as Christmas services were being held

[3] On the Eastern policy of Rome under Gregory XIII and the role of Bolognetti and Possevino in advancing the idea of church union, see S. N. Plokhii (Serhii Plokhii), *Papstvo i Ukraina. Politika rimskoi kurii na ukrainskikh zemliakh v XVI–XVII vekakh* (Kyiv, 1989), pp. 7–32. On Alberto Bolognetti, see Ludwik Boratyński, 'Studia nad nunciaturą polską Bolognietiego (1581–85)', *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno–Filologiczny* (Cracow) 49 (1907): 53–106. His correspondence with Rome is published in *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vols. 5–6 (Cracow, 1938). For an English translation of Antonio Possevino's works on his mission to Moscow, see 'The *Missio Moscovitica*', trans. and intro. Hugh F. Graham, *Canadian–American Slavic Studies* 6 (1972): 437–77, and *The 'Moscovia' of Antonio Possevino, S. J.*, trans. and intro. Hugh F. Graham (=UCIS Series in Russian and East European Studies, no. 1) (Pittsburgh, 1977). On the activity of Piotr Skarga, see Janusz Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga. Szermierz kontrreformacji* (Warsaw, 1978); Ryszard Łużny, 'Księdza Piotra Skargi S.J. widzenie Wschodu chrześcijańskiego' in *Polska–Ukraina: 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 2, *Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym*, ed. Stanisław Stępień (Przemyśl, 1994), pp. 69–75. For a general assessment of the role of the Jesuits in propagandizing the idea of church union, see Jan Krajcar, 'Jesuits and the Genesis of the Union of Brest', *OCP* 44 (1978): 131–53.

[4] On the calendar reform in Ukraine and Belarus, see Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 188–92; N. F. Sumtsov (Mykola Sumtsov), 'Istoricheskii ocherk popytok katolikov vvesti v Iuzhnuiu i Zapadnuiu Rossiiu grigorianskii kalendar' ', *KS* 7 (1888): no. 5, pp. 235–72; Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 33–41.

according to the Julian calendar. Catholic efforts to impose the new calendar by force on Orthodox communities aroused a storm of protest.

The Lviv incident alarmed the royal court with the prospect of Orthodox–Catholic conflict within the state, and King Stefan Batory issued a new proclamation on the calendar reform in January 1584. The proclamation explained that the introduction of the new calendar did not prohibit the Orthodox from celebrating their festive liturgies according to the old style, and that they were to go over to the Gregorian calendar only with the permission of the patriarch of Constantinople. The king's action somewhat mitigated the harshness of the Orthodox–Catholic dispute over the 'calendar issue', but the conflict itself was a harbinger of crisis in relations between the two religious communities. As the papacy and the Catholic hierarchs close to it grew more influential within the Commonwealth, the Orthodox were forced to seek new ways of responding to the Catholic challenge.

The origins of the revolutionary developments in the Kyivan metropolitanate are usually associated with the activities of Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople. He paid two visits to the Kyivan metropolitanate: first in 1588, on his way to Moscow; and then in 1589, on his way back to Constantinople. Jeremiah's first visit was very brief, but during his second visit he was able to devote more attention to the affairs of the Ruthenian Church. The patriarch removed Metropolitan Onysyfor Divochka from his post as a *dvoiezhenets'*, that is, one who had been twice married before taking monastic orders, and appointed a new Kyivan metropolitan, Mykhail Rohoza. But the power of the new metropolitan was considerably limited by the simultaneous appointment of the bishop of Lutsk, Kyryl Terletsky, as patriarchal exarch (representative) for the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Jeremiah further undermined the power of the metropolitan and the bishops by conferring rights of stauropegion (independence of local ecclesiastical authority and direct subordination to the patriarch) on the brotherhoods of Vilnius and Lutsk. The patriarch gave them the right to monitor the canonicity of the actions of the clergy, including the bishops, and obliged them to report their observations to Constantinople.[5]

Jeremiah's visit to Ukraine did not differ in purpose from those of the Eastern patriarchs and their representatives who had preceded him on the territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate or those who would follow in

[5] On the visit of Jeremiah II to Ukraine and his intervention in local ecclesiastical affairs, see Russel P. Moroziuk, 'The Role of Patriarch Jeremiah II in the Reformation of the Kievan Metropolia', *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 5, no. 2 (1986): 104–27; Borys Gudziak, 'How Did They Drift Apart?: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest', *Logos* 34, nos. 1–2 (1993): 43–66; id., *Crisis and Reform*, pp. 189–207.

his footsteps. Generally speaking, the object was the extraction of funds through beggary or duplicity. For an appropriate fee, the Eastern hierarchs would proclaim anathemas or issue certificates to those willing to pay for them, sowing corruption and disorder in the metropolitanate. In the second half of the sixteenth century, even after the Council of Trent (1562–3) had condemned the sale of indulgences in the Western Church, certificates of 'absolution' continued to be distributed in the East. Representatives of the Eastern clergy would bring them to Ukraine and sell to the highest bidder. A contemporary observer (Ipatii [Adam] Potii, later an Orthodox bishop and then a Uniate metropolitan) described one such dealer in Eastern 'indulgences' as follows: 'Like a dealer of some kind displaying his wares and trading them in the temple, so did he sell a plenary indulgence for a taler, a middling one for a half-taler, and a small one for six groszy, as I saw with my own eyes at Brest.'[6] The similarity between certificates of 'absolution' and indulgences was only too obvious, and just as the constant exactions of the Roman curia in the German lands aroused the indignation of Martin Luther, so did the incessant interference of the 'Greeks' call forth protest among the Orthodox of the Kyivan metropolitanate. If in the first instance the reaction was 'away from Rome', in the second it was 'away from Constantinople' to Rome, which by then had embarked on the path of internal reform.

In the aftermath of the Union of Florence (1439) and especially after the fall of Constantinople, the hierarchical dependence of the Kyivan metropolitanate on Constantinople weakened considerably.[7] It was manifested only in the patriarch's confirmation of the new Kyivan metropolitan, who was either elected by a sobor (Eastern church council) or appointed (nominated) by the king, depending on circumstances. This *de facto* independence of the metropolitanate was accepted by the sixteenth-century church hierarchs as a given, hence Jeremiah's intervention in the

[6] See his letter of 3 June 1595 to Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky in *RIB*, vol. 19 (St Petersburg, 1903), cols. 1024–5.

[7] On the status of the Kyivan metropolitanate in the sixteenth century and its relations with the patriarchate of Constantinople, see N. F. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh* (Sergiev Posad, 1885), 2nd edn. (Sergiev Posad, 1914), repr. in Slavistic Printings and Reprintings (The Hague, 1968); Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, pp. 43–58, 155–67, 189–208.

On the tradition of the Union of Florence in the Kyivan metropolitanate, see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*; Ihor Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism in the Kyivan Church* (= Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae, nos. 53–4) (Rome, 1987); review by Borys Gudziak, 'The Union of Florence in the Kievan Metropolitanate: Did it Survive until the Times of the Union of Brest? (Some Reflections on a Recent Argument)', *HUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (June 1993): 138–48. On cultural relations between the Eastern Slavs and the Orthodox East, see Ihor Ševčenko, 'Byzantium and the East Slavs after 1453' in id., *Ukraine between East and West*, pp. 92–111; Iaroslav Isaievych, 'Greek Culture in the Ukraine: 1550–1650', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 6 (1990): 97–122.

internal affairs of the Kyivan metropolitanate was condemned by many bishops. The patriarch's actions with regard to the Ruthenian Church gave an impetus to two major trends within the Orthodox hierarchy: the reform of ecclesiastical life from within, and a search, at first by a few members of the episcopate and later by a majority of bishops, for a way of breaking off relations with Constantinople and bringing the metropolitanate under the authority of Rome.

To be sure, Ruthenian Orthodoxy badly needed to reform itself so as to overcome the profound organizational and spiritual crisis in which it had become mired in the second half of the sixteenth century. One of the most obvious signs of that crisis was the almost unlimited control of the secular authorities over church affairs. This special role of secular power, generally recognized as a particular feature of the Orthodox Church, was also characteristic of the Kyivan metropolitanate in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The right of royal patronage over the church, most notably the right of the Polish king to nominate Orthodox bishops and archimandrites, was extended from Polish-controlled Galicia to the rest of the Ukrainian lands after the Union of Lublin (1569). Considering that as early as 1498 Iosyf Bolharynovych had been nominated as metropolitan of Kyiv by the Grand Prince of Lithuania, the introduction of patronage by the Polish authorities was not a complete novelty for Ukrainian Orthodoxy. The right of patronage belonged not only to the king but to the magnates and nobles as well. Church buildings and monasteries built by a secular ruler were subject to customary laws of property: the lord could sell a church, take it away from the community, turn it into a Catholic church or Protestant house of worship, and so on. The maintenance of priests, particularly their right to make use of land, was also completely dependent on the will of the landowner. The low educational level of the clergy, its violation of moral standards and church canons, the prevalence of simony (the purchase and sale of church offices), and the overwhelming control exercised over the church by secular patrons were all indications of the general crisis of Ukrainian Orthodoxy toward the end of the sixteenth century.[8]

The crisis of the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth was much deeper than that of the Catholic Church, given the second-class status of

[8] On royal and noble rights of patronage over the Orthodox Church in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, see M. F. Vladimirskii-Budanov, 'Tserkovnye imushchestva v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii XVI veka', *AIuZR* (1907): pt. 8, vol. 4, pp. 3–224; O. I. Levitskii (Orest Levyts'kyi), 'Vnutrennee sostoianie zapadno-russkoi tserkvi v Pol'sko-Litovskom gosudarstve v kontse XVI veka i uniia', *AIuZR* (1884): pt. 1, vol. 6, pp. 1–182; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 5: 459–507. On the status of the Kyivan metropolitanate and the Orthodox Church in general in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, see V. A. Bednov (Vasyl' Bidnov), *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve po 'Volumina Legum'* (Ekaterinoslav, 1908); Bieńkowski, 'Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce'.

Orthodoxy in an officially Catholic state. Nor did the Orthodox have their own spiritual center on the model of Catholic Rome to set the tone on questions of clerical education and defend the interests of the church before the secular rulers of Eastern Europe. Locked in the embrace of the Muslim East, Orthodox Constantinople could not play its traditional leading role. Obliged to send its hierarchs begging to Eastern Europe, yielding alternately to the influence of Catholic Rome and Protestant Geneva, the patriarchal see could not provide the Orthodox of the Commonwealth with the assistance they so desperately needed in the development of religious doctrine and in raising the educational level of their clergy. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the Kyivan metropolitanate was thrown back on its own resources as it sought to cope with a growing internal crisis and ever-increasing official intolerance, as well as the threat of Catholic and Protestant expansion from the West.

One response to the crisis came from the laity and took the form of the brotherhood movement.[9] The brotherhoods, which had their origins in the Ukrainian lands as early as the fifteenth century, became especially dynamic toward the end of the sixteenth, developing new characteristics. One of their principal tasks was to conduct an internal reform of Orthodoxy in order to adapt it to new conditions both foreign and domestic. To that end, the brotherhood movement sought to revive the spirit of primitive Christianity, reforming morals and reinstating canonical principles of church life. That goal, like the very attempt to enlarge the role of the lay element within the church, came up against the opposition of the episcopate, which was at once the product and the creator of the prevailing decadence in the life of the church. 'If even the bishop should go against the law and begin to rule the church not according to the rules of the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers, inclining the faithful toward untruth and supporting lawbreakers, then let all oppose such a bishop as an enemy of the truth', read the statute of the Dormition Brotherhood of Lviv.[10] The brotherhood, a civic corporate body of the Middle Ages, was now employed by the Ruthenian burghers to meet the new needs of Kyivan Orthodoxy in the era of confessionalization.

Having emerged in its new guise under the influence of Orthodox and

[9] On Orthodox brotherhoods in Ukraine, see Iaroslav Isaievych, 'Between Eastern Tradition and Influences from the West: Confraternities in Early Modern Ukraine and Byelorussia', *Ricerche slavistiche* 37 (1990): 269–93; id., *Bratstva ta ïkh rol' u rozvytku ukraïns'koï kul'tury XVI–XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1966); id., *Dzherela z istoriï ukraïns'koï kul'tury doby feodalizmu* (Kyiv, 1972); M. V. Kashuba, 'Reformatsiini ideï v diial'nosti bratstv na Ukraïni' in *Sekuliaryzatsiia dukhovnoho zhyttia na Ukraïni v epokhu humanizmu i Reformatsiï*, ed. Ie. A. Hryniv *et al.* (Kyiv, 1991), pp. 26–51; Karl Christian Felmy, 'Der Aufbruch der orthodoxen Laien in Polen–Litauen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 98 (1987): 37–85; A. S. Krylovskii, *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratstvo (Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia)* (Kyiv, 1904).

[10] Quoted in Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istoriï*, 1: 214.

Catholic reform, the brotherhood movement was simultaneously committed to resisting both the Catholic Church and the Protestant communities, which were encroaching on the rights and liberties of the Orthodox burghers. Particularly urgent was the need to defend Ukrainian craftsmen and merchants from the arbitrary practices of the Catholic authorities and oppression by the Catholic patriciate. Among the first to organize themselves in defense of their rights were the Ukrainian burghers of Lviv, who led the way in developing a new type of brotherhood movement that in time comprised not only burghers but the Ukrainian nobility and Cossackdom as well. As far as the practical activities of the Lviv Brotherhood were concerned, a particularly important place was reserved for the development of education and the printing of books. The brotherhood maintained a school and sponsored the publication of the first printed books in Ukraine, the 1574 editions of the *Apostol* (Acts and Epistles) and *Primer*.[11] In both activities, the brotherhood was following in the footsteps of both Protestant and Catholic reformers, whose goal was to raise the level of education of the populace as a whole and the clergy in particular by expanding the school system. In Ukraine, as elsewhere in Europe, the introduction of printing stimulated the development of religious and political thought. By dispelling the atmosphere of spiritual, intellectual, and moral stagnation in society, this new medium of communication promoted the diffusion of information and helped to strengthen communal ties within Ruthenian society. The publication of the Ostrih Bible (1581) was an epochal event in the life of the whole Orthodox world. For centuries to come, copies of it circulated far beyond the borders of Ukraine. This publication was a response to the new demands of the Reformation, which made direct access to the Scriptures a hallmark of religious life. More immediately, the growing use of the printing press deepened the religious struggle in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands.[12]

The first publication of Piotr Skarga's book *On the Unity of God's Church* (1577), which attacked the Ruthenian Church for its backwardness and suggested union with Rome as a remedy, is generally considered to mark the beginning of the religious polemic. For a considerable time, this Catholic challenge remained unanswered. The publication of Herasym Smotrytsky's *The Key to the Kingdom of Heaven* (1587) is generally considered the point of departure for Ukrainian, particularly

[11] For a bibliographic description of the Lviv editions, see Ia. P. Zapasko and Ia. D. Isaievych, *Pam"iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Kataloh starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni*, vol. 1 *(1574–1700)* (Lviv, 1981), nos. 1, 2.

[12] For the introduction of printing into Ukraine, see Iaroslav Isaievych, *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov i vynyknennia drukarstva na Ukraïni* (Lviv, 1983). For the latest literature on the topic, see Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, pp. 106–10, 348–51. On the role of vernacular religious literature in shaping national identity, see Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, pp. 22–5, 193–4.

Orthodox, polemical literature. *The Key* consisted of two parts: the first refuting the authority of the Roman popes; and the second, 'The New Roman Calendar', arguing against the introduction of the new (Gregorian) calendar. Smotrytsky's work was marked by the influence of the anti-Catholic productions of his predecessors, most notably the writings of Maksim Grek, which circulated in manuscript copies in Ukraine. In 1588, Vasyl Ostrozky (Surazky) published his *Little Book* in Ostrih. The work discussed the most hotly disputed questions of the Orthodox–Catholic dialogue: the primacy of the pope, purgatory, the question of rite, and the problem of the new calendar.[13]

Oddly enough, the Orthodox polemics were supported and backed not by the church hierarchs but by representatives of magnate families in Ukraine and Belarus. Aside from the requisite material resources, they possessed broader intellectual horizons than the Orthodox hierarchy, allowing them to grasp the demands of the age. It was the Orthodox magnate Ryhor Khadkevich who invited Ivan Fedorov and Petr of Mstsislaŭ, the two refugee printers from Muscovy, to his estate and provided funds for the publication of a *Didactic Gospel* (1569) and *Psalter with Horologion* (1570). In the late 1570s another Orthodox magnate, Prince Kostiantyn (Vasyl) Ostrozky, established his well-known center of Ukrainian Orthodox learning in Ostrih.[14]

In the course of the sixteenth century throughout Western and Central Europe religion was steadily turning into a potent weapon in the struggle of the aristocracy against the royal power's encroachment upon its

[13] See Piotr Skarga, *O iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym Pasterzem. Y o Greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu* (Vilnius, 1577). Reprinted in *RIB*, vol. 7, cols. 223–526 (St Petersburg, 1882). For a bibliographic description of the books published in Ostrih, see Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam"iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, vol. 1, nos. 18, 19.

See the reprint of the two parts of Herasym Smotrytsky's book in *AIuZR* (1887): 'Kliuch tsarstva nebesnoho', pt. 1, vol. 7, pp. 232–49, and 'Kalendar' ryms'kyi novyi', ibid., pp. 250–65. See the reprint of Vasyl' Ostroz'kyi (Suraz'kyi), 'Knyzhytsia: O edinoi vere. Sochinenie ostrozhskogo sviashchennika Vasiliia 1588 goda' in *RIB*, vol. 7, cols. 600–938 (St Petersburg, 1882).

For a survey of Orthodox–Catholic polemics of the period, see relevant chapters in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, vol. 5; Vozniak, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1; Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (=Travaux et mémoires de l'Université de Lille. Nouvelle série: Droit et lettres, 20) (Lille, 1938); Čyževs'kyj, *A History of Ukrainian Literature*; Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West*, pp. 131–63.

[14] For the literature on the activities of Ivan Fedorov and Petr of Mstsislaŭ, see E. L. Nemirovskii, ed., *Nachalo knigopechataniia v Moskve i na Ukraine. Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' pervopechatnika Ivana Fedorova. Ukazatel' literatury, 1574–1974* (Moscow, 1975), and E. L. Nemirovskii *et al.*, comp., *Pervopechatnik Ivan Fedorov. Opisanie izdanii i ukazatel' literatury o zhizni i deiatel'nosti* (Lviv, 1983).

On the Orthodox academy in Ostrih and its publications, see I. Z. Myts'ko, *Ostroz'ka slov"ianohreko-latyns'ka akademiia (1576–1636)* (Kyiv, 1990) and *Ostroz'ka Akademiia XVI–XVII st. Entsyklopedychne vydannia*, ed. Ihor Pasichnyk, Mykola Koval's'kyi *et al.* (Ostrih, 1997).

rights.[15] In most of Europe, including the Polish and Lithuanian lands of the Commonwealth, aristocratic opposition to royal authority developed in tandem with the Reformation movement, especially with Calvinism. In the Ruthenian lands of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, magnate opposition developed mainly under the banner of Orthodoxy. If the Polish Firlejs or the Lithuanian Radziwiłłs stressed their opposition to the king by manifesting their loyalty to and support for Calvinism, their counterparts in Rus' did so by 'reanimating' and reforming the old 'Ruthenian faith' in response to new developments.

The association between representatives of the Ruthenian princely families and the Orthodox Church, which had always been close, became especially prominent in the mid-sixteenth century. The drawing together of the Ukrainian secular and ecclesiastical élites was due to the change in the religious climate of the Commonwealth brought about by the arrival of Reformation ideas and the reaction to them on the part of the Catholic Church. Under these conditions, the Ruthenian élite sought to maintain complete *de facto* control over Orthodox Church affairs, even as the royal administration became more active in that sphere. The last decades of the sixteenth century also saw the development of regionalism in the Commonwealth, giving pride of place to the local *patria* and the defense of its interests. In the case of Rus' (the Ukrainian–Belarusian territories), the regionalism characteristic of other Commonwealth territories, such as Little Poland, was considerably enhanced by ethnocultural differences with the territories of Poland proper.[16]

The leader of the Orthodox party in the Commonwealth, Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky, was quite obviously in need of a reformed 'Ruthenian faith' and at one point even considered the idea of a religious union of Eastern and Western Christianity. Nevertheless, it was the Orthodox Church, even in the form in which it existed within the Commonwealth, that gave him the power sought by European aristocrats, from the Condés of France to the Radziwiłłs of Lithuania, in Calvinism.[17] If John Calvin

[15] J. H. Elliott describes this important development in European history as follows: 'Princes had been confronted, for many decades now, by varied manifestations of religious dissent. They had been confronted even longer by aristocratic opposition, both overt and in constitutional guise. The real novelty of the middle years of the century was the fusion of the two—the alarming convergence of religious and aristocratic protest to create a combined movement of formidable power' (*Europe Divided, 1559–1598* [London and Glasgow, 1972], p. 95).

[16] On regionalism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, see Sysyn, 'Ukrainian–Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century'; id., 'Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641', *HUS* 6, no. 2 (June 1982): 167–90.

[17] Established on the principles of personal service and economic dependence on a patron, Ostrozky's network of clients resembled similar structures elsewhere in contemporary Europe, but from the outset it also possessed a binding ideological element—a religion different from that of the ruling royal dynasty.

was attempting, not without success, to transform Geneva into a Protestant Rome by means of an active printing press and a school for Calvinist preachers, Prince Ostrozky was clearly trying to turn Ostrih into an Orthodox Geneva. His plans for transferring the seat of the patriarch of Constantinople to Ostrih and establishing a potent religious and cultural center there, as attested by the founding of the Ostrih College as well as by the editing and publication of the complete text of the Bible in Church Slavonic, were evidence of Ostrozky's efforts to turn a reformed Orthodoxy into the political equivalent of the Calvinism professed by his Polish and Lithuanian colleagues.[18]

Ostrozky, a man of broad political and cultural interests, was open to contact and co-operation with representatives of other Christian denominations. He gave repeated consideration to the need to reform Orthodoxy, and his openness to broad contacts with representatives of other denominations gave rise to hopes in both Catholic and Protestant circles of the possibility of converting this powerful and influential magnate. One of the first attempts to bend him to the cause of union—the unification of Orthodoxy with Catholicism—was Skarga's *On the Unity of God's Church*, the first edition of which (published in 1577) was dedicated to Ostrozky. Whether because of its condescending tone or for other reasons, the book failed to evoke the expected response within the Orthodox milieu. Indeed, if Skarga's introduction to the second edition is to be believed, 'the Rus'' bought up and destroyed all copies of the first edition. It is not impossible that Kostiantyn Ostrozky himself was behind that action.[19]

A more productive dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox began with Ostrozky's participation in the early 1580s. Taking part on the Catholic side were Rome's direct representatives in the Commonwealth, the Warsaw nuncio, Alberto Bolognetti, and the papal legate, Antonio Possevino. The Orthodox were represented by Ostrozky himself. According to the nuncio's reports, the prince showed no intention of converting to Catholicism, but inclined rather to the idea of union between Orthodoxy and Catholicism. In conversations with Bolognetti he even indicated a readiness to communicate with the pope and the patriarch of Constantinople; should the latter prove disinclined toward union, Ostrozky allegedly was prepared to go forward with it on his own. Naturally,

[18] On Kostiantyn Ostrozky, see Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525–1608). Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej* (Toruń, 1997); id., 'Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski wobec katolicyzmu i wyznań protestanckich', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 40 (1996): 17–36; Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, 'Ostrogski, Konstanty Wasyl, książę (ok. 1526–1608)' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, fasc. 3 (1979): 489–95.

[19] The second edition of Skarga's book was issued under the title *O rządzie i iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem y o greckim y ruskim od tey iedności odstąpieniu* (Cracow, 1590).

such a move on the part of Orthodoxy's influential patron would involve the whole Kyivan metropolitanate as well.[20]

By the early 1590s, at least two programs of church union were being propagated in the Ukrainian lands. One was represented by the well-known Commonwealth publicist and civic activist Stanisław Orzechowski (Stanislav Orikhovsky), half-Ukrainian by birth, and in part by the Catholic missionary Benedykt Herbest. That program advocated the unification of the two churches on the basis of equality. The authors of the other program were the papal legate, Antonio Possevino, and Piotr Skarga. Their program entailed the complete subordination of the Orthodox to the pope. While the first program was inspired by ecclesiastical universalism, the humanistic idea of the equality of all Christians, the second was a product of Counter-Reformation thinking applied to the East.[21]

The last decade of the sixteenth century witnessed the emergence of new programs of church union. One of them was presented by Prince Ostrozky himself, another by Orthodox bishops who embarked on their own project of union after the visit of Patriarch Jeremiah.[22] In 1593, Prince Ostrozky expounded his program in a letter to the recently consecrated bishop of Volodymyr, Ipatii Potii. The goal of Ostrozky's program was the attainment of church unity, as well as the reform of the Orthodox Church through the spread of education and the printing of books. Moreover, the Orthodox and Catholics were to enjoy equality of rights, with a guarantee that the Byzantine rite would be preserved by a prohibition on defections from the Union to Catholicism. Ostrozky's program was based on the principles of the Union of Florence and shared the universalist orientation of Antonio Possevino, who hoped to incline Tsar Ivan IV toward union with Rome. Notions of regional union (that is, on the territory of the Commonwealth) advanced after Possevino's failure in Muscovy were later supported by Skarga and later still by Orthodox hierarchs, but they did not win the old prince's favor.[23]

[20] On Ostrozky's contacts with the papacy, see Jan Krajcar, 'Konstantin Basil Ostrozskij and Rome in 1582–1584', *OCP* 35 (1969): 193–214. For Bolognetti's reports on his discussions with Prince Ostrozky, see *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6 (Cracow, 1938), pp. 396–400; Athanasius Welykyj (Velykyi), ed., *Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes*, 13 vols. (Rome, 1959–69), 1: 179–84.

[21] For a discussion of the views of Stanislav Orikhovsky (Stanisław Orzechowski), Benedykt Herbest, Antonio Possevino, and Piotr Skarga on church union, see Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 7–30.

[22] For the competing programs of church union, see Dmitriev, 'Religious Programme of the Union of Brest'; id., 'Kontseptsiï uniï v tserkovnykh i derzhavnykh kolakh Rechi Pospolytoï'; B. N. Floria and S. G. Iakovenko, 'Vnutrennii krizis v pravoslavnom obshchestve i proekty unii s Rimom 90-kh gg. XVI v.' in Dmitriev *et al.*, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g.*, 1: 131–54.

[23] For the text of Kostiantyn Ostrozky's letter to Ipatii (Adam) Potii, see Athanasius Welykyj (Velykyi), ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590–1600)* (Rome, 1970), pp. 18–20.

Unlike Ostrozky's program, that of the Orthodox episcopate, which began to take shape at the Belz synod of 1590 and continued to be debated in 1594–5, was intended to bring about a regional union. The conditions for acceptance of the union put forward by the episcopate in 1590 were meant to protect its own interests and obtain equality of rights for the Orthodox with the Catholics. The bishops demanded confirmation of their former privileges, the return of estates that had once been attached to bishoprics, and exemption from taxes. The Orthodox were also to be admitted to state offices without restriction of any kind, marriage was to be permitted between Orthodox (who were to be united with Rome) and Catholics, and Orthodox hierarchs were to be allowed to serve the liturgy in Catholic churches. Unlike Ostrozky's program, these conditions did not even hint at the need for ecclesiastical reform.[24]

In time, the conditions of union advanced by the episcopate and its program underwent significant augmentation and change, especially after Ipatii Potii, one of the few intellectuals among the bishops, became involved in the process. An educated man and a talented publicist, Potii was genuinely disturbed by the condition of contemporary Orthodoxy and sought ways to reform it. As castellan of Brest and a senator of the Commonwealth, he did not don the episcopal cowl for personal gain. Quite obviously, he saw the true salvation of Kyivan Orthodoxy in union with Counter-Reformation Rome and was prepared to make personal sacrifices to that end. His interest in the union clearly developed on the basis of universalist and humanist ideals, while his differences with his former adherent and patron, Prince Ostrozky, were caused by his search for the most direct means of achieving his goal. Having taken the monastic tonsure, Potii had linked his personal future directly with that of the church and did not care to await the consent of the Eastern patriarchs and Moscow, as the secular prince proposed.

Potii's polemical works written after the conclusion of the union shed light on his own motives and those of other 'learned persons' that led them to advocate union with Rome. As is apparent from Potii's works, the principal motive for union was realization of the crisis of Orthodoxy and the search for a solution to it. Potii stressed the need to emancipate the church from the thrall of secular rule, condemned the indifference of the pastoral clergy, and insisted on finding ways to protect the church from the influences of Protestantism, to one of whose currents he himself had belonged in his youth. If not in form then in essence Potii's argumentation was basically consonant with that of Piotr Skarga. The major difference in their treatment of the union was that even in agreeing to recognize

[24] Text of the 1590 declaration of union, ibid., p. 8. On the origins of the pro-union movement within the Orthodox hierarchy, see Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 1: 261–3; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 262–73.

papal supremacy, Potii saw the union as a joining together, but by no means an amalgamation, of his church with that of Rome.[25]

The Union of Brest

After the pontificate of Gregory XIII, known for his plans of church union, it appeared that the Roman curia had abandoned the idea, which promised no immediate results. Potii's proposal to organize a discussion of church union with Patriarch Jeremiah and that of Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski to transfer the Patriarchate of Constantinople to Kyiv were rejected in the late 1580s by two representatives of the curia in the Commonwealth, the nuncio Annibale di Capua and the papal legate Ippolito Aldobrandini, who later became pope under the name Clement VIII.[26] Characteristically, his first papal letters concerning Ukrainian matters pertained not to church problems but to the military activities of the Ukrainian Cossacks. These letters were delivered to the Cossacks by the secret papal legate Aleksandar Komulović (Alessandro Comuleo) in 1593. Among Komulović's tasks was the organization of a broad anti-Turkish coalition of East European peoples under the aegis of Rome. His mission to Eastern Europe yielded no practical results, but represented an interesting attempt on the part of the papacy to mobilize the Ukrainian Cossacks in support of the anti-Turkish struggle waged by the Austrian Habsburgs.[27]

The first reports of a revival of interest in church union on the territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate reached Rome in late 1594. In October of that year, the Warsaw nuncio, Germanico Malaspina, notified the curia

[25] On Ipatii (Adam) Potii and his writings, see N. Tripol'skii, *Uniatskii mitropolit Ipatii Potsei i ego propovednicheskaia deiatel'nost* (Kyiv, 1878); C. Studziński (Kyrylo Studyns'kyi), *Pierwszy występ literacki Hipacjusza Pocieja* (Lviv, 1902); Dmitriev, 'Religious Programme of the Union of Brest', pp. 36–9; id., 'Uniia i porozhdennye eiu konflikty v osmyslenii liderov uniatskogo lageria' in Dmitriev *et al.*, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g.*, 2: 97–101.

[26] See Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 45–6.

[27] There is reason to believe that Komulović met with the Cossack leader Severyn Nalyvaiko, to whom he apparently gave the papal letters. For sources on Komulović's mission, see Paul Pierling, 'Novi izvori o L. Komuloviću', *Starine* 16 (1884): 209–41; Paul Pierling and Franjo Rački, 'L. Komulovića izvještaj i listovi o poslanstvu njegovu u Tursku, Erdelj, Moldavsku i Poljsku', *Starine* 14 (1882): 83–124. For a discussion of the Ukrainian portion of the mission, see Liubomyr Vynar (Lubomyr Wynar), 'Dyplomatychna misiia Komulovycha v Ukraïnu 1594 roku', *Analecta OSBM* 4, nos. 3–4 (1963): 513–26; id., *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594* (= Ukrainian Historical Association Papers, no. 1) (New York, 1965); N. P. Koval'skii (M. P. Koval's'kyi) and S. N. Plokhii (Serhii Plokhii), 'Istochniki o deiatel'nosti germanskoi i vatikanskoi diplomatii na Ukraine v 90-kh godakh XVI veka' in *Voprosy germanskoi istorii*, ed. A. S. Zav'ialov (Dnipropetrovsk, 1983), pp. 21–7; and S. N. Plokhii (Plokhy), 'Politika Vatikana v Severnom Prichernomor'e i ukrainskoe kazachestvo v kontse XVI veka' in *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v basseine Chernogo moria v drevnosti i srednie veka*, pp. 117–26.

that two Orthodox bishops had presented themselves to Chancellor Zamoyski, indicating on behalf of the hierarchy that they wished to enter into union with the Holy See. Malaspina's announcement aroused considerable interest within the curia, and the pope's nephew, Cardinal Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, advised the nuncio to meet with the bishops. The dignitaries in question were Kyryl Terletsky and Ipatii Potii, representing most of the Orthodox hierarchy, who had entered into negotiations with the state authorities in the matter of church union. Their mission represented the culmination of secret meetings among the bishops that had begun in 1590 after the departure of Patriarch Jeremiah.[28]

The bishops' initiative met with a positive response from Commonwealth officials, and in the early months of 1595 preparations for the union switched into high gear, now with the participation of Nuncio Malaspina. In late 1594, 'articles' of union were drafted in the town of Torchyn by bishops Ipatii Potii and Kyryl Terletsky together with the Roman Catholic bishop of Lutsk, Bernard Maciejowski, one of the early Catholic supporters of church union. They were studied in February 1595 by the Catholic archbishop of Lviv, Jan Dymitr Solikowski (at the request of the nuncio) and by Maciejowski (at the request of the king). As was to be expected, especially in the case of Maciejowski, their conclusions about the prospects of achieving union on the basis of the conditions proposed by the bishops were positive.[29]

King Zygmunt III and the royal authorities in general played an important role in the preparation of the bishops' trip to Rome and tried to shield them from real and imagined attacks by the Orthodox. To be sure, the bishops' preparations for the union encountered active opposition on the part of Orthodox lay leaders, most notably Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky, whose conditions for union were rejected by the bishops. As one of the major conditions for acceptance of the union, Ostrozky advanced the idea of a sobor to be held before the bishops' planned trip to Rome. The proposal was rejected by the royal court, as it aroused apprehension that the prince might make use of the sobor to agitate against the union. The royal administration's decision was the last straw that snapped Ostrozky's patience and drove him to take active measures against the pro-union action. From this point he headed the forces of opposition to the union, comprised mainly of the Orthodox nobility and the Orthodox burghers united in brotherhoods.

[28] For the most complete account of Rome's involvement in the preparation of the Union of Brest, see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 236–419.

[29] See text of the Torchyn 'articles' and Malaspina's reports on the review of the document by Jan Dymitr Solikowski and Bernard Maciejowski in Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis*, pp. 35–49.

Rumors of the hierarchs' unionist intentions that circulated among the Orthodox before 1595 were associated mainly with Bishop Kyryl Terletsky, but in January 1595, Bishop Hedeon Balaban of Lviv also openly declared his pro-union orientation by holding an eparchial sobor in support of the union in Lviv. Ipatii Potii managed, more or less successfully, to conceal his participation in the preliminary arrangements. Not until June 1595 did he send Ostrozky the 'articles' of union, which greatly displeased the prince, as did the entire pro-union action. In the same month, Ostrozky managed to split the ranks of the episcopate. He took it upon himself to settle the conflict between the Lviv Brotherhood and Hedeon Balaban, enlisting the latter on his side. On 1 July 1595, Balaban issued a protest against the pro-union activities of other bishops, accusing Kyryl Terletsky of promoting union with the use of blank sheets of paper signed by the bishops for other purposes. A month later, also as an evident result of Ostrozky's influence, the bishop of Peremyshl (Przemyśl), Mykhail Kopystensky, declared himself against the union. Ostrozky's circular letter in which he announced the intentions of the episcopate and came out resolutely in defense of Orthodoxy was also printed and distributed at this time.[30]

Ostrozky's actions helped to galvanize the opponents of the union, above all the members of the brotherhood movement. Thus, in the autumn of 1595 there was talk at the royal court of the increasing influence of the Vilnius Brotherhood, which was actively opposed to the union. The royal administration was especially perturbed by Ostrozky's missive to the Protestant convention in Toruń (1595), where he proposed that the Orthodox and Protestants form a common front against the government, which had 'violated the principles of toleration'. The prince himself declared his readiness to support this action with an army of 15,000–20,000.[31]

Ipatii Potii and Kyryl Terletsky set off on their journey to Rome in September 1595. They were expected to travel by way of Venice, but the Roman authorities were alarmed by rumors that members of the Orthodox community there were taking a particular interest in the trip, so it was decided to bypass Venice. The delegation arrived in Rome on 15 November and was received by Pope Clement VIII on the same day, with a second visit on 17 November. Following the papal audience, several unofficial meetings took place with curia officials.[32]

What was the episcopate's program of union that Potii and Terletsky

[30] On the maneuvering of the Orthodox bishops and the actions of Ostrozky, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 5: 580–3, 601–2; Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 1: 264–6.

[31] See Tomasz Kempa, 'Prawosławni a synod protestancki w Toruniu w 1595 roku: U początków współpracy dyzunitów z dysydentami', *Zapiski Historyczne* 42 (1997): 39–52; P. N. Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (do 1608 g.)* (St Petersburg, 1901), p. 203; Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 55–6, 72.

[32] On Potii's and Terletsky's trip to Rome, see M. V. Dmitriev, 'Posol'stvo Ipatiia Potiia i Kirilla Terletskogo v Rim v 1595–1596 gg.', *Slavianovedenie* (Moscow), no. 2 (1996): 3–21.

brought with them to Rome? The conditions of union signed by Metropolitan Mykhail Rohoza and most of the episcopate in June 1595[33] were intended to equalize the Orthodox in rights with the Catholics and increase the power of the episcopate by weakening the rights of secular patrons and substantially curbing the influence of the brotherhoods. There was virtually nothing in the articles about the improvement of the moral and educational level of the clergy or the instruction of the faithful. The program of reforming Orthodoxy from within that was advanced and embodied by the brotherhoods was almost entirely rejected by the hierarchy, which fixed its course on ecclesiastical union with Rome. The decision to break with Constantinople was taken by the bishops, who feared the reformers from the brotherhood milieu and strove to prevent their alliance with the Eastern patriarchs.

The 1595 'articles' of union devoted considerable attention to improving the social status of the Orthodox episcopate and increasing its authority within the church. The Orthodox hierarchs strove for equality of rights with the Catholic bishops, admission to the Senate, and appointment to the tribunals. The bishops also demanded guarantees that their successors would be elected jointly by clerics and laymen from among people of the 'Rus' nation' and the 'Greek religion', the term reserved in the Commonwealth for the Orthodox faith. The strengthening of episcopal authority was also to be promoted by conditions requiring the subordination to bishops of monasteries and brotherhoods operating on the territory of their eparchies. In this way the episcopate sought to exploit the union as a means of curbing recalcitrant brotherhoods that relied on the rights of stauropegion granted to them by Constantinople.

Seeking to undermine the system of secular control of the church and at the same time to strengthen their administrative and judicial powers, the bishops strove to obtain the right to try priests, which was all but impossible, as the latter were under the protection of their secular patrons. The bishops' demand for the subordination to them of sobors and parish churches, hitherto subject to laymen, should be seen in the same context. Under the evident influence of Ostrozky's program and Potii's attitude toward the union, a demand was included in the 'articles' that bishops be allowed to open schools and seminaries and establish printshops. This was an attempt not only to keep pace with the times but also to wrest the initiative in these matters from the brotherhoods and Orthodox magnates. Indeed, according to the bishops, no book on any subject was to be printed without their approval. The strengthening of hierarchical authority corresponded to the general Counter-Reformation program of the

[33] For the text of the two copies (Latin and Polish) of the 1595 'articles', see Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis*, pp. 61–75. For an English translation of the Polish version, see Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, app. 3, pp. 264–72.

Catholic Church, and in that respect the pro-Uniate bishops did not seek Rome's intercession in vain.

The conditions of union with which Potii and Terletsky set out for Rome in the autumn of 1595 were based on the principles of the Union of Florence with reference to dogmatics and questions of rite. The bishops proposed to introduce the link with Rome by having the pope consecrate the metropolitan, who in turn would consecrate bishops. The hierarchs' request to the pope that they be included in a general understanding of the Eastern churches with Rome (if it should come to that) may be seen as a reaction to Ostrozky's idea of involving the whole Orthodox East in the union and as an indication of the universalist thinking of part of the episcopate. It is quite clear that the bishops considered themselves natural constituents of the Eastern Church and saw their action as only a first step toward a future union.

The bishops' articles were examined in Rome by the pope's expert on the union issue, Fr Juan Saragosa, whose comments were used to formulate the final conditions for union. These were presented in a papal constitution dated 23 December 1595 and proclaimed with solemn ceremony in the Hall of Constantine. The status of the Uniate Church was defined by the papal bull 'Decet Romanum Pontificem' of 23 February 1596, and the whole question of union was to be settled definitively at a sobor: the decision to convoke it was confirmed in Rome. The bishops acknowledged the authority of the pope and accepted the dogmas of the Catholic Church, including its teachings on purgatory and the Catholic interpretation of the *filioque*, that is, they accepted that the Holy Spirit proceeded not only from God the Father, but also from God the Son. According to the formula of the Union of Florence, the former Orthodox retained their Byzantine rite, including (temporarily) the Julian calendar. A final decision on the latter was postponed indefinitely.[34]

There is little doubt that in Rome the two negotiating parties had differing views on the nature of the church union and its prospects.[35] It should be noted nevertheless that while these differences created problems in the negotiation process and in later relations between the Roman curia and the Uniate Church, they also helped to bring about the final agreement in Rome. Points considered extremely important and non-negotiable by one side were viewed as secondary and clearly negotiable by

[34] For the text of the papal constitution defining the principal conditions of church union, see Athanasius Welykyj (Velykyi), ed., *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1953–4), 1: 236–43. For the comments of Fr Juan Saragosa on the 1595 'articles', see Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 322–4; Velykyi, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*, 4: 42–66.

[35] For a discussion of these differences, see Dmitriev, 'Religious Programme of the Union of Brest'; id., 'Kontseptsiï uniï v tserkovnykh i derzhavnykh kolakh Rechi Pospolytoï'.

the other. If Rome refused to yield on questions of dogma and confession, the Ruthenian bishops were more than reluctant to compromise on issues of rite. Both parties demonstrated a certain flexibility on the matter of church jurisdiction and the degree of Rome's control over the Kyivan church. Among other things, the dissimilar approaches to the problem of church union reflected the simple fact that for the Ruthenian Church, which had not yet embarked on the process of confessionalization, the most important elements of its identity were not doctrinal teachings but the Byzantine rite, which visibly distinguished it from the dominant Catholic Church in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. By contrast, confessional differences between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East were a relatively peripheral element of its identity.

In March 1596, the bishops made their departure from the Holy See. Upon their return to the Commonwealth, Potii and Terletsky were warmly received by the king, but more than coldly by many Orthodox. The Orthodox nobility sought a discussion of the question of union at the Warsaw Diet, which took place from late March to early May of 1596. At the Diet itself, the nobles demanded the removal of Potii and Terletsky from their posts, but these efforts were unsuccessful. An anti-union mood was also prevalent in the eparchies of Potii and Terletsky, whose joint celebrations of the liturgy with Catholic hierarchs aroused particular protest. But that opposition was insufficient to stop a process that was already under way with the active support of the royal administration and most of the church hierarchs, headed by the metropolitan himself.

A final decision on the matter was to be taken at the sobor. Since that was well understood by both supporters and opponents of the union, both sides made diligent preparations. The king's proclamation convoking the sobor was published in June 1596, and in August Metropolitan Mykhail issued a circular letter according to which the sobor was appointed for October. Brest was chosen as its venue. On the eve of the Brest sobor, a meeting of bishops was held at Bernard Maciejowski's estate in Kamianets, at which they signed a Catholic credo. The acceptance of the union before the sobor was clearly intended to cement the unity of the episcopate and prevent any member of the hierarchy from going over to the opposition during the council sessions.[36] In the meantime the Orthodox opposition, exploiting every legal means of exerting pressure on the government in the form of anti-union resolutions of provincial dietines, written protests, and so on, prepared for a general struggle that

[36] See a report on the bishops' council by Pietro Arcudio to the General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Aquaviva, in Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis*, pp. 383–7, and Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, p. 74. On the activities of Arcudio, see Porfirii Pidrutchnyj, 'Pietro Arcudio—promotore dell'unione', *Analecta OSBM* 8 (1973): 254–77.

it expected to win. The Orthodox were able to bring representatives of two Eastern patriarchates, those of Constantinople and Alexandria, to Brest. Significantly, opponents of the union also managed to retain two members of the hierarchy, bishops Hedeon Balaban and Mykhail Kopystensky, in their ranks. Most monasteries also came out against the union, but the basic strength of the Orthodox remained their lay following: a number of magnates, the nobility, and the burghers who belonged to brotherhood organizations.[37]

Both groupings were in a rather decisive mood, avenues of retreat were cut off, and the prospect of compromise and understanding seemed more than illusory. This became fully apparent at Brest, where, instead of one sobor, two were held, one Orthodox, the other Uniate.[38] The impossibility of holding a joint council of advocates and opponents of the union was evident from the contents of the king's proclamation itself, which forbade the participation of foreigners. That was done for the express purpose of eliminating the presence of representatives of the Eastern patriarchates—the very individuals on whom the Orthodox were pinning their fundamental hopes. The patriarchs represented canonical authority superior to that of the metropolitan, and their representatives could thus decide the fate of the council and the whole cause of union in favor of the Orthodox. The main 'weapon' of the union's opponents was to be Nikephoros, the protosyncellus of the patriarch of Constantinople. Although he was not even a priest, he twice served as locum tenens of the Patriarchal See and, by decision of an Eastern patriarchal sobor, enjoyed primacy among the metropolitans. In 1595 Nikephoros was in Moldavia, whence he proceeded to the Commonwealth at the invitation of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky. In Khotyn he was arrested by representatives of the royal administration, but later escaped from prison, apparently with the help of the prince, under whose protection he arrived in Brest. Also arriving from the East were Kyrillos I Loukaris (Cyril Lucaris), the protosyncellus of Patriarch Meletios Pigas of Alexandria, and several other eminent hierarchs. Considering that the throne of Constantinople was vacant at the time, it may be said that the Orthodox had managed to arrange the most imposing possible representation at the sobor.[39]

[37] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 5: 601–5; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 315–22.

[38] On the proceedings of the Orthodox and Uniate sobors at Brest, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 5: 605–13; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 322–35; Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 366–91.

[39] On attempts by the pro-union hierarchs to prevent the Greek clergymen from coming to Ukraine and the king's decree concerning the matter, see Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis*, pp. 36, 63, 66, 96, 102. On Nikephoros and Kyrillos Loukaris, see Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 324–6, 346–56; Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, pp. 355–60.

Realizing that the strength of the Orthodox lay in the presence at Brest of representatives of the Eastern patriarchs, and his own in the support of the king, Metropolitan Mykhail Rohoza did not respond to invitations from the Orthodox to appear before the Orthodox sobor. The opening of the union sobor was delayed until the royal delegates had arrived. When the Orthodox sent a third (final) invitation to the metropolitan, summoning him to appear at the Orthodox sobor and threatening him with court proceedings there in the event of his refusal, Mykhail Rohoza, probably seeking to suppress his own inner doubts, responded as follows: 'What is done is done; now it cannot be otherwise; whether we have done well or ill, we have given ourselves to the Western Church.'[40] The official opening of the union sobor took place on 8 October in the Church of St Nicholas. As the royal administration had intended, the council had no other agenda than the solemn proclamation of the union. On the first day of sessions, the metropolitan and the bishops signed an official declaration of union. Considering that they had already signed the same document, or a similar one, in Kamianets, those taking part in the sobor must have considered the signing an element of the solemn ceremony. The public proclamation of the union took place on the following day. The sobor anathematized bishops Hedeon Balaban and Mykhail Kopystensky, as well as other clerics who had participated in the Orthodox sobor and failed to adhere to the union.

Having lost hope that the metropolitan and bishops would respond to their summons, the Orthodox resolved to hold a sobor of their own. All the Orthodox churches (except that of St Nicholas) in Brest were closed on official orders, hence the sobor of the opponents of the union took place in a private residence where Prince Ostrozky was staying. The sobor was divided into two circles, lay and clerical, with Protosyncellus Nikephoros presiding over the latter. The basic agenda of the sobor's proceedings became that of passing judgment on the metropolitan and the bishops who had gone over to the union. On 9 October, a resolution was adopted dismissing them from their posts. The participants in the sobor decided to appeal to the king for confirmation of their decision. In the event of refusal, the Orthodox threatened to raise the issue at the next Diet. The split was now a *fait accompli*. In the history of the Ruthenian Church, the sixteenth century ended with the establishment of two churches in place of one—the Orthodox, which recognized the supremacy of Constantinople, and the Uniate, which preserved the Byzantine rite as it came under authority of Rome.

There are few sources available to judge the numbers of proponents and opponents of the union, their territorial distribution, social origins,

[40] Quoted in Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 1: 273.

and so on, *circa* 1596. Conclusions about participants in the Orthodox sobor at Brest can only be drawn on the basis of incomplete data. If the activity of the brotherhoods can serve to indicate the religious orientation of the Ruthenian burghers, then it is safe to conclude that the townsfolk were overwhelmingly on the side of Orthodoxy. The mass of the parish clergy supported the eparchial hierarchs, so that the priests of the Lviv and Peremyshl eparchies remained Orthodox, while priests of the other eparchies supported the union (with the sole exception of a number of parishes of the Lutsk–Ostrih eparchy that responded to the considerable influence of Prince Ostrozky in Volhynia). Most monasteries remained on the side of Orthodoxy. There were twelve monasteries represented at the Orthodox sobor, as opposed to three at the Uniate one. The greatest of them—the Kyivan Cave Monastery, headed by its archimandrite, Nykyfor Tur—came out against the union.

The monasteries' opposition to the union was determined by several factors. There was, firstly, the traditional hostility of the hegumens and archimandrites toward local bishops, who advanced claims to monastery income. Secondly, the archimandrites of the monasteries were often married laymen like Nykyfor Tur. Union with Rome and the reordering of church life according to the demands of the Counter-Reformation represented a personal threat to such people. Thirdly, the learned monks were trustees of the dogmas of the Orthodox faith, opponents of all external influences and modernization (an attitude clearly apparent in the works of the best-known guardian of Orthodox purity, the monk Ivan Vyshensky), and hence vehemently opposed to the 'corruption' of their faith by Rome.

Also actively participating in the Orthodox sobor at Brest were representatives of the Orthodox nobility, who condemned the union rather harshly. Considering that patronage remained in effect on the territory of the Commonwealth, the role of the nobility in the continuing Orthodox–Catholic standoff was quite significant, as it was often the noble landlord of a town or village who decided which church would be established on his territory. The attitude of the nobility was thus decisive for the pace and extent of the union's advance. A considerable number of delegates at the Orthodox sobor represented the Orthodox nobility of the Kingdom of Poland, that is, of the Ukrainian lands. At the same time, representation of the nobility from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (i.e. Belarus) was quite insignificant. Clearly, this cannot be explained merely by the greater influence of the Ostrozkys in Ukraine, for there were also Orthodox and Calvinist magnates in Belarus who were opposed to the union. Apparently, the Ruthenian nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was losing its denominational and thus its ethnic identity much more rapidly than its counterparts in the Kingdom of Poland. Quite

characteristically, all three monasteries represented at the union sobor were also located in Belarus.[41]

The Church Divided

For the Kyivan Orthodox metropolitanate, the first two decades after the establishment of the Union of Brest may be characterized as a period of survival. As was to be expected, in the religious conflict the king took the side of the Uniates. In December 1596 a royal proclamation acknowledged the decisions of the Brest sobor and virtually outlawed the Orthodox Church that was not in union with Rome. The royal administration refused to recognize its leaders, Bishops Hedeon Balaban and Mykhail Kopystensky, or, indeed, the very existence of the church.

The royal administration had strongly supported the Union ever since the Orthodox bishops first approached the authorities concerning the union of churches in 1594. King Zygmunt III, himself a disciple of the Jesuits, was personally devoted to the cause and maintained his support for the Uniate Church until his death in 1632. Apart from the personal beliefs and sympathies of the king, royal support for the Union is to be explained by the advance of Counter-Reformation tendencies within the Commonwealth and the government's close co-operation with the revitalized Catholic Church in its struggle with Protestant and Orthodox dissidents. The cultural homogenization (in ethnic terms, Polonization) of the Commonwealth's ruling élite was fostered in the Ruthenian palatinates by the Protestant and Catholic churches alike, and the Union was undoubtedly intended to strengthen the latter. In fact, it achieved the opposite result, as it not only brought the Orthodox closer to the Protestants but also jeopardized the whole effort to homogenize the Commonwealth's élite.

In the face of royal hostility, it was the Ukrainian nobles who became the main source of support for embattled Orthodoxy, and parliamentary debate in the Diet became the principal means of expressing opposition to the union. The first Diet to be held in the Commonwealth after Brest was scheduled for February 1597 in Warsaw. At the nobiliary dietines that

[41] For the social composition of the Orthodox sobor at Brest, see Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis*, pp. 337–8, 367. For an analysis of the data, see Bieńkowski, 'Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce', pp. 838–41.

Support for the Orthodox cause on the part of the Ukrainian nobility was, of course, far from unanimous. Even in Ostrozky's native Volhynia there was an influential group of nobles supporting the Union. See Mykhailo Dovbyshchenko, 'Uniats'kyi nobilitet Volyni pershoï polovyny XVII st. (Pohliad na problemu z pozytsiï novykh metodolohichnykh pidkhodiv)' in *Proseminarii: mediievistyka, istoriia tserkvy, nauky i kul'tury*, no. 1, ed. Vasyl' Ul'ianovs'kyi (Kyiv, 1997), pp. 52–64.

preceded it, the Orthodox nobility resolutely protested the decisions of the Uniate council, and the brotherhoods of Vilnius and Lviv dispatched their representatives to the Diet. At the Diet itself, the Orthodox attempted, with some success, to obtain the support of the Protestant delegates, but the results were generally unfavorable to their cause. Under pressure from the royal administration, Protosyncellus Nikephoros was convicted of espionage and sent to prison, where he later died. It was only at the Diet of March 1603 that the Orthodox managed a significant achievement. In exchange for the Orthodox delegates' support for the king's tax proposal to fund the war in Livonia, he permitted the election of the archimandrite of the Kyivan Cave Monastery from among the Orthodox. Furthermore, he pledged himself to strive for the annulment of the papal letter according to which the monastery was to become a possession of the Uniate metropolitan. This was a major victory for the Orthodox camp, its essence being the royal administration's recognition of the actual state of affairs: that 'non-Uniate' Orthodox with a hierarchy and monasteries of their own continued to exist outside the Uniate hierarchy's sphere of influence.[42]

Further progress in the legalization of the Orthodox Church was attained thanks to the Ukrainian nobility's participation in the confederation (*rokosz*) of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, in the course of which the Orthodox formed a common front with the Protestants against the king. At the price of insignificant concessions, the royal administration managed to breach the alliance of the Orthodox Volhynian nobility with the Protestants. The demands of the Orthodox to liquidate the union and legalize the Orthodox hierarchy were rejected by the king, but the Diets of 1607 and then of 1609 confirmed the right of the Orthodox to hold divine services and endow Orthodox churches and monasteries with estates. Thus the existence of two Byzantine-rite churches was formally recognized in the Commonwealth. To be sure, they remained unequal in status. The Uniate Church enjoyed the support of the government, and its hierarchy was recognized and replenished by the king, who had the right to nominate new bishops. The Orthodox Church, on the other hand, was on the verge of losing its hierarchy—a loss that threatened to put an end to its very existence.[43]

Bishop Hedeon Balaban of Lviv died in 1607, as did Bishop Mykhail Kopystensky of Peremyshl in 1609. Even before Balaban's demise, the

[42] For a discussion of the denominational struggle at Commonwealth Diets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 356–70; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 6: 565–83; Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (do 1608 g.)*.

[43] See Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 377–96. For a discussion of the legal status of the Orthodox Church at the time, see Bednov, *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve*.

king had nominated the bishop's nephew, Isaia Balaban, to take his place. However, the Lviv Brotherhood firmly opposed his candidacy. It proposed its own candidate for the bishopric, Ostafii Tysarovsky, who gained the king's nomination by promising to go over to the union, but in fact remained loyal to Orthodoxy. After the death of Mykhail Kopystensky, Tysarovsky remained the sole Orthodox hierarch. Given the virtually complete absence of a hierarchy, the role of monasteries and their archimandrites grew considerably within Ukrainian Orthodoxy. The monasteries, which possessed considerable financial resources and great moral authority, became bastions of the struggle for the rights of the Orthodox Church. Consequently, the effort to preserve the Kyivan Cave Monastery for the Orthodox and the election of Ielysei Pletenetsky as its archimandrite were viewed as major events in the Uniate–Orthodox conflict in the first decade of the seventeenth century and thus attracted the attention of the royal administration, the papal nuncio, and the Orthodox nobility, led by Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky.[44]

It was the appearance of a new political force in Ukraine, Zaporozhian Cossackdom, that opened a qualitatively new era in the development of Ukrainian Orthodoxy. A decisive moment in the *rapprochement* and political consolidation of the Orthodox élite and the Cossack leadership was reached in 1620–1, when the military power of the Cossacks was transformed into political power, allowing them to take the new Orthodox hierarchy under their protection. The renewal of the hierarchy was made possible by the visit of Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem to Ukraine in 1620. He visited Moscow in order to collect donations for the Eastern Church and took part in the consecration of the Patriarch of Moscow, Filaret Romanov, father of the reigning Tsar Mikhail. Theophanes was empowered by the patriarch of Constantinople to resolve problems faced by any church subordinate to Constantinople, hence he could consecrate hierarchs in the Kyivan metropolitanate.

The Orthodox élite, headed by the Cossack leader, Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny, resolved to make good use of this visit of the patriarch of Jerusalem. A Cossack detachment met the patriarch at the Muscovite border and escorted him to Kyiv, where representatives of the monastic and parish clergy put forward the idea of consecrating a new hierarchy. Just as in 1589 Patriarch Jeremiah, responding to pressure from the local populace, had attempted to put the affairs of the Kyivan metropolitanate in order, so now Patriarch Theophanes found himself obliged to undertake the same task. If in the previous instance the results had been schism and the intensification of the crisis within Orthodoxy, the actions of

[44] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 6: 586–91; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 401–4; Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, p. 90.

Theophanes fostered the consolidation of the Orthodox Church in the Kyivan metropolitanate. In the autumn of 1620, with the participation of two other Eastern hierarchs, Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem consecrated the hegumen of St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery, Iov Boretsky, as metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych, hieromonk Meletii Smotrytsky as archbishop of Polatsk, and a number of other bishops as heads of eparchies within the Kyivan metropolitanate. Kyiv effectively became the seat of the Orthodox metropolitan, while the Uniate metropolitan continued to reside in the Belarusian town of Navahrudak, as had the Kyivan metropolitans since the fifteenth century.[45]

The new hierarchy was consecrated without the approval of the authorities and was never recognized by the king, who even issued orders to arrest the new bishops. Only because of Cossack intervention were those orders temporarily suspended. The question of the renewal of the Orthodox hierarchy and the political struggle associated with it revived polemics between the Orthodox and Catholics, which had all but ceased by the second decade of the seventeenth century. In the new round, the Orthodox champion was Meletii Smotrytsky, while the Uniates were represented by Metropolitan Iosyf Rutsky and his successor, Antonii Seliava.[46]

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, the Uniate Church encountered its share of internal and external problems. In the summer of 1599, Metropolitan Mykhail Rohoza died, bringing to a close a whole era in the history of Kyivan Christianity. In place of the metropolitan, whose sympathies had been divided between Constantinople and Rome, there came the bishop of Volodymyr, Ipatii Potii, one of the principal authors of the Union of Brest and its ideological leader. As he had arrived at the idea of union not through calculation of personal gain but above all through conviction, Potii built up the Uniate Church and persecuted its opponents, the outlawed Orthodox, with the energy of a neophyte. Such actions on the part of Potii, who relied on the support of the state, provoked a violent reaction among the Orthodox, resulting in an attempt on Potii's

[45] For a discussion of the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 7: 426–37; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 419–31; P. I. Orlovskii, 'Uchastie zaporozhskikh kazakov v vosstanovlenii (ierusalimskim patriarkhom Feofanom) pravoslavnoi iuzhno-russkoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii v 1620 godu', *KS* 24 (1905): no. 10, pp. 113–41; P. N. Zhukovich, 'Istoricheskie obstoiatel'stva, predshestvovavshie vosstanovleniiu patriarkhom Feofanom zapadno-russkoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii', *KhCh* 219 (1905): pt. 2, pp. 634–57, 755–77; id., 'Pervoe vmeshatel'stvo zaporozhskikh kazakov v seimovuiu bor'bu s tserkovnoi uniei', *KhCh* 223 (1907): pt. 1, pp. 54–75, 167–89, 300–23; id., 'Pervyi pol'skii seim posle vosstanovleniia patriarkhom Feofanom pravoslavnoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii', *KhCh* 220 (1905): pt. 2, pp. 580–97, 723–47.

[46] For a general account of religious polemics in the 1620s, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, vol. 6 (Kyiv, 1995), pp. 197–332; Vozniak, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 250–73.

life in Vilnius. The assessor Ivan Tupeka attacked Potii in 1609 and cut off two of his fingers (the metropolitan raised his hand to ward off a sword that was raised against him).

The policy adopted by Potii strengthened the Uniate Church only to some extent. Orthodox opposition in Vilnius was indeed broken, but the success of the church union in Ukraine generally was rather modest. The Uniates were unable to arrange for their supporters to take over the bishoprics left vacant in Peremyshl, Lviv and Lutsk. As mentioned earlier, the Orthodox managed to retain the bishopric of Lviv, while the contest for those of Peremyshl and Lutsk went on for more than a decade. The struggle with opponents of the Union swallowed up all of Potii's time and energy, leaving him unable to carry out the ecclesiastical reform of which he had been one of the principal initiators during the pre-union period. Potii's activity as metropolitan reflected one of the main contradictions of contemporary religious and social life, which also became the major contradiction within Potii's character. A man of keen intelligence, he was well aware of all the flaws of pre-union Orthodoxy and wanted to remedy them by means of union with Rome. Nevertheless, he saw no means of asserting his 'truth' other than violence, which was based on the support of the royal administration and gave rise to new violence.[47]

After the death of Potii in 1613, the cause of church reform was taken up by his successor, Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Rutsky. Rutsky, who served as metropolitan from 1613 to 1637, played an exceptionally important role in the history of the Uniate Church. He managed to reform the church along the lines of the Counter-Reformation and to lay its organizational foundations during the decades that followed. One of Rutsky's major undertakings was the reform of Uniate monasticism. He effectively removed the Uniate monasteries from the authority of the local bishops, subordinating them to himself and Rome. The monasteries were united within the Basilian Order (named after the monastic rule of St Basil) and reformed along the lines of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, with the Jesuits serving as the model for this formerly Orthodox monastic community. As part of the general reform of monastic life, and through it of the whole church, Rutsky sent young Basilian priests abroad to be educated in papal colleges in Western and Central Europe. Upon returning from their studies, they were put in charge of the emerging school system, which included elementary

[47] The methods of converting and punishing those who were not amenable to persuasion may be illustrated by the case of a priest in one of the churches of Volodymyr who was dragged away from his altar around Christmas 1600 and taken to the Dormition Cathedral, where Ipatii Potii was then sojourning. The newly nominated metropolitan shaved the priest's head and forbade him to celebrate the liturgy. See Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 2: 120; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 6: 582–6.

schools at the Basilian monasteries and a seminary. They also became prime candidates for vacant positions in the church administration and were rapidly promoted to episcopal office. Last but not least, in the course of the reform Rutsky managed to enhance the authority of the metropolitan's office and dramatically improve discipline in the church.[48]

By reforming the church and raising the educational level of the clergy, Rutsky managed to create a model of church union that proved extraordinarily attractive to Orthodox intellectuals. A significant number of leading thinkers and polemicists from the Orthodox camp, notably Meletii Smotrytsky, Kyryl Tranquillon-Stavrovetsky, and for a short time Kasiian Sakovych, went over to the union. Even so, Rutsky was unable to extend the influence of the union in any serious way. This was particularly apparent in Ukraine, where, in contrast with Belarus, the Uniates had lost most of their supporters among the magnates and nobles. Beginning in 1620, thanks to the support of the Cossacks, and then, from 1632, as a result of the compromise struck with the royal administration, the Orthodox steadily strengthened their position in Ukraine, where the union remained a rather marginal phenomenon. Orthodox consolidation proceeded apace with the death of Metropolitan Rutsky in 1637, for his successors, Rafail Korsak (1637–40) and Antonii Seliava (1641–55), managed at best only to maintain the church at the level attained by Rutsky.[49]

The renewal of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 rendered Orthodox–Uniate differences more acute. Efforts on the part of the new Orthodox bishops to restore and reactivate their parishes encountered opposition from the Uniate hierarchy. The confrontation was most dramatic in Belarus, where the union enjoyed considerably greater success at the time than it did in Ukraine. It was there that two eminent

[48] On the life and activities of Metropolitan Iosyf Rutsky, see Mirosław Szegda, *Działalność prawno organizacyjna metr. Józefa IV Welamina Rutskiego (1613–1637)* (Warsaw, 1967); Sofiia Senyk, 'Dva mytropolyty—Potii i Ruts'kyi' in *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koï uniï i pershe pouniine pokolinnia*, pp. 137–48; id., 'Rutskyj's Reform and Orthodox Monasticism: A Comparison. Eastern Rite Monasticism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Seventeenth Century', *OCP* 48, no. 2 (1982): 406–30. For Rutsky's letters to Rome, see Athanasius Welykyj (Velykyi) and Teodosii Halushchyns'kyi, ed., *Epistolae Josephi Velamin Rutskyj Metropolitae Kioviensis Catholici (1613–1637)* (Rome, 1956). For a listing of Uniates sent by Rutsky to study abroad, see Dmytro Blažejowskyj, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576–1983)* (Rome, 1984).

[49] On Smotrytsky and Sakovych, see Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*; id., '"Foolish Rus"'. On the loss of support for the Union among the Volhynian nobility, see Dovbyshchenko, 'Uniats'kyi nobilitet Volyni pershoï polovyny XVII st.'.

On seventeenth-century developments in the Uniate Church, see Sofiia Senyk, 'Beresteis'ka uniia i svits'ke dukhovenstvo: naslidky uniï u pershykh desiatylittiakh' in Gudziak and Turii, ed., *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy*, pp. 55–67; Porfirii Pidruchnyi, 'Pochatky Vasylians'koho chynu i Beresteis'ka uniia', ibid., pp. 79–101; Petro Galadza, 'Liturhichne pytannia i rozvytok bohosluzhen' naperedodni Beresteis'koï uniï azh do kintsia XVII st.', ibid., pp. 1–29.

representatives of seventeenth-century Ruthenian Christianity—the newly consecrated Orthodox archbishop of Polatsk, Meletii Smotrytsky, and the Uniate archbishop of Polatsk, Iosafat Kuntsevych—squared off against each other. Kuntsevych was animated not only by his own faith in the need for the union and its ultimate triumph but also by the support of the royal administration, of which he made liberal use. Smotrytsky, on the other hand, was obliged to make the best of a situation in which he himself and all his activity were outlawed. The confrontation issued in a tragic finale in Vitsebsk, where Iosafat Kuntsevych arrived in October 1623. He ordered the arrest of the last Orthodox priest in the area, who was holding clandestine religious services outside the town (by then, all the Orthodox churches of Vitsebsk had either been closed or transferred to the Uniates). The arrest triggered an outburst of indignation and despair among the Orthodox residents of the town. A mob of burghers broke into the building where Kuntsevych was staying, killed him, and threw his body into the Dvina. No less brutal were the royal administration's reprisals against the burghers of Vitsebsk who had taken part in the riot. Nineteen of them were executed, and a search was undertaken for another hundred, also condemned to death. The privileges that the town had enjoyed under the Magdeburg law were revoked.[50]

During its first half-century of existence, the Uniate Church had to defend itself against charges and attacks from Orthodox and Roman Catholics alike. From the Catholic side, the Uniates were subjected to equally relentless pressure. Part of the Catholic episcopate insisted on the liquidation of the union (which, contrary to expectations, increased unrest within the state), to be followed by direct Catholic missionary activity in the East. The Uniate Church itself was considered ripe for proselytizing by Catholic missionaries. The Catholic hierarchs admitted no notion of equality with their Uniate counterparts: even the suffragans (vicars of Roman Catholic bishops) considered themselves superior to

[50] See P. N. Zhukovich, 'Ubiistvo Iosafata Kuntsevicha', *KhCh* 225 (1908): pt. 1, pp. 277–312; id., 'Pervyi pol'skii seim posle ubiistva Iosafata Kuntsevicha', *KhCh* 225 (1908): pt. 1, pp. 27–41, 385–401. On the life and activities of Iosafat Kuntsevych, see biographies by Alphonse Guépin, *S. Iosaphat archevêque de Polock*, 2 vols. (Poitiers, 1874), Polish translation: *Żywot św. Józafata Kuncewicza Męczennika, Arcybiskupa Połockiego rit. gr. opowiedziany na tle historii Kościoła Ruskiego według dzieła o. Alfonsa Guépin, Benedyktyna z Solesmes z przedmową X. Kalinki C. R.* (Lviv, 1885), 2nd edn. (Lviv, 1908); id., *Un apôtre de l'Union des Églises au XVII siècle: Saint Josaphat et l'Église Gréco-slave en Pologne et en Russie*, 2 vols. (Paris and Poitiers, 1897–8); Meletii Solovii and Atanasii Velykyi (Welykyj), *Sviatyi Iosafat Kuntsevych. Ioho zhyttia i doba* (Toronto, 1967); Sophia Senyk, 'The Sources of the Spirituality of St. Josaphat Kuncevyč', *OCP* 51, no. 2 (1985): 425–36. Atanasii Velykyi also published documents on Kuntsevych's beatification and canonization. See Athanasius Welykyj (Velykyi), ed., *S. Josaphat Hieromartyr documenta Romana beatificationis et canonizationis* (=*Analecta OSBM*, series 2, section 3, Documenta Romana Ecclesiae Catholicae in Terris Ucrainae et Bielarusjae), 3 vols. (Rome, 1952–67).

the Uniate hierarchs. According to Uniate testimony, all mention of the union aroused irritation in Roman Catholic circles. Indicative of prevailing attitudes was the situation that arose during the Diet convoked at the beginning of 1621: on the streets of Warsaw even Catholic bishops turned away on meeting Uniates, and the papal nuncio found himself obliged to visit the bishops by night, pleading with them to support the union.[51]

Discussions about the viability of the union were also held in the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. The nuncio was instructed to collect reports from the Catholic bishops of the Commonwealth's eastern provinces on the situation of the Uniate Church in their eparchies. The information presented by the bishops was more than dispiriting to the Uniates. The situation in the diocese of Vilnius was comparatively favorable, but as far as Ukraine was concerned, all the Catholic bishops declared themselves against the union. The bishops' reports made quite a strong impression in Rome, but did not convince Pope Gregory XV or the leading members of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Cardinals Ottavio Bandini and Maffeo Barberini, to abandon the union.[52] The pope's stand saved the union from liquidation, but his support had its price. Contrary to the conditions of the Union of Brest, the Roman curia, represented by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, assumed ever greater control not only over the nomination and consecration of new metropolitans, which was achieved through the introduction of the post of coadjutor (a successor to the metropolitan, effectively an appointee of Rome), but also over the nomination of bishops. Furthermore, Rome maintained control of contacts with the other half of Rus' (i.e. the Orthodox).[53]

Surprisingly, the death of Kuntsevych helped the Uniates to overcome the hitherto negative attitude toward the union on the part of the Commonwealth élite. The defeat at Ţuţora (1620) was now a thing of the past, and the victorious Battle of Khotyn (1621) gave the Commonwealth greater confidence in its confrontation with the Ottoman Empire. Hetman Sahaidachny was already dead by that time, and the Cossacks were no longer so necessary to the Commonwealth. In Warsaw, the murder of Kuntsevych helped to bring about a change of mood. The union began to be seen as vulnerable to 'schismatic' encroachments, and once again resolute partisans rose to defend it. The murder of Kuntsevych and the reprisals against the burghers of Vitsebsk also influenced the attitude of

[51] See E. F. Shmurlo, *Rimskaia kuriia na russkom pravoslavnom vostoke (1609–1654)* (Prague, 1929), pp. 41–2; Edward Likowski, *Unia brzeska (r. 1596)* (Poznań, 1896), p. 214.

[52] For minutes of the meetings of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, see Athanasius Welykyj (Velykyi), ed., *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantia*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1953–5), 1: 9–10.

[53] See Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 109–13, 139–58.

Orthodox intellectuals: the struggle of Rus' against Rus' exceeded the bounds of literary polemics, giving rise to mutual hatred and even murder. Meletii Smotrytsky, who apparently considered himself morally responsible for the baleful developments, was very deeply affected by them. His decision to leave the Commonwealth for a time and make a visit to the Eastern patriarchs may have been inspired by the events at Vitsebsk.[54]

The renewal of the Orthodox hierarchy and the deepening of the Orthodox–Uniate struggle led the Commonwealth authorities to seek a compromise for the accommodation of the 'people of Rus''. The holding of a joint Orthodox–Uniate sobor was first proposed by the royal administration as early as the Diet of 1623. The idea became especially popular in the entourage of Metropolitan Iosyf Rutsky and the Uniate hierarchy, which had been deprived by the restored Orthodox hierarchy of its monopoly on the representation of the 'people of Rus'' before the royal administration and was now faced with growing activity on the part of the Orthodox. Some Orthodox intellectuals, including Meletii Smotrytsky, responded to the idea, and the sitting metropolitan, Iov Boretsky, was also inclined in its favor, but in general the Orthodox, who depended heavily on the support of the Cossacks, were seriously constrained in their relations with the Uniates.

At the Orthodox sobor of 1628, Meletii Smotrytsky was harshly condemned for his allegedly non-Orthodox views. The groundswell of indignation against the most influential Orthodox publicist was so powerful among the Orthodox that even Iov Boretsky and other clerics, who had earlier supported Smotrytsky's efforts at 'unification', were now obliged to distance themselves from him. An attempt by King Zygmunt III to convoke a joint Orthodox–Uniate sobor in 1629 also proved fruitless. In preparation for the joint sobor, the king had convoked two separate sobors, one for the Orthodox in Kyiv and the other for the Uniates in Volodymyr. At their sobor, the Uniates put forward compromise conditions of union that called for the Orthodox to recognize the supremacy of the pope while remaining under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. Metropolitan Rutsky also mooted the idea of a joint patriarchate. But the unification council did not, in fact, take place. Under pressure from the Cossacks, the Orthodox hierarchy refused to take part.[55]

[54] On Smotrytsky's competition with Kuntsevych in Belarus and his reaction to the latter's death, see Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 75–101.

[55] On attempts to convene a joint Orthodox–Uniate sobor in 1629, see studies by P. N. Zhukovich, 'Varshavskii seim 1628 goda i krushenie unional'nykh planov Meletiia Smotritskogo', *KhCh* 234 (1910): pt. 1, pp. 935–59; 'Vopros o primirenii pravoslavnykh s uniatami na Varshavskom seime 1629 goda', *KhCh* 234 (1910): pt. 1, pp. 1122–35; pt. 2, pp. 1233–48; 'Kievskii sobor 1629 goda (po novym materialam)', *KhCh* 235 (1911): pt. 1, pp. 74–92, 353–69; 'L'vovskii sobor 1629 goda v sviazi s politicheskimi obstoiatel'stvami vremeni', *KhCh* 235 (1911): pt. 2, pp. 661–84; 'Materialy dlia istorii Kievskogo i L'vovskogo soborov (1629 g.)',

After the death of the Orthodox metropolitan, Iov Boretsky, in 1631, Isaia Kopynsky was chosen to succeed him. Like the other hierarchs consecrated in 1620, he remained illegitimate in the eyes of the royal administration and could not even make his way to his eparchy, where ecclesiastical life went on with no episcopal authority, as it had before 1620. Meanwhile, the death of Zygmunt III in 1632 and the election of his successor, Władysław IV, led to major changes in the official attitude to the Orthodox Church. Seeking support from the Orthodox delegates to the electoral Diet, Władysław agreed to settle the old denominational conflict on the Ukrainian–Belarusian lands, which was seriously weakening the Commonwealth and even leading some representatives of the Orthodox hierarchy consecrated in 1620 to adopt a pro-Muscovite orientation. On 1 November 1632, he signed the so-called 'Measures for the Accommodation of Citizens of the Greek Faith'.[56]

The 'Measures' accorded the Orthodox Church *de facto* state recognition, giving the Orthodox the right to a metropolitan and bishops of their own and establishing conditions for the settlement of property disputes between Orthodox and Catholics. Making use of these new opportunities, the Orthodox delegates to the electoral Diet immediately chose a new 'legitimate' metropolitan and two bishops. The new metropolitan was the archimandrite of the Kyivan Cave Monastery, Petro Mohyla.[57]

Zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo otdeleniia Imperatorskoi akademii nauk 8, no. 15 (1911): 1–26, and a documentary work by Ivan Kryp"iakevych, 'Novi materiialy do istorii soboriv 1629 r.', *ZNTSh* 116 (1913): 5–39.

On the idea of a Ruthenian patriarchate, see Jan Krajcar, 'The Ruthenian Patriarchate: Some Remarks on the Project for its Establishment in the 17th Century', *OCP* 30 (1964): 65–84; D. Tanczuk, 'Quaestio patriarchatus Kioviensis tempore conaminum Unionis Ruthenorum (1582–1632)', *Analecta OSBM* 1 (1949): 128–46; Mikołaj (Mykola) Andrusiak, 'Sprawa patriarchatu kijowskiego za Władysława IV', *Prace historyczne w 30-lecie działalności profesorskiej Stanisława Zakrewskiego* (Lviv, 1934), pp. 269–85.

[56] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 8, pt. 1: 139–99; Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 2: 54–60. On the religious policies of Władysław IV, see Jan Dzięgielewski, *O tolerancję dla zdominowanych. Polityka wyznaniowa Rzeczypospolitej w latach panowania Władysława IV* (Warsaw, 1986); Marian Bendza, 'Władysław IV a Kościół Prawosławny', *Rocznik teologiczny Chrześcijańskiej Akademii Teologicznej* 20, no. 2 (1978): 27–77; Henryk Wisner, *Rozróżnieni w wierze. Szkice z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej schyłku XVI i połowy XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1982).

[57] There is a considerable literature on the life and activities of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, although Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki*, remains the standard work. See also Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (Paris, 1969; augmented edn., Kyiv, 1997); *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, ed. A. M. Kolodnyi and V. Klymov (Kyiv, 1997); *Fenomen Petra Mohyly. Biohrafiia, diial'nist', pozytsiia*, ed. Valerii Klymov (Kyiv, 1996). For publications on Mohyla in Western languages, see Ambroise Jobert, *De Luther à Mohila: La Pologne dans la crise de la chrétienté 1517–1648* (= Collection historique de l'Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 21) (Paris, 1974); Georges Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology*, pt. 1 (= *Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, vol. 5) (Belmont, Mass., 1979); and *HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 (1984), special issue, *The Kiev Mohyla Academy*, including a review article by Frank E. Sysyn, 'Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture', pp. 155–87.

He applied himself energetically to his new duties, beginning with the elimination of his main rival and enemy, Isaia Kopynsky. The latter was removed bodily to Mohyla's stronghold, the Cave Monastery, and held there until he gave up the metropolitan's post. Eventually, Mohyla managed to concentrate a wealth of resources in his hands: on becoming metropolitan, he retained control over the Cave Monastery and took over the monasteries of St Michael and St Nicholas in Kyiv. His influence in the Kyiv Epiphany Brotherhood also increased. Having taken control of the requisite financial resources and established good relations with the royal administration and the leaders of the Orthodox nobility, Mohyla undertook the long overdue reform of Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

The reform was made necessary by the disorder of ecclesiastical life, which had been considerably aggravated by the absence of a hierarchy or its inability (even if for reasons beyond its control) to direct church affairs. The stimulus toward reform was the activity of the Uniate Church, reorganized according to Catholic models during the metropolitanate of Iosyf Veliamyn Rutsky. The onset of confessionalization under the guise of the reformed Catholic Church and the union, as well as the further spread of Protestant influence in Ukraine, was the challenge of the times to which the Orthodox Church of Mohyla's day was forced to respond. It is a striking fact that none of the major Orthodox centers of the East managed to rise adequately to the occasion. Moscow continued its policy of self-isolation, and even Constantinople was subject to Protestant influence. The challenge was taken up by the ablest Orthodox leader of the time, Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, who transformed Kyiv into a powerful intellectual and ecclesiastical center of Eastern Christianity.

Mohyla began his reform by introducing strict discipline within the church and increasing the authority of the metropolitan's office. Establishing control over the election and activities of bishops, the consecration of priests, and the work of the brotherhoods were among his major undertakings as metropolitan. One of his most ambitious projects was the development of the Kyivan College (established in 1632, before his accession to the metropolitan see), whose structure and curriculum were based on those of the Catholic colleges of Western and Central Europe. Mohyla was able to bring to Kyiv the best Orthodox intellectuals of the day, and with their help he set about improving ecclesiastical life. He gained control of Orthodox printing presses in Ukraine and influenced their publishing programs. He kept the printshop of the Kyivan Cave Monastery busy producing literature on Orthodox church law and liturgy, as well as didactic and polemical tracts. With Mohyla's participation, a sacramentary was published in Kyiv in 1646, dramatically improving and standardizing liturgical practice. But by far the greatest achievement of Mohyla and his learned circle was the preparation of the

Orthodox confession of faith, which was approved with some amendments by the Eastern patriarchs in 1643 and published in Kyiv in 1645.[58] In the final analysis, Mohyla not only successfully reformed his own church, preparing it to meet the challenges of confessionalization and hold its own against Catholic and Protestant competitors, but also helped to set the whole Orthodox world on the path of confessionalization.[59]

Mohyla's tenure also saw a significant improvement in Orthodox–Uniate relations. The idea of a joint Orthodox–Uniate patriarchate gained currency once more in 1635, after the acceptance of the 'Measures for the Accommodation of Citizens of the Greek Faith'. Neither side, Orthodox or Uniate, was fully satisfied with the 'Measures', and both sought other ways of resolving the long-drawn-out conflict. This time the initiative came from secular circles, most notably from the Volhynian palatine, Prince Aleksander Sanguszko. In October 1635, he sent the prior of the Lviv Dominican monastery, Jan Damaskin, to Rome to inform the pope that a movement for union with the Holy See was spreading among the Orthodox. Damaskin was instructed to obtain Rome's permission to hold a joint Orthodox–Uniate sobor at which questions of unification and the establishment of a joint patriarchate would be discussed. Apparently, Sanguszko's action did not proceed without the support of the royal administration: without awaiting news from Rome, Władysław IV issued a proclamation in September 1636 proposing a discussion of the union of churches at the next Diet.

Rome, however, came out against the idea of a joint sobor. The

[58] See [Petro Mohyla], *Evkholohion albo Molytvoslov yly Trebnyk imïiai v sebï tserkovnaia razlychnaia poslïdovaniia iereiom podobaiushchaia* (Kyiv, 1646; repr. Rome, 1988; Canberra, Munich, and Paris, 1988); [Petro Mohyla and Isaia Trofymovych-Kozlovs'kyi], *S"branie korotkoy nauky o artykulakh vïry pravoslavno-kafolycheskoy* (Kyiv, 1645; 2nd edn. Lviv, 1646. Russian edn.: Moscow, 1649).

[59] For a summary of Mohyla's reforms, see Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (1997), pp. 91–110; A. A. Turilov and B. N. Floria, 'K voprosu ob istoricheskoi al'ternative Brestskoi unii' in Dmitriev *et al.*, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g.*, 2: 13–58. On various aspects of the reforms, see Antoine Malvy and Marcel Viller, *La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila, Métropolite de Kiev (1633–1646), approuvée par les Patriarches grecs du XVII s. Texte latin inédit publié avec introduction et notes critiques*, ed. Gabriel Beauchesne (= Pont. Inst. Studiorum Orientalium, *Orientalia Christiana* 10, no. 39) (Paris, 1927); Ronald Peter Popivchak, *Peter Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47): Translation and Evaluation of His 'Orthodox Confession of Faith' (1640)* (Washington, D.C., 1975); Francis J. Thomson, 'Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian Culture. A Critique of Georges Florovsky's Theory of "The Pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy"', *Slavica Gandensia* 20 (1993): 67–119; Paul Meyendorff, 'The Liturgical Reforms of Peter Mogila: A New Look', *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1985): 101–14, Ukrainian translation: 'Liturhiini reformy Petra Mohyly: novyi pohliad' in *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, pp. 61–73; Stepan Iarmus', 'Petro Mohyla iak vyraznyk pryntsypiv khrystyians'koho dushpastyrstva', ibid., pp. 38–46; Alexander Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (Ottawa, 1977); Volodymyr Krekoten', 'Osvitnia reforma Petra Mohyly i utverdzhennia barokko v ukraïns'kii poezii' in id., *Vybrani pratsi*, ed. Oleksa Myshanych (Kyiv, 1999), pp. 273–99.

Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith had taken the same position on the eve of the planned joint sobor of 1629. The refusal was based on the curia's firm insistence that questions of dogma could be discussed only at ecumenical councils. Quite obviously, such questions would be touched upon at a joint sobor between Orthodox and Uniates that could only be regarded as local in scope. That gave the Roman politicians justification to reject the very idea of a joint sobor. Aside from questions of dogma, Rome undoubtedly had other reasons to forbid the Uniates from taking part in joint sobors. The Eastern policy of the Counter-Reformation papacy was utterly incompatible with the establishment of a new type of patriarchate within which, Rutsky believed, the Orthodox should maintain their allegiance to Constantinople in the same measure as they acknowledged the supremacy of the pope.[60]

In spite of the papacy's refusal to permit a joint Orthodox–Uniate sobor, the idea of joining the two denominations together in a so-called 'universal union' continued to circulate within the Commonwealth. It had the support of King Władysław IV, who was the source of a subsequent initiative for the establishment of such a union. One of his closest advisers on religious affairs, Walerian (Massimiliano) Magni, arrived in Rome in 1645 on a mission from the king. Among the tasks entrusted to him was that of mending relations between the Commonwealth government and the Roman curia, which had reached a dead end during the last years of the pontificate of Pope Urban VIII. One of the specific proposals that Magni presented to the curia's leaders was a plan of 'universal union', most likely drafted by Petro Mohyla and the Orthodox magnate Adam Kysil. As conceived by the authors of the plan, the union was to be a coming together of two equal churches, not the subordination of one to the other. The question of the patriarchate was not raised in the draft, which may explain why it was more favorably received in the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith than previous proposals for an Orthodox–Uniate accommodation. The congregation spoke in support of the initiative, but the curia's decision came too late: first the death of Petro Mohyla in 1647 and then the outbreak of the Khmelnytsky revolt in 1648 rendered the convocation of such a council all but impossible.[61] And so the Church of Rus' remained divided.

[60] On attempts to bring Orthodox and Uniates together in the 1630s, see Shmurlo, *Rimskaia kuriia*, pp. 96–106; Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 139–58; Andrusiak, 'Sprawa patriarchatu kijowskiego'; A. Wojtyła, 'De tentaminibus novae Unionis Universalis in Polonia–Lithuania anno 1636 factis', *OCP* 18 (1952): 158–97; B. N. Floria, 'Vopros o "novoi unii" v ukrainsko-belorusskom obshchestve 20-kh—40-kh gg. XVII veka' in Dmitriev *et al.*, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g.*, 2: 122–50.

[61] On the unification project of 1645, see Atanasii Velykyi (Welykyj), 'Anonimnyi proiekt Petra Mohyly po z"iedynenniu ukraïns'koï tserkvy 1645 r.', *Analecta OSBM* 4, nos. 1–4 (1963): 484–97; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (1997), pp. 131–52.

Although the split between the two branches of the Kyivan church was never healed, the divided church managed to achieve some of the goals that it had not attained as a unit. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Orthodox and Uniate branches of the church both underwent a much-needed ecclesiastical reform and adjusted to new circumstances. Both were profoundly influenced by the confessionalization of religious and social life then under way in Western and East-Central Europe, managing to improve ecclesiastical discipline and introduce standard norms of belief and morals. Both churches addressed the problem of educating their clergy, and each was able to resolve it in its own way. In the 1610s and 1620s the Uniates took the lead, but by the mid-1640s the Orthodox part of the formerly united church achieved remarkable results on its own and became a leading force in the Orthodox world. The confessionalization of religious life in Ukraine and Belarus helped, on the one hand, to bring both churches closer together and was at least partly responsible for the relative success of their negotiations on the prospect of 'universal union' in the 1630s and 1640s. On the other hand, it helped to create a separate confessional identity in each of the churches, which divided them more than ever before and ensured further divergence in the future.

THREE

Warriors for the Faith

As late as the 1580s, the religious allegiance of the Cossacks remained indefinite and extremely obscure to outside observers. For a long time, many Western European and even some Polish authors of works about the Cossacks were not entirely certain whether they were Christians or Muslims. The obscurity of the question was due in some measure to the partly Tatar origins of Cossackdom as such, as well as to the confusion among Muscovite bookmen and politicians between the Cherkasians (*cherkasy*), as Ukrainian Cossacks were known in Muscovy, and the Muslim Circassians.[1]

Sigismund von Herberstein, the author of *Rerum moscovitarum commentarii* (1549), who obtained his information about the Ukrainian Cossacks during visits to Muscovy in 1517 and 1526, considered them to be Christians on the border of the Islamic world. But the French author of *La Cosmographie universelle* (1575), André Thevet, who made use of Herberstein's work, identified the Dnipro Cossacks with the Muslims living on the territory seized by the Crimean khan. The *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae*, published in Cracow in 1585, followed suit. Its author, Stanisław Sarnicki, called the Cossacks 'Cherkasians' and considered them predominantly Muslims. Even when actual Circassians entered the picture, confusion continued to reign. In a report of the 1580s written by an agent of the Warsaw nunciature, Carlo Gamberini, the Circassians, who were Sunni Muslims, were called followers of the Greek rite.[2]

The doubts of foreign observers about the Cossacks' adherence to Christianity first began to be dispelled as Cossack activity expanded beyond the Ukrainian–Tatar steppe borderland and the Cossacks started to intervene actively in Moldavian affairs in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Their struggle with the Ottomans helped to establish their reputation as defenders of Christianity against the Islamic threat. That is how Western Europeans perceived the activities of the Cossack leader Ivan

[1] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 304–5.

[2] On the Ukrainian Cossacks' religious affiliation in sixteenth-century European writings, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 304, and Dmytro Nalyvaiko, *Kozats'ka khrystyians'ka respublika* (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 45–50. For the original text of Gamberini's report, see Welykyj, ed., *Litteræ nuntiorum*, 1: 23–30. English translation in *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks: The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau, 1594*, pp. 116–19.

Pidkova, who seized the Moldavian throne in 1577 and was executed by the Commonwealth authorities the following year at the demand of the Turkish sultan. In a letter to Count Concini della Penna, the Tuscan agent Filippo Talducci, who witnessed Pidkova's execution in Lviv, reflected the religious content of Pidkova's last statement. According to Talducci's letter, Pidkova asserted before his execution: '. . . I have always fought bravely against the enemies of the Christian faith and have always sought the interest and advantage of our fatherland. To be a shield against the infidels has been my constant concern, and I have always striven to hold them back at the borders and not permit them to cross the Danube.'[3] As an Italian Catholic, Talducci considered the Cossacks part of the Christian world endangered by the Islamic threat.

The view of the Cossacks as Christians and potential allies against the Ottomans and Muslims was also put forward in a report by the aforementioned Carlo Gamberini, an official of the papal nunciature in Warsaw. Although Gamberini did not indicate the Cossacks' religion, it may be deduced from the text of his report that he considered them Christians. He wrote that the Cossack leader, with whom he became acquainted, was ready to take part in military action against the Turks 'for the glory of God and the name of the Cossack people'.[4] The Cossack leader encountered by Gamberini was most likely an Orthodox Christian, but it is not impossible that he was a member of the Polish Catholic nobility, which was well represented in Cossack ranks at the time.

In the 1590s, the Cossacks were also seen first and foremost as Christian warriors by the papacy itself, as shown by the mission of a special envoy of Pope Clement VIII, the Croat Aleksandar Komulović, to Eastern Europe. As discussed earlier, his mission was intended to establish an anti-Ottoman league, and, more practically, to seek allies in the struggle with the Ottomans and prepare specific actions against the Turks. Rome saw Ukrainian Cossackdom as a potential ally, and Komulović brought two letters from the pope to the Cossacks—one addressed to their leader, the other to the entire Host. In both letters, the pope treated the Cossacks as committed Christians and exhorted them to struggle against the

[3] Nalyvaiko, *Kozats'ka khrystyians'ka respublika*, p. 74.

[4] See *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks: The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau, 1594*, p. 116. Later in the report (p. 118), Gamberini goes on to say: 'They did not ask for help to serve their own comforts, but to combat for the glory of God and for the perpetual name of their militia, resolving to conquer the enemy or to die for the faith.' The Roman curia was informed about the activities of the Cossacks not only by its nuncios and other representatives in Warsaw but also by the Commonwealth's ambassadors to Rome. See, for example, a letter of 28 January 1588 to Pope Sixtus V from one of these ambassadors, Stanisław Reszka, who mentions Cossack participation in the Battle of Byczyna between the forces of Jan Zamoyski and Archduke Maximilian von Habsburg (Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 168, f. 279).

enemies of Christendom. The pope complained about heretics and unbelievers, but his letters were formulated in such a way as to be acceptable to both Catholic and Orthodox believers. This was a fairly astute tactical move on Rome's part, as the letters most probably came to the attention of Severyn Nalyvaiko, the Orthodox leader of a Cossack uprising in Ukraine.[5]

The Catholic bishop of Kyiv, Józef Wereszczyński, also developed proposals for struggle against the Ottomans on the basis of Christian unity between Catholics and Orthodox. Wereszczyński was at least partly of Ruthenian descent and became known mainly as a publicist. He was the author of polemical broadsides known as *turcicae* that exhorted the Commonwealth to combat the Ottomans, as well as of plans for the settlement of the Ukrainian steppes. As noted previously, Wereszczyński was the author of the first proposal for the establishment of an autonomous Cossack polity on the Left Bank of the Dnipro in order to help prevent Tatar attacks. Given that his projects were drafted and put forward while preparations for church unity were under way, Wereszczyński clearly did not doubt that the principle of Christian unity would prevail when it came to the struggle against the Ottomans.[6]

Ivan Pidkova's speech, recorded by Talducci, gives us some idea of the Cossacks' own views on their relations with Christendom. Even considering that Talducci's report may have been influenced by models drawn from classical historiography, with its particular emphasis on the speeches of historical figures, his account of Pidkova's last words, while not necessarily a verbatim transcript, undoubtedly reflected the range of ideas being debated in the Commonwealth in connection with Cossack activities. Cossackdom's use of elements of anti-Islamic ideology was

[5] See Wynar, *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594*; Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 58–65.

[6] For a bibliography of Wereszczyński's works, see *Bibliografia literatury polskiej 'Nowy Korbut'. Piśmiennictwo staropolskie*, ed. Roman Pollak *et al.*, 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1963–5), 3: 383–5. On Wereszczyński's projects for the organization of Ukrainian Cossackdom, see P. M. Sas, 'S. Orikhovs'kyi, I. Vereshchyns'kyi: Polityko-pravovi kontseptsiï derzhavnoho ustroiu' in *Pol's'ko-ukraïns'ki studiï*, vol. 1, *Ukraïna-Pol'shcha: istorychna spadshchyna i suspil'na svidomist'* (Kyiv, 1993), pp. 62–8; id., *Politychna kul'tura ukraïns'koho suspil'stva*, pp. 238–80.

In *Publika*, published in 1594, Wereszczyński particularly advocated the formation of a knightly order in the Dnipro region on the model of the Knights of Malta. Half of the order's cavalry regiments were to be organized in Cossack fashion, and all the infantry was to be recruited from the local (Orthodox) population. See Wereszczyński, *Publika . . . tak z strony fundowania szkoły rycerskiej synom koronnym na Ukrainie, jako też Krzyżakom według reguły maltańskiej* (Cracow, 1594), reprinted in his *Pisma polityczne*, ed. K. J. Turowski (Cracow, 1858). In *Pobudka* (1594), an appeal in verse to the emperor, the Polish king, and the Muscovite tsar, Wereszczyński cited the exploits of the Cossacks led by Ivonea in Moldavia as an example to Christian monarchs. He noted that Ivonea's forces consisted of a mere thousand 'Podilian Cossacks', most of whom were 'simple peasants' armed only with clubs and scythes, yet they had scored impressive victories over the Turks (*Roksolański Parnas. Polskojęzyczna poezja ukraińska od końca XVI do początku XVIII wieku*, pt. 2, *Antologia*, ed. Rostysław Radyszewśkyj [Cracow, 1988], p. 36).

perfectly natural for a community that had arisen on the border between Christianity and Islam, brought into being by the inevitability of warfare with the Turco-Tatar world, and the Cossack leader's formula of 'a shield against the infidels' was meant to justify Cossack 'unruliness' in the borderlands to the ruling circles of the state. Moreover, the use of such phraseology corresponded in general terms to the new ideological myth that was then taking shape in the Commonwealth—that of the Polish–Lithuanian state as the 'defensive bulwark' (*antemurale*) of Christian Europe. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, this myth was relatively tolerant and 'inclusive' when it came to drawing Protestants as well as Orthodox into the common struggle against the Turkish danger.[7]

By the end of the sixteenth century, Cossack allegiance to the Christian world had been clearly declared by the Cossacks themselves and recognized by Western Christianity in the context of joint resistance to the Ottoman and Muslim threat. But Cossackdom's position on the division of Christianity between East and West, Catholicism and Orthodoxy, especially its attitude to the initially hypothetical and then actual union of churches, remained a great unknown as the religious conflict in Ukraine grew more acute.

Cossacks into Orthodox Christians

How important was the religious element in the first Cossack movements that swept Ukraine in the late sixteenth century under the leadership of Kryshtof Kosynsky and Severyn Nalyvaiko? Eighteenth-century Ukrainian chroniclers and the anonymous author of the *Istoriia Rusov* (History of the Rus'), which was popular in the nineteenth century, unanimously stressed the role of religion, and of Orthodoxy in particular, as one of the motive forces of both insurrections. These views of the Cossack chroniclers were effectively challenged and rejected by representatives of modern Ukrainian historiography, including the most prominent of them, Mykhailo Hrushevsky. With unconcealed irony, Hrushevsky noted that the story of Kosynsky as the first victim of the Union was

[7] On the genesis and spread of this myth in the Commonwealth in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Janusz Tazbir, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy. Mity a rzeczywistość historyczna* (Warsaw, 1987), pp. 15–74.

For a view of the Ottomans as the main enemies of the unity of Western and Eastern Christendom, see a letter from the Polish Counter-Reformation leader Stanisław Hosius (Hozjusz) to one of the early proponents of church union, Stanislav Orikhovsky (Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 168, ff. 188–90). In defending the validity of the decisions taken at the Council of Trent, Hosius claimed that all branches of Christianity were duly represented at the council by Rome, since the unity of Christendom had been officially declared at the Council of Florence (1439). It was only because of the Turks, claimed Hosius, that this unity was later sundered.

repeated widely in textbooks and popular books. When I was a small boy, it made my heart, too, cringe in sorrow and anger. But now we know very well that 'Kosynsky's uprising' was at the outset nothing more than a clash between a Cossack chieftain, perhaps one not even Ukrainian or Orthodox by origin, and the pillar of Orthodoxy and Ukrainian identity at the time, Kostiantyn Ostrozky. The clash was provoked by the greed of the Bila Tserkva officials of his son, Prince Janusz Ostrogski.

Hrushevsky also noted the accidental nature of the intervention in religious affairs on the part of the rebels led by Nalyvaiko, an opinion generally shared by present-day students of the first Cossack insurrections.[8]

Indeed, we have no reliable information about any religious element in the first Cossack revolt under the leadership of Kryshtof Kosynsky (1591–3). Neither nationality and culture nor religion were serious factors in that revolt, nor could they have been, as religious identity remained rather indefinite and fluid among the Cossacks, given their isolation from prevailing forms of social organization in the settled area. In his poem 'De bello Ostrogiano ad Piantcos cum Nisoviis' ('On Ostrozky's Battle at Piatka against the Lower Dnipro Cossacks'), which dealt with the events of the Kosynsky uprising and was commissioned by the princes Ostrozky, Szymon Pękalski drew a sharp distinction between Cossackdom and Rus' in matters of tradition and culture. While the poem reflected the views of the Ostrozky family, which tended to regard Cossackdom as its own unruly and rebellious offspring that required constant control, it also indicated the actual gap between the preoccupations of the Cossack stratum and the vital interests and aspirations of Ruthenian society.[9]

The gap was, nevertheless, partly bridged in the course of the Nalyvaiko uprising (1594–6). Insurgent Cossackdom became involved quite rapidly in the social struggle taking place in the settled area and in Rus' as a whole because of two significant circumstances—the close association between Nalyvaiko and the milieu of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky and the extraordinarily broad extent of the uprising, which took in not only the Ukrainian steppe borderland but also the remote interior of Ukraine and Belarus. Nalyvaiko's units did in fact make several raids on the properties of those supporting church union. Unfortunately, not much is known today about these 'anti-union' actions of the rebels. They consisted of several attacks on the properties and servants of two supporters of church union, the starosta of Lutsk, Oleksander Semashko, and the bishop of Lutsk, Kyryl Terletsky.

[8] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 140, 164. Compare the evaluation of the religious factor in the Kosynsky and Nalyvaiko uprisings in Linda Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, pp. 171–9 (subsection entitled 'Holy War?') and Serhii Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, pp. 170–2.

[9] See the Ukrainian translation of this Latin poem in *Ukraïns'ki humanisty epokhy Vidrodzhennia. Antolohiia*, ed. O. Kh. Moroz, 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1995), 2: 40–77.

The first assault took place in 1595, when Terletsky's servants were taken by surprise and robbed while transporting the bishop's household goods from Cracow to Lutsk. At the beginning of 1596, Nalyvaiko's units, accompanied by his brother, Demian (an Orthodox priest who belonged to the learned circle around Kostiantyn Ostrozky), pillaged the properties of the brothers Kyryl and Iarosh Terletsky and seized valuables and documents that Kyryl had left for safekeeping in Pinsk. Other Cossack units subordinate to Hryhorii Loboda (who was also close to the Ostrozkys), again with Demian Nalyvaiko's participation, attacked Semashko's property. In addition to Demian Nalyvaiko, other, more obscure 'servitors' of Ostrozky were party to the attacks on the properties of Terletsky and Semashko.

There is little doubt that the attacks were carried out by Cossack units at the behest of Ostrozky, whose own properties remained almost untouched by the Cossacks. Later, some of the property stolen from Semashko was identified among the belongings of Prince Ostrozky in Ostrih. Similarly, part of the booty from the attack on Terletsky's property had made its way there. Ostrozky was evidently attempting to make use of a good opportunity to settle accounts with his enemies, and perhaps to force Terletsky to abandon his support for the church union. The assaults on Terletsky's servants and property, as well as the pillage of goods that he had given to others for safekeeping, took place during the bishop's trip to Rome. Since Terletsky was neither a great landholder nor a political opponent of Ostrozky's, the religious motive for the attack on his properties looms largest.[10]

What was in the minds of the Cossack leaders when they intervened in the religious struggle that was taking place in the settled area? A partial answer to this question was provided by Nalyvaiko himself. According to statements made by the Cossack leader during his imprisonment by the Poles, he came to Volhynia at the invitation of Kostiantyn Ostrozky, who requested his assistance in the religious issue. In particular, Nalyvaiko related that while the Cossacks were in Moldavia, Ostrozky had sent a messenger to him 'with the information that the king wanted to do violence to the religion of Rus' and asking him whether he would not want to assist the Lord Palatine [Kostiantyn Ostrozky] and remain with him'.[11] Even though Nalyvaiko's testimony about Ostrozky's role in involving the Cossacks in religious strife was wrung from him before his execution, its veracity can hardly be doubted, as Nalyvaiko had no particular reason to invent or append the religious factor to the history of his contacts with Ostrozky. Further corroboration of Nalyvaiko's words may be seen in the

[10] See *AIuZR* (1863): pt. 3, vol. 1, nos. 25–7, 33, 34; Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, pp. 176–7.
[11] Cited in Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, p. 183.

fact that in August 1595, at the very time when Nalyvaiko and his forces were in Moldavia, and Ostrozky had evidently asked him to come to Volhynia, a letter was intercepted on its way from the old prince to the Protestants. In it, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Ostrozky threatened to come out against the king at the head of an army of 15,000 or even 20,000 if the church union were to be enacted without prior discussion at a sobor.[12]

Nalyvaiko's admission, especially his testimony that 'if it had not come to that imbroglio [the religious conflict], then he wanted to retreat either to the fields and rivers, or to the Transylvanian prince, or beyond the Rapids',[13] supports the view—as do Cossack actions during the uprising—that the Cossacks were more an instrument than an independent factor in the religious strife of 1595–6, with no religious agenda of their own. Available sources on the history of the Nalyvaiko revolt in Volhynia and Belarus show that the attacks on the properties of the brothers Terletsky and Semashko were merely insignificant episodes of a broader Cossack uprising. As Serhii Lepiavko, a student of the Cossack wars of the late sixteenth century, has noted, 'for Nalyvaiko these were trifles indeed, incommensurate with his capacities'.[14] It would appear that Nalyvaiko sought to be of service to Ostrozky's religious agenda mainly because of his long-standing close contacts with the prince and his entourage.

Nevertheless, Cossack intervention in the religious conflict had a powerful effect on the way in which the struggle was perceived by contemporaries. Soon after the enactment of the Union of Brest in 1596, one of its initiators, the Uniate bishop and later metropolitan Ipatii Potii, characterized his opponents in the Orthodox brotherhood of Vilnius as 'Nalyvaiko's horde'. Even though the reference was to the supporters of Severyn Nalyvaiko's brother, the Reverend Demian Nalyvaiko, Potii's expression clearly associated the Orthodox not only with the name of one of their priests but also with that of the leader of the Cossack uprising, who had been executed by the Poles. In time, the derogatory term *nalyvaikivtsi* (Nalyvaikoites) came to be applied to the Orthodox in general, associating nobiliary and burgher Orthodox circles entirely loyal to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth with rebellion against the state and thereby serving to compromise the Orthodox opposition throughout the country. The use of the term began a tradition in which the first Cossack revolts became closely associated with the defense of the Orthodox faith.[15]

[12] See Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 55–6.
[13] Cited in Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, p. 182. [14] Ibid., p. 184.
[15] Vasyl' Domanyts'kyi, 'Kozachchyna na perelomi XVI i XVII v. (1591–1603)', *ZNTSh* 60–4 (1904): 170; Lep"iavko, *Kozats'ki viiny*, p. 184; Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions*, p. 178.

The Jewish writer Nathan Hanover, who devoted his book *Yeven Metzulah* (The Abyss of Despair) to describing the destruction of the Jews in the Khmelnytsky Uprising, also linked the genesis of religious conflict in Ukraine with Nalyvaiko's revolt. Hanover began his account of the persecution of the Jews in Ukraine with that revolt, and, even though he cited no instance of anti-Jewish actions on the part of the rebels, he provided an interesting example of the way in which the uprising was perceived in the historical memory of the time. According to Hanover, the Cossack revolts were caused by the persecution of the Orthodox in the times of Zygmunt III; he referred to Nalyvaiko himself as a Greek (Orthodox) priest who roused his people to struggle against Polish oppression.[16] In all likelihood, the Jewish tradition recorded by Hanover was based on a confusion between Severyn Nalyvaiko and his brother, Demian. Most interesting in this connection, however, is the association of Severyn Nalyvaiko in the consciousness of non-Ukrainians not only with the Cossack revolt but also with the struggle of the Orthodox to secure their rights.

In the late sixteenth century, Cossackdom entered the religious struggle on the side and at the behest of a representative of the princely stratum, Kostiantyn Ostrozky, the long-time patron of steppe Cossackdom. Paradoxically, the Cossacks' return to the sphere of religious struggle was related to the death of Prince Ostrozky. The old prince passed away in 1608, and in 1610 the Cossacks entered their first protestation in defense of Orthodoxy in the record-books of the Kyiv castle court. These two events were linked in that the Cossack protestation was a reaction to the advance of the Union in the Kyiv region: after Ostrozky's death, the Catholic Stanisław Żółkiewski was appointed to take his place as palatine of Kyiv, and the Uniate metropolitan, Ipatii Potii, made great efforts at the time to secure his position in Kyiv. Under these circumstances Cossackdom joined other Orthodox forces to repel the Uniate offensive.

A direct stimulus to the intensification of religious conflict in Kyiv was an initiative taken by Potii's vicar, the Reverend Antonii Hrekovych, whom the metropolitan dispatched to Kyiv in January 1610. Hrekovych attempted to convert the Kyivan Orthodox clergy to the Union by means of pressure and threats. In March 1610, he summoned the Orthodox clergymen to a joint service at St Sophia's Cathedral on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, but they refused to go, and, judging by Hrekovych's subsequent complaints, also persuaded the laity not to attend, spreading rumors to the effect that all participants would be baptized into the 'Polish faith'.

[16] See Nathan Hanover, *The Abyss of Despair (Yeven Metzulah)*, trans. Abraham J. Mesch (New Brunswick, N.J., and London, 1983), pp. 27–9. Solomon Mandelkern's Russian translation 'corrects' Hanover somewhat, making Nalyvaiko a Cossack colonel. See *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii. Letopis' evreia sovremennika Natana Ganovera* (Odesa, 1878), pp. 8–9.

The rumors must have fallen on fertile ground, since by that time Kyivans had undoubtedly heard of the events that had taken place in Vilnius in the summer of 1609, when Potii, with the help of government forces, subordinated the local Orthodox churches to his authority.

According to Hrekovych's protestation, during the conflict of 7–9 March the Orthodox clergy persuaded the Cossacks, led by Ivan and Petro (of whom nothing further is known), not to let anyone into St Sophia's Cathedral. The Cossacks allegedly threatened those who were preparing to attend the service, as well as Hrekovych himself.[17]

Subsequently the Orthodox clergymen of Kyiv denied that they had incited the Cossacks, and the Cossacks themselves, in their protestation in the Kyiv castle court records, rejected the allegation that they had threatened Hrekovych. By all accounts, however, Hrekovych was correct as to the role of the Orthodox clergy in the incident and the threats issued by the Cossacks. This is corroborated by a letter of May 1610 from Hetman Hryhorii Tyskynevych to the deputy palatine of Kyiv, the Orthodox Mykhailo Myshka-Kholonevsky, in which the hetman noted that he had given the Cossacks permission to kill Hrekovych 'like a dog upon encountering him' unless he put an end to the persecution of the Orthodox. Somewhat later, there was indeed an attempt on Hrekovych's life by one of the Cossacks.[18]

The question of which side to take in the acute religious conflict, if it occurred to the Cossacks at all, was probably more theoretical than practical. As a newly emerging social stratum, Cossackdom was fighting for its rights against the ruling authorities and could count on understanding and support only from the church that stood in opposition to the government and was being hounded by it. The Uniates, wholly dependent on royal authority and loyal to it, were completely unsuited to such a role and, no less important, would scarcely have agreed to take it on. An important factor contributing to the Cossacks' choice was that in the early seventeenth century their native borderlands became a refuge for the Orthodox clergy that was being driven out of western Ukraine. The two opposition groups were brought together and protected from the government by the distance of the Dnipro region from the main centers of Polish rule.

[17] For the texts of the protestations of the Cossack delegation, the Orthodox clergy, and Antonii Hrekovych concerning the Kyivan conflict, see *Akty IuZR*, vol. 2 (1865), nos. 36, 37 (pp. 58–63), 41 (pp. 65–7). See the descriptions of these events in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 309, and Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 396–406.

[18] Hrekovych's protestation of 20 August 1610 gives an account of Tyskynevych's letter, as well as of an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Hrekovych himself. The protestation was directed against the reeve, councillors, and Orthodox clergy of Kyiv, whom Hrekovych accused of having violated the Diet constitution of 1609 and of inciting the Cossacks to revolt (see *Akty IuZR*, vol. 2 [1865]: 66).

In its struggle against the advance of the Union, the Orthodox clergy had long and successfully availed itself of the support of the Orthodox nobility and townsmen, even before the Union was concluded. In Kyiv, during the struggle with Hrekovych, the Orthodox clergy also mobilized the support of the nobility and the burghers, but here the local Ukrainian Cossacks—an element almost completely absent in the other 'hot spots' of religious strife ensuing upon the Union of Brest—also quite naturally became a target of their propaganda. Cossackdom responded eagerly to the summons and joined the traditional protectors of Orthodoxy. The protestation that the Cossacks, led by the 'renowned' Hryhorii Sereda, entered in the records of the Kyiv castle court concerning the 'Hrekovych affair' of 1610 included the following comment on the matter:

> Like their Graces the princes, the lords, the dignitaries, the knightly order, the nobility, and the Christian populace . . . of the lands, counties and palatinate of Kyiv, standing unshakably by the traditional Ortho[dox] religion and by the persons of the clergy . . . we, too, as sons of the universal apostolic Eastern Church . . . protest.[19]

The Kyivan events of 1610 are the first known instance of Cossackdom's active intervention in the religious struggle in Ukraine, as well as an indication of the Cossacks' orientation in that struggle. In Kyiv, the Cossacks intervened in the religious struggle no longer out of any desire to be of service to their late patron, Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky, as in the times of Nalyvaiko, but on the basis of their own interests and calculations. The occasion of Cossack intervention in the religious conflict is also quite significant, given that the Cossack protestation was drafted in the name of the companions of the Zaporozhian Host, who were then engaged in the war with Muscovy. This feature of the protestation indicates that the Cossacks became involved in religious strife at a time when the government depended on their loyalty as never before, and when it was least likely to undertake any repressions against them.

The Kyivan events were not an isolated episode, but reflected the broader Cossack practice of taking part in religious life in general. In their protestation of 1610, the Cossacks asserted that as sons of the Eastern Church, they looked after houses of divine worship, supported them, and enhanced them with decorations. This was no invention, if only because of the enrollment of the Zaporozhian Host, headed by Hetman Petro Sahaidachny, in the Kyiv Orthodox Brotherhood, which was established toward the end of 1615 by the local nobility and burghers.[20] An important indication of the Cossacks' serious and lasting interest in religious affairs

[19] *Akty IuZR*, vol. 2 (1865): 59.
[20] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 307–8, 314–15, 323.

was the established fact of Cossack patronage of the Trakhtemyriv Monastery. According to documents dating from 1618, the hetman, the colonels, and the whole Host acted as founders and donors to the monastery. In 1618, the threat posed by the Cossacks obliged the Commonwealth Diet to devote at least cursory attention to the issue of accommodating the 'Greek religion'. This was the first such instance since the events of 1609 in Vilnius and the first debate on the religious question occasioned not by the actions of nobles or townsmen, but of Ukrainian Cossackdom in particular.[21]

In 1618, the Cossacks finally did away with their old enemy, Antonii Hrekovych, who was seized at his home and drowned in the Dnipro near the Vydubychi Monastery. This action was prompted by Hrekovych's attempt to take St Michael's Monastery from the Orthodox.[22] The murder of Hrekovych was only one link in a long chain of terrorist actions that began with attempts on the life of Potii in Vilnius in 1609 and ended with the murder of the Uniate archbishop of Polatsk, Iosafat Kuntsevych, by burghers in Vitsebsk in 1623. These acts were undertaken by the Orthodox as the weaker party, striving to ward off the advance of the officially sponsored Union. It would be difficult to exaggerate the leading role of the armed and irrepressible Cossacks in this growing intensification of violence: even the burghers of Vitsebsk, who were cruelly punished after the murder of Kuntsevych, counted on help and deliverance from them.[23]

Cossackdom served the Orthodox party mainly in a capacity in which all the other traditional supporters of the 'Eastern' Church—the princes, nobility, and burghers—were either ineffective or completely helpless. It gave the persecuted church its armed support, which counted no less than Diet resolutions and royal proclamations in a Commonwealth corrupted by princely and nobiliary license. With the help of the Cossacks, the Orthodox, at least in the borderlands, could counter force with force and violence with violence in response to the official persecution instituted against them at the initiative of their Uniate opponents.[24] The military protection offered by the Cossacks safeguarded the Orthodox clergy in the Dnipro region from otherwise inevitable oppression by the authorities, but also pushed the confrontation between Orthodox and Uniates toward sanguinary escalation.

[21] For a reference to the religious issue in the Diet constitution of 1618, see Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 409–11.

[22] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 310–11.

[23] See P. N. Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (s 1609 g.)*, vyps. 1–6 (St Petersburg, 1901–12), pp. 128–35.

[24] It was precisely with the help of the Cossacks that Ielysei Pletenetsky, who became archimandrite of the Kyivan Cave Monastery in 1599, managed to regain in 1613 the properties of the monastery that had been transferred by the king to the Uniate metropolitans. Cf. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 310; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 408–9.

Which of the groups in the Cossack milieu were responsible for initiating Cossack intervention in the religious conflict of the 1610s? Unfortunately, we know too little about the events to answer this question fully. Nevertheless, the limited data available today support the assumption that it was the better-off elements within Cossackdom that supported intervention in religious strife. In the first place, the fact that these developments occurred in Kyiv makes it possible to assume the participation of Cossackized nobles and Cossacks who had established themselves in the settled area. Secondly, the arguments employed in the Cossack protestation, as shown by the extract cited above, announced the solidarity of Cossackdom with the ruling stratum in Rus'. Another important aspect of the events of 1610 was the support given to the protestation by Hetman Tyskynevych, a representative of the Cossack upper stratum.

Having raised the banner of the defense of Orthodoxy, the Cossacks were clearing the way for themselves to enter the 'club' of the traditional Ruthenian social élite—the princes and the nobility—which had been engaged in active struggle against church union since the late sixteenth century. The defense of the Orthodox Church and the Cossacks' participation in it were a potential and, in time, an actual admission ticket to that exclusive social 'club'.[25] The Orthodox clergy had already begun to employ the Cossacks to serve its interests, but did not yet dare to admit to any connection with that rebellious element, tolerated but discredited in the eyes of the government. In this respect, the situation had changed little since the times of Nalyvaiko: the opponents of the Union made use of the Cossacks' services to put pressure on their antagonists (who in turn relied on the power of the government and its forces), but did so in a clandestine manner, making no acknowledgment of their ties with the Cossacks.

The Restoration of the Orthodox Metropolitanate

The situation changed at the beginning of the 1620s, when the Cossacks actively involved themselves in the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy. Their role in the consecration of Orthodox bishops by Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem in the autumn of 1620 is one of the most thoroughly

[25] Clearly, Mykhailo Hrushevsky was correct in his analysis of the reasons for active Cossack participation in religious affairs in the early seventeenth century when he noted that if '. . . Cossackdom wanted to establish itself "in the settled area" (*na volosti*), to take control of eastern Ukraine, and to gain a secure foothold there, it was obliged to find some consonant points, some links and common interests with various elements of local society' (Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 312).

researched subjects in the history of the Kyivan metropolitanate, yet it remains one of the most controversial.[26]

Traditional Ukrainian historiography, which stressed the role of Cossackdom in the consecration and regarded the Cossacks primarily as defenders of the Orthodox Church and faith, was severely criticized in the last decades of the nineteenth century by Panteleimon Kulish, who considered that the initiative for the consecration came from Muscovy and that the Cossacks were simply drawn into the matter by the Kyivan clergy. Mykhailo Hrushevsky partly shared Kulish's skepticism when it came to the early Cossacks' level of religiosity, but rejected his hypothesis that the consecration was inspired by Muscovy. Hrushevsky accepted the arguments of the newly consecrated hierarchs themselves, who noted in their protestation of 1621 that the Cossacks had long been supporters of the Orthodox Church and had facilitated the consecration on their own initiative, not at the clergy's behest. In the 1930s, the Polish historian Kazimierz Chodynicki attempted to develop Kulish's ideas, but his research, like Kulish's own work, was based almost entirely on speculation, as well as on the extrapolation of the religious and political influence and significance of Muscovy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the events of the early seventeenth century. Kulish and Chodynicki regarded the Cossacks primarily as freebooters incapable of and uninterested in any intervention in higher church policy.[27]

What actually transpired in Ukraine in the autumn of 1620, and what was the role of the Cossacks in the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy? The very act of consecration is linked with the presence on Ukrainian territory of Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem. In 1618, he traversed the Crimean Khanate on his way to Muscovy, where in the following year he consecrated Filaret (Romanov), the father of Tsar

[26] The consecration of the Orthodox hierarchy has been analyzed in special studies by P. N. Zhukovich, 'Istoricheskie obstoiatel'stva, predshestvovavshie vosstanovleniiu patriarkhom Feofanom zapadno-russkoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii'; id., 'Pervyi pol'skii seim posle vosstanovleniia patriarkhom Feofanom pravoslavnoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii' (included in his *Seimovaia bor'ba zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei [s 1609 g.]*); Orlovskii, 'Uchastie zaporozhskikh kazakov v vosstanovlenii'. The subject is also treated in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 303–8, 334–41, and Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 419–41. On the policy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in this period, see Gunnar Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik (1620–1638)* (Wiesbaden, 1968).

[27] For Hrushevsky's polemic with Kulish, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 303–8. According to Kazimierz Chodynicki, the consecration was planned in Moscow. Chodynicki makes this assumption on the basis of circumstantial evidence, citing the good relations between Theophanes and Patriarch Filaret of Moscow, as well as the simultaneous presence of Theophanes and a Cossack delegation in Moscow in February 1620. If the latter argument is to be taken seriously (it is cited first and apparently given greatest weight in Chodynicki's account), then one would have to assume that the Cossacks were an important component of the whole plan from the very beginning, but Chodynicki makes no such assumption, relegating the Cossacks to the role of the patriarch's escort (*Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 430–1).

Mikhail, as patriarch of Moscow. In early February 1620, he was still in Moscow, where a Cossack mission was also present, but there is no reliable information about any contacts between Theophanes and the Cossacks at the time. In March of the same year, Theophanes stopped in Ukraine on his way back from Moscow: his hosts in Kyiv were the members of the Orthodox Brotherhood and the monks of the Cave Monastery. The Commonwealth government suspected Theophanes of being a spy for the Turks and an agent of Moscow, hence the patriarch, who naturally feared arrest, restricted himself to the territory controlled by the Cossacks. He visited towns in the vicinity of Kyiv (Bila Tserkva, Trakhtemyriv, and Mezhyhiria) and received delegations from brotherhoods throughout Rus', to which he freely issued stauropigial charters.[28]

Up to a point, the patriarch's activity did not differ too much from that of other Eastern hierarchs, who generally came to Ukraine to collect 'alms'.[29] In time, though, the situation changed as the local Orthodox began demanding that Theophanes assist them in settling their ecclesiastical affairs. On 13 August 1620, Theophanes addressed an appeal to the faithful of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to elect a bishop for themselves, but consecration scarcely entered into the patriarch's initial plans.[30] In October, under the supervision of the royal attendant Szczęsny Poczanowski, Theophanes left Kyiv and was supposed to make his way to Kamianets, and then across the border to Moldavia. Only an unforeseen development prevented the further progress of the patriarch and allowed him to return to Kyiv: in Bila Tserkva, the

[28] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 334 ff.; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 419–27. Suspicions in government circles and plans for the arrest of the patriarch are recounted in Stanisław Żółkiewski's letter of 23 July 1620 to Tomasz Zamoyski (text in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 260–1).

[29] Chodynicki's assertion that Theophanes deliberately sought the support of the brotherhoods as the main centers of struggle against the Union and made gradual preparations for the consecration of the hierarchy is at variance with the sources, which speak of the consecration as an initiative of the Ruthenian clergy and laity (*Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 425–6).

[30] The reports given by the chronicler of the Hustynia Monastery and Meletii Smotrytsky on the council held to consider the consecration do not, unfortunately, make it clear whether it was planned to consecrate the new bishop immediately in Kyiv or later, once the patriarch had left Ukraine. According to the chronicle, 'The most holy patriarch forbade them to do it, for he feared the king and the Poles, and the pious Host and the hetman, named Petro Sahaidachny, gave the most holy patriarch their support and protection' (Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 258–9).

The letter of 13 August, which is sometimes treated in the literature as a sign of the patriarch's readiness to consecrate an Orthodox bishop, did not in fact concretize his intention to do so while in Ukraine. The text of the patriarch's missive states in particular: 'choose a bishop for yourselves sanctioned by the apostles and the canons'. The patriarch enjoined the faithful to do so 'without fearing the ordinances and prohibitions of the world, just as earlier the parents of Moses did not fear the pharaoh's ordinance', but never hinted at a plan to consecrate a bishop on the territory of the Commonwealth (see text of the letter in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, p. 257).

patriarch's escort was apprised of the unsuccessful course of the Battle of Ţuţora, and Poczanowski was obliged to leave the patriarch there in the care of the Cossack colonel Bohdan Kyzym, while he himself hastened to the king.[31]

Thus Theophanes returned to Kyiv with a Cossack escort, and there the actual consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy took place.[32] Given his fear of the Commonwealth authorities, Theophanes probably did not want to perform the consecration, but the petitioners, most notably the Cossacks, insisted that he do so. The sources available today emphasize the special role of the Cossacks in negotiations with the patriarch. There is even reason to believe that the Cossacks had recourse to a kind of blackmail. In a protestation written by Iov Boretsky and other Orthodox hierarchs in 1621 that discussed their consecration by Theophanes, the arguments of the Cossack 'knightly men' are rendered as follows:

[31] See P. N. Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia mitropolita Iova Boretskogo i drugikh zapadnorusskikh ierarkhov, sostavlennaia 28 aprelia 1621 goda', *Stat'i po slavianovedeniiu* (St Petersburg), ed. V. I. Lamanskii, vyp. 3 (1910): 141.

[32] See the text of the chronicle of the Hustynia Monastery in *ChOIDR* 8 (1848): bk. 4, Materialy otechestvennye, pp. 1–38. For interpretations of these events, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 338–41; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 427–30.

The chronicle of the Hustynia Monastery asserts that the consecration of the hierarchy took place 'with the advice of many and pious lords of noble birth and all the common Christians, and particularly of the hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, Petro Sahaidachny'. In his account of those present at the deliberations, the chronicler mentions all the more important regions of Ukraine and adds the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Hrushevsky refers to the council as a 'Ukrainian national congress', but more probably this represents an effort on the part of the chronicler to lend retrospective legitimacy to the consecration in Kyiv. Tradition required that the bishop of Peremyshl, for example, first be elected by the Peremyshl nobility. As the Reverend Obornicki, a witness to the Cossack council at Sukha Dibrova in June 1621, later wrote—probably quite accurately—Iezekyil Kurtsevych, the hegumen of the Cossack monastery at Trakhtemyriv, was elected bishop by the Cossacks. As we know, he was appointed to the Volodymyr eparchy upon his election (see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 338–9, 357–8).

Given the accusations that the new hierarchy was illegitimate because the bishops had not been elected by the nobility and nominated by the king, the references to the council in the chronicle of the Hustynia Monastery and in Smotrytsky's *Verification of Innocence* (Vilnius, 1621) were intended to show, besides all else, that the hierarchy was indeed legitimate, if only because the tradition of the nobiliary election of bishops had been upheld. Metropolitan Boretsky also mentioned the 'all-Rus'' election of the new bishops in his letter of 8 May 1621 to Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł, noting that the patriarch had consecrated 'to the metropolitanate and the bishoprics persons chosen by all of Rus' and recommended to him' (Iu. A. Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia ukraïns'kykh pys'mennykiv-polemistiv 1621–1624 rokiv', *ZNTSh* 225 [1993]: 318).

Another important matter touching upon the legitimacy of the newly consecrated hierarchy was the questioning by the government and the Uniates of the right of Patriarch Theophanes to consecrate bishops outside the canonical territory of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The Orthodox continually stressed that Theophanes had appropriate authorization from Constantinople. Boretsky, in his protestation of 1621, while referring to the patriarch of Constantinople as the 'pastor of all Rus'', also developed the notion of the joint jurisdiction of the Eastern patriarchs over Rus'. He referred particularly to 'Theophanes, the patriarch of Jerusalem, one of the ecumenical pastors and teachers of this Rus', who with his colleagues, the three patriarchs, has long had and continues to have dominance and authority over this nation as his sheep' (for the text of this variant of the protestation, see Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 328).

You would not be a patriarch; you would not be a good pastor; you would not be the vicar of Christ and the apostles if Your Holiness did not consecrate a metropolitan and bishops for the nation of Rus', especially when you have found us hounded and without pastors, and we even fear (they said) lest some fierce animal kill you in the course of this journey in the name of Christ.[33]

A simple denial of Cossack protection to the patriarch would most likely have resulted in his arrest. Forced to choose, Theophanes chose in favor of the Cossacks.

As mentioned earlier, in Kyiv, Theophanes consecrated the former rector of the Kyiv Brotherhood School, Iov Boretsky, as metropolitan, as well as two bishops: Meletii Smotrytsky, who was a rector of the school at some point, and Isaia Kopynsky, the hegumen of the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery. After leaving Kyiv, Theophanes consecrated three more bishops. Hegumen Iezekyil (Iosyf) Kurtsevych was consecrated in Trakhtemyriv, Hegumen Isaakii Boryskovych in Bila Tserkva, and Hegumen Paisii Ipolytovych in Zhyvotiv. A Cossack unit led by Sahaidachny then escorted Theophanes to the Moldavian border. Before crossing it, Theophanes blessed the Cossacks for war with the Ottoman Empire, called on them to defend the Orthodox faith, and absolved them of their participation in the war with Orthodox Muscovy.[34]

Such were the facts of Cossack involvement in the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy. But who exactly instigated the involvement of the Cossacks in these events? Was it Patriarch Theophanes, the Muscovite court, or one of the Cossacks' own leaders, either Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny or his rival, and hetman at the time of the consecrations, Iakiv Borodavka?[35] All that can be said with certainty is that, given the behavior and vacillation of Patriarch Theophanes, the initiative did not come from him, nor was it Muscovy that chose to act through him in the matter. The consecration of individuals closely

[33] Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 146. The participation of the Cossacks, especially Sahaidachny, in negotiations with the patriarch in Kyiv is mentioned in Sakovych's *Vírshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb Zatsnoho Rytsera Petra Konashevycha Sahaidachnoho, Hetmana Voiska Eho Korolevskoi Mylosty Zaporozkoho* (Kyiv, 1622); repr. in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st. Synkretychna pysemnist'. Poeziia. Dramaturhiia. Beletrystyka*, ed. O. V. Myshanych, comp. V. I. Krekoten' (Kyiv, 1987), pp. 220–38, here 231 (cited in the text as *Verses on the Sorrowful Obsequy for the Worthy Knight Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny*). Like Boretsky's protestation, this work does not indicate the time of the Cossacks' consultation with the patriarch.

[34] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 340–1; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 427–9.

[35] On the basis of Boretsky's protestation, which he published, Zhukovich stressed Borodavka's role in the consecration of the hierarchy ('Protestatsiia', p. 142). Hrushevsky, by contrast, following historiographic tradition and developing his thesis that it was the town Cossacks, not the Zaporozhians, who intervened in church affairs, emphasized the special role of the leader of the Cossack officers in the towns, Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny (*History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 334).

associated either with the brotherhood movement (such as Boretsky, Smotrytsky, and Kopynsky) or directly with the Cossacks (such as Kurtsevych) indicates that the leading role in the whole affair was played by the Kyiv Brotherhood, whose strength was based on Cossack membership and support.

In 1620, as in the previous Kyivan developments of 1610, Cossackdom was the most radical and decisive force whose military strength ensured the success of the enterprise. Cossackdom was, of course, 'agitated' and drawn into the religious struggle, but this was done long before 1620, and by no means against its will. Iov Boretsky and the other newly consecrated hierarchs noted quite correctly in their protestation of 1621 that the Cossacks were well informed about the persecution of the Orthodox in Rus', since representatives 'of various counties, towns and villages' were rallying to them. Nor is there any reason to doubt the story, recounted by Boretsky, that when the Roman Catholic bishop of Kyiv made his way to the altar of the Cave Monastery church, this was discussed at a Cossack council in Zaporizhia and aroused protest from the Cossacks.[36] There is also a report that at the Cossack council of 29 July 1619, where a sharp dispute took place between Sahaidachny and Borodavka (the hetmancy went to Sahaidachny), the Cossacks resolved to stand 'by the ancient faith'.[37]

Despite internecine conflicts and the struggle for the Cossack leadership between Borodavka and Sahaidachny, there was a general consensus among the Cossacks on their intervention in religious strife in defense of the 'Greek faith'. Letters from Iakiv Borodavka recently published by Iurii Mytsyk confirm the hetman's direct involvement in the consecration of the new hierarchy. In a letter dispatched to the king from Zaporizhia in March 1621 (at that time, Sahaidachny would still have been with the patriarch), Borodavka, referring to the Cossacks' military accomplishments, asked the king to issue a privilege confirming the traditional rights of the 'ancient Greek religion' and 'of our clergy'.[38] Instructions dated March 1621 from the Zaporozhian Host (in fact, issued by Borodavka) to Cossack envoys to the king enjoined them to press for the recognition of the newly consecrated hierarchy.[39]

[36] See Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 150.

[37] See extracts from Pavlo Pachynsky's letter of 8 August 1619 to Tomasz Zamoyski in Iurii Mytsyk, 'Novi dani do biohrafiï Petra Konashevycha (Sahaidachnoho)' in *Prosphonema. Istorychni ta filolohichni rozvidky, prysviacheni 60-richchiu akademika Iaroslava Isaievycha* (= *Ukraïna: kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*) (Lviv), no. 5 (1998): 413–29, here 415–16.

[38] See the text of Borodavka's letter of 7 (17) March 1621 in Iurii Mytsyk, 'Dva lysty het'mana Nerody (Borodavky)' in *Mappa Mundi*, pp. 435–42, here 439.

[39] See the text of the instructions in N. P. Koval'skii (M. P. Koval's'kyi) and Iu. A. Mytsyk, *Analiz arkhivnykh istochnikov po istorii Ukrainy XVI–XVII vv.* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1984), p. 73.

In April 1621, Borodavka visited Metropolitan Iov Boretsky in Kyiv and met with the archpriest of Slutsk, Andrii Muzhylovsky, who brought news to Kyiv about the official persecution of the Vilnius townsmen. Borodavka wrote a letter in their defense to the leader of the Lithuanian Calvinists, the Lithuanian Field Hetman Krzysztof Radziwiłł, noting that 'with God as its help, the whole Host will probably wish to come out against those traitors and turncoats, the Uniates'.[40] Even Boretsky's protestation, while emphasizing Sahaidachny's part in the whole undertaking, still notes that he acted on the instructions of the whole Zaporozhian Host.[41] The protestation also mentions that the royal attendant Poczanowski entrusted Theophanes to the care of the Cossack colonel Bohdan Kyzym in Bila Tserkva. This serves to indicate that protection was extended to the patriarch not only by Sahaidachny, but by other colonels as well, which would hardly have been possible without the hetman's approval or, indeed, the support of the whole Host.

If in fact the Cossacks undertook to provide security for the consecration of the new hierarchy upon learning of the rout at Ţuţora, calculating that the government would forgive them anything in the face of the military threat, then they were not mistaken. The Commonwealth was indeed frightened and disoriented by the defeat at Ţuţora. A new war with the Ottomans was inevitable, and the king needed the immediate assistance of the Cossack Host to stop the Ottoman army at the borders of the Commonwealth. As early as the autumn of 1620, there was an overture from

[40] Mytsyk, 'Dva lysty het'mana Nerody (Borodavky)', p. 440. Borodavka's letter is dated 28 April (8 May) 1621, which means that his meeting with Boretsky took place before that date. Members of the Vilnius Brotherhood apparently kept the Cossacks informed about Orthodox–Uniate relations in Belarus. A member of the brotherhood was even accused of visiting the Cossacks and trying to persuade them not to join the Commonwealth army unless the king recognized the new Orthodox hierarchy. See the text of Stanisław Rostowicz's letter of 16 April 1621 in Iurii Mytsyk, 'Kil'ka dokumentiv do istoriï kozats'ko-tatars'koho soiuzu 1625 roku ta pravoslavnoï tserkvy v Ukraïni' in *Rukopysna ta knyzhkova spadshchyna Ukraïny*, vyp. 4 (Kyiv, 1998), pp. 139–46, here appendix no. 1, p. 143.

[41] See Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 42. Sakovych makes the same assertion in his *Verses*, but adds the sheer invention that the king gave his permission: 'Doing so by permission of His Royal Majesty | As well as by order of the Zaporozhian Host'. Sakovych also corroborates the information of the chronicle of the Hustynia Monastery on Sahaidachny's participation in the deliberations on the consecration of the new bishops: 'The hetman and the Host having visited him [Theophanes] | in Kyiv and having paid him fitting homage, | He began to take counsel with the Orthodox | That they might have Orthodox pastors . . .' (Sakovych, 'Vïrshi', p. 231).

Other sources generally stress the role played by Sahaidachny in the last leg of Theophanes's journey, when he escorted the patriarch to Moldavia. In July 1621, Andrii Muzhylovsky wrote to the leader of the Lithuanian Protestants, Krzysztof Radziwiłł, that Sahaidachny had dealt 'a deathblow [to the Union] when he sent the patriarch of Jerusalem on his way with rich gifts' (text in Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', pp. 322, 324). In March 1621, Sahaidachny dispatched a letter to the king in which, citing Cossack services, he requested that freedoms be granted to the 'Greek religion' (Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, p. 435).

Warsaw for Cossack support, but Hetman Borodavka declined to mobilize the Host, claiming that he had received the king's letter too late and indicating that the winter season was inopportune for a military expedition. The king sought to avoid a conflict with the Cossacks over the issue.[42] There was even an effort to exploit Patriarch Theophanes, who would later be accused of espionage on behalf of the sultan, to influence the Cossacks. Demands were made on him to bless the Cossacks for war with the Ottomans, which he did before leaving Ukraine. When rumors of the consecration reached Warsaw, the king issued proclamations only against the patriarch and the new hierarchs, forbidding their accession to their designated eparchies. The Cossacks, at least in formal terms, remained 'above suspicion' for the time being.[43] Not only the royal administration but also the incendiary Uniate polemicists made an effort to avoid provoking them.

The Orthodox side, on the contrary, exploited Cossack support as much as possible in order to legitimize the new hierarchy. Boretsky's protestation, which was drafted by the Kyivan clergy in response to the assault on the burghers of Vilnius and the accusations of espionage against them and Patriarch Theophanes, took account of several circumstances in its discussion of Cossackdom. Firstly, having just taken part in the campaign against Muscovy and being well known for their anti-Turkish orientation, the Cossacks were a convenient shield against accusations of espionage on behalf of Muscovy or the Ottomans. Secondly, it was important for Boretsky to respond to Uniate accusations that it was in fact he and other hierarchs who were inciting the Cossacks to actions against the state and to revolt. Boretsky's line of defense here was quite simple: he maintained that the Cossacks needed no agitation on the part of the clergy, since these 'knightly men' were themselves ardent defenders of Orthodoxy and had belonged to the 'nation of Rus'' since the times of the Old Rus' princes Oleh, Iaroslav, and Volodymyr.[44]

[42] In his letter of 7 (17) March 1621, Borodavka wrote that the royal letter was brought to Zaporizhia after the beginning of the fast along with another letter reporting the catastrophe at Ţuţora. If the fast is taken to refer to the *Pylypivka*, which began after the Feast of St Philip (14 [24] November), then Borodavka was clearly dissembling. Cossacks residing in the settled area were already aware of the defeat at Ţuţora by October, when Poczanowski delivered Patriarch Theophanes to Colonel Kyzym, and it is highly unlikely that they delayed passing on the information to Zaporizhia. See Mytsyk, 'Dva lysty het'mana Nerody (Borodavky)', pp. 438–9.

[43] Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 432–4. For the official correspondence of the Commonwealth authorities concerning Patriarch Theophanes and his activities, see 'Delo o vosstanovlenii pravoslavnoi zapadno-russkoi ierarkhii', RGIA, f. 823, op. 1, ff. 1–59.

[44] Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', pp. 142–3. If the representation of the Cossacks as heirs of the Kyivan princes was a new element in the treatment of Cossackdom and, as will be seen in the next chapter, the first step on their way to 'nationalization', then the emphasis on their Christian virtue reiterated the leitmotifs of the Cossack protestation of 1610. Like Boretsky's protestation of 1621, it represented the Cossacks as committed Christians who proved their allegiance

The clear danger posed to the government by the newly forged alliance between the Orthodox hierarchy and its Cossack supporters was manifested at a Cossack council that took place at Sukha Dibrova near Fastiv in mid-June 1621. More than 300 clergymen, headed by Metropolitan Boretsky and Bishop Kurtsevych of Volodymyr, came to take part in the council immediately after the completion of their own sobor. More than 50,000 veteran Cossacks and Cossackized peasants and burghers, led by Borodavka and Sahaidachny, also gathered there. Iov Boretsky, who was given the opportunity to speak on the first day, delivered an impassioned address setting forth all his grievances against the royal administration and condemning the persecution of the Orthodox in Vilnius and elsewhere. He was followed by Petro Sahaidachny, who read out a letter from Patriarch Theophanes. The Cossacks adopted the cause of the new hierarchy as their own, and participants in the council vowed to defend the 'Greek faith' to the death.[45]

The atmosphere at the council was rather bellicose and overtly hostile to the government. The Cossacks agreed to defend the Commonwealth in a new war with the Ottomans, but only if their demands were fulfilled, and one of their principal conditions was the accommodation of the 'Greek religion' and the recognition of the new hierarchy. The significance of the religious element in the new Cossack policy toward the government was also reflected in the composition of the Cossack delegation that was dispatched to the king from the council. It was headed by Sahaidachny as the representative of the Cossacks, while the clergy was represented by the former hegumen of the Cossack monastery of Trakhtemyriv, who was now the bishop of Volodymyr—Iezekyil Kurtsevych. From a letter written by one of the supporters of the new hierarchy, the Slutsk archpriest Andrii Muzhylovsky, it emerges that the Orthodox clergy was apprehensive lest the royal courtiers force the Cossack delegation to abandon its religious demands or twist it around their fingers, but placed its confidence in 'those who were the reason and the guides to that deliverance of ours',[46] who were members of the delegation.

to their faith by fighting the infidels and freeing other Christians from Turkish and Tatar captivity, as well as by supporting individual churches and making donations to their benefit. Characteristically, in 1621 as in 1610 the Orthodox clergy utterly rejected accusations that it was inciting the Cossacks to rebellion. (Compare the texts of the two protestations: Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 149; *Akty IuZR*, vol. 2 [1865]: 59.)

[45] Hrushevsky (*History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 358–9) describes the Cossack council held at Sukha Dibrova on 15–17 June 1621 on the basis of a letter by the Reverend Obornicki, a Catholic priest. Iov Boretsky informed Krzysztof Radziwiłł of the same council in a letter of 14 (24) June 1621. According to Boretsky, the council took place at Kaharlyk 'about two weeks ago', ending on 17 June. There were 50,600 Cossacks registered at the council. See the text of the letter in Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', pp. 319–22.

[46] See the text of Andrii Muzhylovsky's letter of 5 (15) July 1621 to Krzysztof Radziwiłł in Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 324.

To indicate that they did not take the delegation lightly and were prepared to press their demands with sword in hand, the Cossacks resorted to their usual methods. Instead of proceeding through the steppe to join forces with the main Commonwealth armies at Bilhorod and Tighina, as the Commonwealth administration required them to do, the Cossacks set out for the settled area. At Bila Tserkva, they manifested their religiosity by carrying out the first known Jewish pogrom in Cossack history. Advancing along an extended front from the Prypiat River in the north to Bar and Kamianets in the south (that is, taking almost all of present-day Ukraine into their 'net'), they intended to proceed all the way to Lutsk, there to await the return of their delegation from the royal court.[47] The Catholic priest Obornicki, who was present at the council of Sukha Dibrova and felt the power of the uncontrolled Cossack element, warned of the threat of a peasant war that he discerned behind the scenes of the religious conflict: 'Protect, O God, the Catholics of this land, weak and few in number! There is nowhere to flee; everyone has abandoned us.'[48]

As the reception of the delegation led by Sahaidachny and Kurtsevych showed, the royal administration, seeking to win over the Cossacks, preferred to turn a blind eye to their 'escapades'. Even so, it was not prepared to sacrifice the Union or recognize the new hierarchy. From the incomplete data that have survived about the reception of the Cossack delegation, it develops that the measures outlined in the royal proclamations against the newly consecrated bishops were stayed when Kurtsevych apologized to the king for the violation of the royal right of patronage.[49] The prospects for an understanding seemed rather encouraging, and Sahaidachny was satisfied with the results of the mission, but the promises of the royal administration were given only under duress, and the authorities did not consider themselves bound by them.

In the autumn of 1621, immediately after victory was secured at Khotyn, the administration renewed its struggle with the newly consecrated hierarchy. Although the Cossacks attempted to restate their previous demands, including the religious ones, after the Khotyn War, to all intents and purposes the opportunity was lost. The new Cossack demands were

[47] See the report on this in Muzhylovsky's letter of 5 (15) July 1621, ibid., p. 323.

[48] See extracts from Obornicki's letter in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 358–60.

[49] The other bishops were supposed to have followed suit. See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 362–4. In all likelihood, the agreement secured by Sahaidachny served as the basis for a letter written by Zygmunt III on 24 March 1622 in which he effectively suspended his proclamation concerning the bishops' arrest, agreeing to receive the Orthodox hierarchs and hear them out, 'so that they may safely stand before us and give an account of themselves. If they duly clear themselves of this charge, we are prepared to show our royal favor.' See the text of the letter in Iurii Mytsyk, 'Z novykh dokumentiv do istorii mizhkonfesiinykh vidnosyn u XVII–XVIII st.' in *Dnipropetrovs'kyi istoryko-arkheohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, no. 1, *Na poshanu profesora Mykoly Pavlovycha Koval's'koho* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1997), pp. 137–8.

drafted in the steppe near Khotyn, far from Kyiv and Metropolitan Boretsky, hence they were more reminiscent of traditional Cossack petitions than of the ardently religious resolutions of the council of Sukha Dibrova. The Cossacks' principal demands were to increase the allowance for their maintenance and to restore the privileges of which they had earlier been deprived. As for religion, it was mentioned in the context of Cossack services to Christianity in their war with the infidels, a traditional motif since the days of Pidkova. The Cossack petitions were termed 'requests in view of the sanguinary services renowned throughout Christendom and apparent to all infidels'. The authors of the document, like Kasiian Sakovych in his *Verses*, which appeared the following year, emphasized their merits in the struggle 'for the Christian faith, for the royal honor, for the integrity of our fatherland', but demands of a religious nature were formulated in a very general and indefinite manner. They amounted only to the accommodation of the 'Greek religion' and the preservation of liberties previously granted.[50]

From the viewpoint of the hierarchy, which wanted to be recognized by the royal administration at any price, the formulation of the new Cossack demands meant that Andrii Muzhylovsky's fears, expressed in the immediate aftermath of the council of Sukha Dibrova, had come true: the Cossacks had let themselves be swindled after all.[51] First the delegation led by Sahaidachny and Kurtsevych had contented itself with promises of a general nature from the king, and then, removed from the metropolitan's influence and control, the whole Cossack Host had almost entirely neglected the religious issue in its petition. Moreover, the Khotyn petition was addressed not to the king but to Royal Prince Władysław and Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, entreating them to present it to the king. The king, for his part, also gave no direct response to the Cossack demands, but included his reply in instructions to the commissioners who were to be dispatched to the Cossacks. According to the king's instructions, the issue of the hierarchy remained, at least officially, beyond the scope of the Cossack–Polish negotiations that followed the Khotyn War. The document stated that just as no one had earlier persecuted the Cossacks because of their religion, so no one would do so in the future. The main problem that preoccupied the government was no longer how to mobilize the Cossacks and win them over, but how to get rid of them and disperse them as quickly as possible, since the Commonwealth had no money to pay for their services.[52]

[50] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 376–7. Cf. Sakovych, 'Vĭrshĭ' (*Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, pp. 220–38).

[51] Muzhylovsky wrote of his misgivings in his letter of 5 (15) July 1621 to Radziwiłł. See Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 324.

[52] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 378.

Although the Khotyn petition marked a serious setback for Boretsky's struggle to maintain control over Cossack relations with the government, it proved temporary. After Khotyn, when most of the Cossack demands were left unfulfilled, the Cossacks returned to the Dnipro region in a mood of anger with the king and the administration, which made them highly susceptible to the propaganda of the Orthodox hierarchy. As early as February 1622, a new delegation was sent to the king, and its instructions included the broadest representation of the religious issue. These instructions demanded the abolition of the Union and spoke of the accommodation of the Orthodox religion not only with respect to the Cossacks, but to Rus' as a whole.[53] This was a direct response to the attempt made in the royal instructions issued after Khotyn to limit the religious issue to the Cossacks alone. Boretsky's influence on the Cossacks was thus renewed, and Cossackdom itself took on the role of Orthodox battering ram at subsequent Diets.

Prior to the Diet of 1623, a large Cossack council was held near Kyiv at which the Cossacks confirmed the determination they had earlier expressed to fight for the abolition of the Union. The instructions to the Cossack envoys to the Diet generally repeated the points of the Cossack petition submitted after the Khotyn War. Nevertheless, the proximity and influence of the Kyivan clergy were apparent in the prominence given to the religious issue, as well as in the demands (accompanying the ultimate desideratum of the abolition of the Union) for the annullment of the king's proclamations against the Orthodox hierarchs and their *de facto* recognition by the royal administration. The text of the Cossack demands also included a petition for a royal privilege legalizing the activity of the Kyiv Brotherhood School.[54] The claims put forward by the Cossack envoys on the religious issue, as well as their threats that a failure to

[53] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 380. In 1622, relations between the new hierarchy and the Cossacks became somewhat indefinite. It would appear that both Boretsky and Smotrytsky sought to abide by the recommendations of the king's letter of 24 March 1622, which laid down the following conditions for a possible audience with the king: 'They, for their part, are to conduct themselves calmly and obediently during this period, giving no cause or occasion for revolt or disturbance of any kind . . .' (Mytsyk, 'Z novykh dokumentiv', appendixes, no. 1, p. 138). Meletii Smotrytsky was probably referring to these conditions when he wrote to Andrii Muzhylovsky explaining his absence, and that of the metropolitan, from the Cossack council of May 1622, where the candidate of the rank and file, Olyfer Holub, was chosen to succeed the deceased Sahaidachny as hetman. Smotrytsky wrote: 'The metropolitan and I did not go to the council of the Host, as we had many counsels not to provoke the fomenting of revolts of any kind, for those who have seceded from us have become accustomed to slander us even without cause' (ibid., no. 2, p. 139).

[54] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 390–2. Boretsky's influence among the Cossacks is attested in particular by Andrii Muzhylovsky's letter of 24 July (3 August) 1623 to Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł, in which he notes that if the Cossacks were not recruited into the king's service, they would 'do as the reverend metropolitan advises them' (Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 338).

accommodate the 'Greek religion' might lead to a Cossack rebellion, forced the authorities to establish a commission of senators and Diet delegates to reconcile the Orthodox with the Uniates, but no progress was made on the issue of recognition of the Orthodox hierarchy.[55]

The refusal of the Diet of 1623 to respond positively to the issue of legalizing the new Orthodox hierarchy, as well as the increasingly negative attitude of the authorities to the demands of the Orthodox after the murder of the Uniate archbishop Iosafat Kuntsevych by the burghers of Vitsebsk, created an atmosphere of despair in Kyiv and led Orthodox circles to abandon hope of a positive official resolution of their grievances.[56] The archpriest of Slutsk, Andrii Muzhylovsky, who came to Kyiv at the behest of his Protestant patron, Krzysztof Radziwiłł, to promote a united front of Orthodox and Protestants at the subsequent Diet of 1625, wrote in February 1624 that among the Kyivan clergy, with the exception of Metropolitan Boretsky, he met only 'somnolent people' who 'approved a declaration not to send anything to the current Diet and not to be present themselves'. The Cossacks from whom Muzhylovsky solicited letters to the Diet also 'did not want to send anything to the Diet, saying that we would never achieve anything there; that we have long been plied with promises, but with no result'.[57] Still, the Cossacks decided at the last minute to send a delegation to the Diet of 1625 in view of the change in their policy toward the Crimea. Demands of a religious nature were eventually added to its instructions only because Iov Boretsky managed to intercept the delegation on its way to the Diet. Thus, besides the issue of raising Cossack wages because of the truce with Khan Shahin Giray, which dried up an important source of war booty, the instructions to the Cossack delegation included two religious demands—recognition of the hierarchy and of the new archimandrite of the Cave Monastery, Zakhariia Kopystensky.[58]

[55] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 394–6; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, p. 454.

[56] For the text of the pope's breve of 10 February 1624 concerning the death of Kuntsevych, in which he demanded retaliation from the Polish king, see Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum*, 1: 448–55. Cf. Vernadsky Library, Mak. P-51, p. 68, 91–5; Stefanyk Library, MB, no. 799, f. 113^{v}–118^{v}.

[57] See the text of Andrii Muzhylovsky's letter of 3 (13) February 1624 in Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 345.

[58] 'What I quickly managed to grasp and wrote down for them', noted Iov Boretsky in his letter to the vicar of the Orthodox monastery in Vilnius, Iosyf Bobrykovych, to whose care he entrusted the Cossack delegation ('people of the deserted area') to the Diet. The story related by Boretsky in his letter of 12 January to Bobrykovych well exemplifies how demands of a religious nature made their way into Cossack letters and instructions (text of Boretsky's letter and extracts from the Cossack instructions in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, no. 41, pp. 273–7). For the complete text of the instructions, see Mytsyk, 'Kil'ka dokumentiv', appendix no. 4, pp. 145–6.

Cossacks and Hierarchs

If the new Orthodox hierarchy considered that the Cossacks were merely a convenient cudgel with which to beat the government—one that could be taken up when necessary and set aside when no longer required—then this view was entirely mistaken. The Cossacks regarded the Orthodox Church, especially the hierarchy that had been consecrated under their protection, as their own cudgel to be used in the struggle with the government. Not surprisingly, they stood in the way of any efforts on the part of the Kyivan hierarchs to reach an understanding with their Uniate opponents and, through them, with the authorities.

The true parameters of the Cossack–Orthodox alliance and the degree of freedom that the Cossacks were prepared to allow their hierarchs became completely apparent in the latter half of the 1620s, when the Kyivan clerical élite—at first cautiously, then with ever greater enthusiasm—entered into the process of reconciliation between Uniates and Orthodox. The stimulus for this process was a decision of the Diet of 1623 to establish commissions for that purpose and the proposal voiced at one of the commissions by the Polish primate, Wawrzyniec Gembicki, to convoke a joint Uniate–Orthodox sobor. In Ruthenian ecclesiastical circles, the initiative for an understanding proceeded in the first instance from the Uniate party, especially from Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Rutsky. On the Orthodox side, the main initiative for reconciliation came from Archbishop Meletii Smotrytsky of Polatsk, but his ideas (and, to a lesser degree, his enthusiasm) were shared, to all appearances, by Metropolitan Iov Boretsky and later by the archimandrite of the Cave Monastery, Petro Mohyla.[59]

The negotiations initiated in the latter half of 1623 by Rutsky and his representative Ivan Dubovych with Boretsky and Smotrytsky on the Orthodox side were kept secret by the participants. The scant information released at the time by both parties represented the negotiations as a victory for the side that happened to be reporting on them. For instance, in December 1623, Andrii Muzhylovsky wrote, evidently on the basis of statements by Boretsky or Smotrytsky, that Dubovych had been 'sent by Rutsky and Iosafat of Polatsk and other arch-recusants against us to our poor pastors, asking that they be permitted to come under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople and admitted to the dogmas of the faith'.[60]

[59] Shmurlo, *Rimskaia kuriia*, pp. 53–60; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 453–4. On Smotrytsky's and Mohyla's attitudes toward reconciliation with the Uniates, see Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 102–46; Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (1997), pp. 111–41.

[60] See the text of Muzhylovsky's letter of 6 (16) December 1623 in Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', appendix no. 11, pp. 342–3. A similar interpretation is given in Meletii Smotrytsky's letter written in the autumn of 1627 to the Vilnius Brotherhood. See *AIuZR* (1883): pt. 1, vol. 6, no. 244.

Rutsky, conversely, painted a different picture in his report to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith: the Orthodox were prepared to accept Catholic dogmas, but would not submit to the direct authority of Rome. As a possible solution to the problem, Boretsky and Smotrytsky proposed, according to Rutsky, to leave the united Ruthenian Church under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, which in turn would recognize the supremacy of Rome, as under the terms of the Union of Florence. The other alternative put forward by the Orthodox—but whose true authorship belonged, in Rutsky's opinion, to certain Commonwealth senators—was that of establishing a Ruthenian patriarchate in a vaguely defined union with Rome. The proposal amounted to a form of autocephaly for the Kyivan metropolitanate, and in this connection the Orthodox alluded to the popularity of the idea of a patriarchate among the faithful in general and the Cossacks in particular. It was planned 'to attract the people and the Cossacks with the alluring title of patriarch, for they speak of this continually, but care little for the truths of the faith'.[61] Judging by the subsequent writings of Meletii Smotrytsky, this announcement of Rutsky's reflected the actual disposition of Smotrytsky himself and of Metropolitan Iov Boretsky as well.

In the course of the next several years, while the cause of understanding between Orthodox and Uniates and the convocation of a joint sobor for the purpose advanced steadily, it was beset by an ever-growing number of problems. At the Diet of 1626, to which the Cossacks dispatched a delegation with demands for official recognition of the Orthodox hierarchy, the king insisted that the only way to settle the religious conflict was to hold a joint sobor at which the two contending parties might achieve an understanding, and convoked such a sobor for September 1626. But the plan encountered serious obstacles on both the Orthodox and Uniate sides. While the Uniates ultimately obtained Rome's agreement in principle to establish a patriarchate under papal control, they were also forbidden by Rome to conduct a joint sobor with the Orthodox. The Orthodox clergy was prevented from attending the sobor by its own flock, and Boretsky was even obliged to issue a circular denying rumors that he and Smotrytsky were inclined in favor of the Union. The Orthodox supporters of compromise, Smotrytsky and Boretsky, were constantly obliged to conceal their true intentions. On the one hand, they obtained the support of most of the Orthodox bishops, as well as of Petro Mohyla, who became the archmandrite of the Kyivan Cave Monastery in 1627. On the other hand, it proved impossible to keep the negotiations secret, and the Orthodox bishop Isaia Kopynsky, who opposed any agreement

[61] For a Ukrainian translation of major portions of Rutsky's report, see Velykyi, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*, 5: 17–20.

with the Uniates, began to incite the nobility, the Cossacks, and some of the clergy against the metropolitan.[62]

At the Orthodox sobor in Kyiv in August 1628, there was a serious confrontation on the issue of 'reconciliation between Rus' and Rus''. In the spring of that year, an Orthodox sobor of bishops had been held at the town of Horodok in Volhynia with the participation of Iov Boretsky, Meletii Smotrytsky, Isaakii Boryskovych, Paisii Ipolytovych, and Archimandrite Petro Mohyla. It was decided to hold a sobor to discuss the question of relations between Orthodox and Uniate Rus', and Smotrytsky was to prepare a special treatise on the importance of the reconciliation and possible unification of the two churches, as well as a memorandum on the existing differences between Catholicism and Orthodoxy. As a result of this arrangement, Smotrytsky wrote a book entitled *An Apology for My Peregrination to the Eastern Lands* and a memorandum on doctrinal differences that was later published in the same volume as the *Apology*. The text of the book, which took the form of a critique of the 'errors' of the Orthodox Church, was sent to Kyiv to be printed and became the basis for a devastating attack on Smotrytsky at the August sobor in Kyiv.[63]

The leading role in the attack was played by the priests Andrii Muzhylovsky (backed by the leader of the Lithuanian Protestants, Krzysztof Radziwiłł, an irreconcilable opponent of church union) and Lavrentii Zyzanii (Tustanovsky). Their arguments, reinforced with quotations from the *Apology* and accusations that Smotrytsky had abandoned Orthodoxy, inflamed the atmosphere at the sobor and forced Boretsky and other former supporters of Smotrytsky to cease their advocacy of Orthodox–Uniate reconciliation. It was all they could do to save Smotrytsky himself from being defrocked and anathematized by laying the principal blame for the 'errors' of the book on Kasiian Sakovych. Smotrytsky himself had to renounce his *Apology*.[64]

An important factor that affected the outcome of the sobor was the participation of Cossack representatives. Their attitude at the sobor was the first indication that Boretsky was not indulging in sheer fantasy when he wrote in his protestation of 1621 that the Cossacks needed no prompting from the clergy, as they themselves 'warn, remind and threaten them and the burghers that there be no change of any kind in the faith and no

[62] See Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 462–5; Velykyi, *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*, 5: 22–6, 33–7.

[63] See the facsimile of the Lviv edition of 1628 in *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1) (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 514–626.

[64] See the text of Smotrytsky's *Protestation* in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 323–51. The most recent reprint of the protestation appears in *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 627–42.

association with the Uniate apostates'.[65] During the sobor, Cossack representatives met with Smotrytsky and chastised him at length, ending the encounter with a direct threat to his life. News also reached Smotrytsky that the Cossacks had sworn to kill him if the sobor were to find him a Uniate. Pressure was brought to bear not only on Smotrytsky but also on Metropolitan Boretsky, whom the Cossacks distrusted as well. A Cossack leader named Solenyk persistently refused to leave Boretsky and Smotrytsky alone in church, and when finally persuaded to do so, he said, 'Cheat on, cheat on! Both Paul and Saul will get theirs.'[66]

In his later protestation against the decisions of the sobor of 1628, Smotrytsky expressed his deep dissatisfaction with the role played by the Cossacks in the proceedings of the sobor. He wrote: 'in that Church, because of a scourge of God, the clergy has long conformed to the will and thinking of laymen, and it is not the clergy that rules on spiritual matters, but the laity; the clergy does so only pro forma'.[67] In another passage of his protestation, rejecting the sobor's procedures on the grounds that he had been judged by priests and not bishops, Smotrytsky characterized the state of church government that he found unacceptable as follows: 'laymen govern priests, and priests govern bishops'.[68] In this instance, Smotrytsky was not only ably marshaling the argument best suited to his purpose, but also conveying the views and convictions of most Orthodox hierarchs.

In the early 1620s, the Orthodox hierarchy clearly welcomed and encouraged lay participation in the defense of the threatened church, but as time went on and the question of legitimation remained unresolved, while hope appeared for a reconciliation with the Uniates, leading to the achievement of legitimate status, the hierarchy made ever greater efforts to escape the tutelage of its lay protectors. It was no accident that in 1626 Smotrytsky brought back a proclamation from the Eastern patriarchs that divested the brotherhoods of the right of stauropegion and subordinated them to local bishops. Nevertheless, this effort on the part of Smotrytsky and, in his person, of the whole episcopate somewhat to reduce its dependence on the lay element in general and the Cossacks in particular was belated, to say the least. Neither the nobles nor the Cossacks were about to renounce the proprietary role that they had taken on since the consecration of the new hierarchy.

The strength of the embrace of these protectors of Orthodoxy became fully apparent during the preparations for the Kyivan Orthodox sobor of

[65] Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 150.

[66] See Smotrytsky's *Protestation* in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 330, 333, 337.

[67] Ibid., appendixes, p. 337.

[68] Ibid., appendixes, p. 342 (cf. p. 344).

June 1629 and in the course of its proceedings.[69] The sobor was convoked according to the king's instructions, simultaneously with a Uniate sobor, to prepare the way for a joint Uniate–Orthodox sobor in Lviv. The Orthodox nobility generally boycotted the sobor, taking the firm position that the 'accommodation of the Greek religion' could not be referred by the Diet for consideration at a sobor. At the theoretical level, this probably reflected a desire on the part of the nobility to treat the privileges conferred on the Greek religion as its own exclusive property and not to submit them to the disposition of clergymen, burghers, and Cossacks even at an Orthodox sobor. On the practical level, the nobility also did not want to run the risk of having the religious issue ultimately decided by a mixed (Uniate–Orthodox) sobor and subsequently by the king.[70] The Protestant allies of the Orthodox, for their part, were unhappy at the prospect of a joint sobor of Uniates and Orthodox. For them, the 'accommodation of the Greek religion' would mean the weakening of the anti-Catholic bloc. The Protestant position is fully characterized by the instructions that Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł gave his messenger to Kyiv in June 1629. He forbade the clergymen of Slutsk to attend the joint Uniate–Orthodox sobor in Lviv, because 'I know nothing and wish to know nothing about those synods'.[71] As may be judged from the text of the instructions, the prince did not trust even Andrii Muzhylovsky, Smotrytsky's main opponent at the sobor of 1628, who attended the Kyiv sobor of 1629, to all indications, without the permission of his princely patron.

Regardless of the Orthodox nobility's boycott of the Kyivan Orthodox sobor and the anti-Union measures of the Protestants, there is every reason to believe that it was the Cossacks who became the force that disrupted the plans of the Orthodox hierarchs and did not permit a decision in favor of a joint sobor in Lviv. The Kyivan sobor was attended by two official representatives of the Zaporozhian hetman, Leon Ivanovych, bearing a letter from him to the metropolitan. The letter contained a scarcely concealed reproach that the Cossacks had not been invited to the sobor. It went on to say that, 'living as Orthodox in our faith, into which we were born', the Cossacks were sending their representatives to the sobor 'in

[69] The sobor is described in Zhukovich, 'Kievskii sobor 1629 goda (po novym materialam)', (included in his *Seimovaia bor'ba zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei [s 1609 g.]*), and Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 90–5. For sources on the history of the sobor, see Zhukovich, 'Materialy dlia istorii Kievskogo i L'vovskogo soborov (1629 g.)', and Kryp"iakevych, 'Novi materiialy do istoriï soboriv 1629 r.' On Adam Kysil's participation in the sobor, see Frank E. Sysyn, 'Adam Kysil and the Synods of 1629: An Attempt at Orthodox–Uniate Accommodation in the Reign of Sigismund III', *HUS* 3–4 (1979–80): 826–45. Cf. id., *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 54–63.

[70] For the text of the protestation of the Kyivan nobility, see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 365–7.

[71] Ibid., appendixes, p. 364.

order to obtain certain information about what is going on there'. In closing, Ivanovych noted that 'it is our duty and that of every Christian to die for the faith'.[72]

Besides the hetman's official representatives, many other Cossacks made their way to Kyiv and constantly sought to squeeze into the church where the sobor was taking place. They were also sending delegations to the clergy and exerting all kinds of pressure on the participants. One of the Cossacks went so far as to threaten Mohyla and Boretsky with the same kind of 'union' as had befallen the Kyivan reeve Fedir Khodyka, whom the Cossacks had killed in 1625 after accusing him of supporting the Union. Mohyla even wept at these words. Given the dangerous situation, Boretsky had to spend his nights in the security of the Cave Monastery. With most of the Orthodox delegates absent because of the nobiliary boycott, as well as constant pressure from the Cossacks, it was decided to dissolve the sobor, citing the non-attendance of the nobility. But the sabotage of the sobor was due in no lesser measure to the actions of the Cossacks. The difference between their tactics and those of the nobility was given full expression by one of the Cossacks in his retort to Adam Kysil, the king's representative at the sobor: 'Do not shout, Pole! The delegates petition you, but the drunken louts curse and threaten you!'[73]

Cossackdom was not prepared to release the Orthodox Church from its grasp and relinquish it to the sphere of influence of the king and the government. For a time, in this struggle to control ecclesiastical policy and maintain Orthodoxy as an oppositional ideology directed against royal authority, the Cossacks enjoyed greater success than Prince Ostrozky and his supporters in the period of the Union of Brest. Having made possible the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy and the actual rebirth of the Orthodox Kyivan metropolitanate at the beginning of the 1620s, and having shown their readiness to resort to violence against the government and supporters of the Union, the Cossacks were now prepared to use violence against hierarchs displeasing to them within the renewed Orthodox Church itself. In a way, they had come full circle. Cossack readiness to resort to violence was quite clearly apparent in the statement of one of their leaders to Meletii Smotrytsky at the sobor of 1628: 'We have paid for this shrine [the Orthodox Church] with our blood; we are also prepared to secure it with our blood or with the blood of those who would show disrespect for it or betray it.'[74]

[72] See the text of Ivanovych's letter, ibid., appendixes, p. 370.

[73] Cited in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 93.

[74] Smotrytsky's *Protestation* in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, p. 333.

The death of Metropolitan Boretsky in the spring of 1631 allowed Cossackdom to re-establish complete control over the Kyivan metropolitanate. The Cossack candidate, Bishop Isaia Kopynsky, was elected and installed as metropolitan by the Cossacks regardless of the opposition of Petro Mohyla and other 'appeasers'. The search for a compromise with the Union, which had begun in Boretsky's day, was thus ended, and the Cossacks again became faithful allies of the Orthodox hierarchy and the battering ram of Orthodoxy at the Commonwealth Diets. At the last Diet held in King Zygmunt's lifetime (March–April 1632), the Cossacks again showed themselves firm defenders of Orthodoxy. Their officers, led by the new hetman of the registered Cossacks, Ivan Kulaha-Petrazhytsky, effectively renewed the course initiated by Sahaidachny: in return for their loyalty to the royal administration, they demanded concessions on religious and social issues.[75]

The instructions to the Cossack delegation to the Diet emphasized the religious issue, with the Cossacks figuring as defenders of Orthodoxy not just in the Kyiv region, as had often been the case in the past, but intervening on behalf of their whole 'nation of Rus'', not only in the 'Ruthenian lands' of the Kingdom of Poland but also in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Particular stress was laid on the oppressive measures against the Orthodox, which, as noted in the document, 'have been approaching us recently in the Siverian land near Chernihiv and other places'. Recalling that at the previous Diet the king had promised the Ruthenian nation to accommodate the Orthodox and confirm their bishops in office, the Cossacks demanded the fulfillment of that pledge.[76]

On the eve of the Diet and in the course of its proceedings, the Cossack question became particularly significant in view of a possible war with Muscovy, in which a special role was assigned to the Cossack forces. The primate of Poland, Jan Wężyk, even noted that if the Zaporozhian Host received its wages, it could field a larger army for the war than it had done at Khotyn.[77] Just before the planned war on Muscovy, as before the Khotyn War, the Cossacks confronted the government with their demands, including religious grievances of the Orthodox population of the Commonwealth, but the king, as he had done before the Khotyn War, avoided making any specific promises to the Cossacks. In response to their letter, Zygmunt III said that he knew nothing of any violation of Orthodox

[75] On the last Diet of the reign of Zygmunt III, see Jan Seredyka, *Rzeczpospolita w ostatnich latach panowania Zygmunta III (1629–1632). Zarys wewnętrznych dziejów politycznych* (Opole, 1978), pp. 154–210.

[76] For the text of the instructions, see P. N. Zhukovich, 'Poslednii seim v tsarstvovanie Sigizmunda III', *KhCh* 237 (1912): pt. 2, pp. 531–45 (included in his *Seimovaia bor'ba zapadnorusskogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei [s 1609 g.]*). On the interpretation of obscure passages in the manuscript, see Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, p. 539.

[77] Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, p. 538.

rights, but that he would write to the Uniate metropolitan and bishops in the matter. At the same time, the Cossacks were told not to interfere in the affairs of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as its 'citizens' could look after their own rights. As Mykhailo Hrushevsky noted with regard to this answer, the king in effect recognized the right of the Cossacks to come out in defense of the Orthodox Church on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland.[78]

The death of Zygmunt III on 20 April 1632, during whose life the Orthodox had lost hope of obtaining any concessions on the religious issue, and whose demise was clearly awaited by some of them, became the stimulus to active efforts on the part of the Orthodox nobles and burghers in defense of the Orthodox Church. The king's death led automatically to the convocation, election, and coronation Diets, which gave the Ukrainian Cossacks an opportunity to formulate their religious and social demands more clearly to the Commonwealth.

In May 1632, while the nobiliary dietines were in session, the Cossacks held a council on the election of the new king. In a letter of 3 June 1632 to the formal head of the Polish–Lithuanian state during the interregnum, the primate Jan Wężyk, the Cossacks, in effect, associated the church union exclusively with the late Zygmunt, during whose reign the Uniate Church had been established, and demanded its liquidation: 'that the newly arisen Union of the Lord who now reposes with God be abolished in the time before the coronation, and that we and our people, who are sincere well-wishers of this state of our fatherland, be accommodated'. Besides the abolition of the Union, the Cossacks demanded the return of formerly Orthodox properties from the Uniates. The list of grievances enumerated by the Cossacks included the familiar images with which the Orthodox had filled their writings and polemical speeches for more than three decades since the establishment of the Union. They complained that Orthodox faithful deprived of spiritual care were living together unmarried, that children were dying without having been baptized, and that adults were passing away without having received the last sacraments. Finally, the Cossacks noted that if the religious issue were resolved, they would all be prepared to lay down their lives for the integrity of their 'dear fatherland', and if this were not done, they would have to seek other ways of 'assuaging their conscience'.[79]

At the Diets of 1632, the principal defenders of Orthodoxy were nobiliary delegates from the Ruthenian palatinates, who managed to create a rather effective bloc of Protestant and Orthodox delegates that

[78] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 138.

[79] See the text of the letter in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 401–3.

threatened to break up the Diet if the 'Greek religion' were not accommodated. A solution was found in the establishment of a commission under the leadership of Royal Prince Władysław to develop a proposal for the 'accommodation' of the Orthodox and divide church property between them and the Uniates. The 'Measures for the Accommodation of Citizens of the Greek Faith', worked out by the commission and ratified by Władysław, provided for official recognition of the Orthodox metropolitanate with its seat in Kyiv.[80] Although credit for the success of the Orthodox at Władysław's election should go mainly to the Ukrainian and Belarusian nobility, Cossack insistence on the defense of the 'Greek religion' became an important precondition of the agreement. In his conversations with the papal nuncio, Honoratio Visconti, Władysław spoke directly of the danger posed by the Cossacks if an agreement were not achieved. Given the new war with Muscovy and the victories of the tsarist forces, which took Novhorod Siverskyi and Dorohobuzh, Władysław had no choice but to make concessions to the Orthodox on the religious issue.[81]

It was between the convocation and election diets of 1632 that the new Orthodox metropolitan, Isaia Kopynsky, and his entourage called on the Cossacks to rise in defense of the faith and asserted that if the repressions continued, they would have to go over to the state of the Muscovite tsar. They also promised to ask the tsar to receive the Cossacks as his subjects. Kopynsky may even have been present at the council of the unregistered Cossacks that deposed the moderate Ivan Kulaha-Petrazhytsky from the hetmancy and elected the candidate of the rank and file, Andrii Havrylovych (Didenko), in his place. Rumors that reached Warsaw and Moscow at the time posited a direct link between the Union and the removal of Kulaha-Petrazhytsky. He and his supporters among the officers were accused of having betrayed Orthodoxy and sustained the Union—this, at least, is how the Cossack rank and file saw the matter.[82] The

[80] On the commission's proceedings, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 163–7; Dzięgielewski, *O tolerancję dla zdominowanych*, pp. 31–4. The king's reply to the Cossacks of December 1632 indicated that he had equalized the rights of the Greek faith with those of the Union. See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 505–6.

[81] For the nuncio's letters to Rome, see Welykyj, ed., *Litterae nuntiorum*, 5: 91–135. Cf. ASV, Nunziatura Polonia, no. 43, pp. 27–8; no. 44, pp. 1–20. On the papal reaction to Władysław's religious concessions, see Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 132–7. On Cossack unwillingness to fight in the Smolensk War, see Floria, 'Nachalo Smolenskoi voiny i zaporozhskoe kazachestvo', pp. 443–50. Cf. also references to that effect in Polish letters about the war in the RNB, Dubrovsky Collection, Avtografy, 242, nos. 103–5.

[82] See the nuncio's account of the discussion of the religious question at the Cossack council and the deposition of Kulaha in Augustinus Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1860–4), 3: 397; Welykyj, ed., *Litterae nuntiorum*, 5: 112–13. For accounts of this council by Cossacks who crossed the Muscovite border and were questioned by the Muscovite authorities, see *VUR*, 1: 124–5, 127–9. The rumors are discussed in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 152–5.

Cossacks' readiness to view their internal conflict from a religious perspective once again indicated the potential danger to the Commonwealth from the Cossacks if the 'Greek religion' were not accommodated. The same prospect was raised by rumors that the leader of the Lithuanian Protestants, Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł, was agitating among the Cossacks.[83]

The Cossack Revolts

In the course of the 1620s and 1630s, Orthodoxy gave ever greater legitimacy to the Cossacks' aggressive stance *vis-à-vis* the government in the settled area in general and in Kyiv in particular. If the Cossacks sometimes neglected the defense of religion in their petitions to Warsaw, they were none the less prepared to use violence against Catholics and Uniates in the Dnipro region. As early as the Diet of 1623, Jerzy Zbaraski indicated the dangerous consequences of a union of Cossack power with religious opposition, advising that the Cossacks be pacified 'not only in view of the danger of a Turkish war', but also because 'we are threatened by an imminent storm from that quarter, owing to the religious issue and the great arrogance of those people'.[84] Even before Zbaraski's 'warning', in September 1622 the Cossacks seized four Uniate monks and imprisoned them at the Trakhtemyriv Monastery. Only upon the king's intervention and at the request of Metropolitan Boretsky did the Cossacks release the monks, telling them not to appear in the Kyiv region again.[85] In late 1623 or early 1624, a skirmish is said to have taken place between Cossacks and local Dominicans. According to a report by Andrii Muzhylovsky, the Dominicans supposedly seized some drunken Cossack officers and took them to their monastery. Other Cossacks freed their officers by force and took them back to the hetman. Following this encounter, religious hostility in Kyiv increased sharply. According to Muzhylovsky, '. . . one Cossack, having come upon some monk at the market, has already beaten him severely with a battle-ax'.[86]

[83] Radziwiłł's agitational measures were widely known in Ukrainian society, since similar reports about them appear in both Polish–Lithuanian and Muscovite sources. See Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta*, 3: 397; Welykyj, ed., *Litterae nuntiorum*, 5: 112–13; *VUR*, 1: 124–5, 127–9.

[84] *Listy księcia Jerzego Zbaraskiego, kasztelana krakowskiego, z lat 1621–1631* in *SRP*, 5: 77–8. Cited in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 396.

[85] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 393. At the same time, rumors circulated in Ukraine (and were recorded in Muscovite sources) to the effect that the Cossacks, 'it is said, wish to fight the king for the faith' (see Floria, 'Natsional'no-konfesiina svidomist' ', p. 129).

[86] See Muzhylovsky's letter of 3 (13) February 1624 to Radziwiłł (Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 345). This story is highly unlikely, as it is difficult to believe that the Kyiv Dominicans deliberately provoked the Cossacks, who presented such a danger to them in the Dnipro region. Nevertheless, the very fact that the story was circulating in Kyiv at the beginning of 1624 is a good indication of the tense religious atmosphere in the city.

The greatest conflict involving Cossacks took place in Kyiv in early 1625. The Cossacks came to town in large numbers, most probably at the summons of Metropolitan Boretsky, who feared that the Cave Monastery would be transferred to the Uniates after the death of its Orthodox archimandrite, Ielysei Pletenetsky. The victims of this Cossack expedition were the Uniate parish priest Ivan Iuzefovych, a former Orthodox who had attempted to keep his church in the Podil district after going over to the Union, and the Kyivan reeve Fedir Khodyka, whom the Cossacks had accused of supporting the Union and 'sealing' Orthodox churches. Both were executed by the Cossacks.[87] On the one hand, this brutal Cossack interference in religious affairs gave the Orthodox a bad name in government circles and did not promote their success at the Diets.[88] On the other hand, by resorting to terror and violence, the Cossacks managed to achieve what the nobility would scarcely have been able to obtain by means of parliamentary struggle—undivided possession of Kyiv for the Orthodox and the elimination of Uniate claims to the city's monasteries. Interestingly, the wave of Cossack religious violence in Kyiv and their killing of Khodyka and Iuzefovych preceded the royal privilege of February 1625 that confirmed the Orthodox candidate, Zakhariia Kopystensky, in office as archimandrite of the Cave Monastery.[89]

The armed conflict with the Commonwealth in the autumn of 1625, which became known in Ukrainian history as the Kurukove campaign, was the first Cossack confrontation with the authorities in which the religious factor effectively became part of the ideological arsenal of the Cossack uprisings, even though it remained peripheral in relation to demands of a social and juridical nature. Evidence of this is to be found in the declarations and counter-declarations that emerged from the Polish and Cossack camps during their negotiations in October and November 1625. On the Polish side, in the course of the negotiations we observe an attempt to put a stop to Cossack intervention in the religious struggle. There was

[87] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 415–16.

[88] Even the Orthodox clergy complained about Cossack unruliness. In his letters to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Andrii Muzhylovsky called the Cossacks 'knaves' (*łotry*), while Metropolitan Boretsky, also in a letter to Radziwiłł, complained about Cossack unruliness and about their sea expeditions, which led to increased tension. See Muzhylovsky's letter of 24 July (3 August) 1623 (Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 338) and Boretsky's letter of 24 August 1624 (*Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Severo-Zapadnoi Rusi, izdavaemyi pri upravlenii Vilenskogo uchebnogo okruga*, 14 vols. [Vilnius, 1867–1904], vol. 7, no. 55, p. 81; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, p. 445). The complaints of Muzhylovsky and Boretsky against the Cossacks in their letters to Radziwiłł may of course be seen as an attempt to play up to the views of the powerful protector of dissenters in the Commonwealth, but they also reflect the Orthodox hierarchy's orientation on the Cossack officers and its dissatisfaction with the actions of the rank and file.

[89] For the text of the royal privilege, see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 277–9.

even a specific demand to this effect in the first address of the Polish commissioners to the Cossack Host. The Cossacks replied with their own declaration, explaining their actions in Kyiv as responses to the insults inflicted on the Orthodox faith by the Uniates and demanding 'accommodation of the Greek faith'. Characteristically, Cossackdom did not insist on the recognition of the hierarchs consecrated by Theophanes, a painful question for the higher Orthodox clergy and the royal administration alike. This in turn gave the Polish commissioners the opportunity to employ the same tactics as those used by the government after Khotyn. During the new negotiations that followed a brief military encounter, the Cossacks were told that no one was persecuting the 'Greek religion'; rather, the issue was that religious affairs should be left to the clergy, not to the Cossacks. Religion was thus left out of the final draft of the Polish–Cossack agreement reached at Lake Kurukove.[90]

Thus, following the Khotyn agreement, the one at Lake Kurukove laid the foundations of subsequent Cossack diplomacy on the religious question. The Cossacks intervened in religious strife on the side of the Orthodox and advanced religious demands in their negotiations with the Commonwealth authorities, but almost always sacrificed them in the end so as to achieve more pressing Cossack objectives, such as increases in the register, wages, and, later, the territory of the Zaporozhian Host. Regardless of Cossack readiness to give up religious demands at the last moment, there was a prevalent and even growing conviction among the Cossacks themselves and the eastern Ukrainian population at large that the Cossacks were defenders of Orthodoxy and that their defeat would mean the abolition of the Orthodox faith.[91]

The Cossack war of 1630 led by Taras Fedorovych (Triasylo) became the first revolt since the uprising of Severyn Nalyvaiko that outgrew the dimensions of a Cossack conflict with the authorities to encompass a larger territory, drawing a multitude of Ukrainian peasants and burghers into the whirlwind of revolt. As mentioned earlier, the conflict began with an attack by those stricken from the register on the hetman of the registered Cossacks, Hryhorii Chorny, who was seized by the Zaporozhians in

[90] On the course of the Kurukove campaign and the Polish–Cossack negotiations, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 428–30, 435.

[91] 'As, it is said, the Polish people will defeat the Cossacks and destroy the Christian faith, bringing in the Roman one', noted a Muscovite source based on the testimony of Ukrainians who crossed the Muscovite border (Floria, 'Natsional'no-konfesiina svidomist'', p. 130). Aside from interfering in religious affairs in Kyiv, the Cossacks sometimes managed to extend their protection to Orthodox communities as far west as Lutsk. In 1629, the Lutsk Brotherhood was joined by Fedir Vovk and other Cossacks returning from the Swedish campaign. By offering the Orthodox their protection, the Cossacks helped to strengthen the Orthodox presence in the town. See George Gajecky, 'Church Brotherhoods and Ukrainian Cultural Renewal in the 16th and 17th Centuries' in *Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine: A Symposium* (Ottawa, 1987), pp. 69–77, here 72.

the settled area and executed. This led to a broader uprising that gave the Cossacks control of Dnipro Ukraine. For the first time, religion, or, more precisely, the defense of Orthodoxy against the advance of the Union, became an ideology that linked Cossacks, rebellious peasants, and the officially persecuted Orthodox clergy.[92]

The principal opponent of the Cossack rebellion, Crown Field Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, claimed in his account prepared for the Diet of 1631 that after the execution of Chorny, whom the Zaporozhians considered responsible for their exclusion from the register, the rebels were preparing to return to Zaporizhia. At this juncture, however,

> they received letters from a number of people, both clergy and laymen of the Greek religion, apprising them that the faith was being destroyed and churches taken away, and asking them to stand up for the faith . . . . The unruly ones immediately issued proclamations to the effect that the faith was at stake, and that anyone who had ever been a Cossack or wanted to be one should rally: they were promised all kinds of ancient liberties, or, to express it better, unruliness.[93]

Koniecpolski in fact indicated the significant conjunction of two motifs in Cossack agitation: the idea of preserving 'ancient' rights and the defense of the 'Greek' religion. This was perhaps the first instance in which the two arguments were conjoined to legitimize the uprising.

Quite obviously, Koniecpolski gave no credence to either of these arguments. As the quoted extract shows, he regarded the 'ancient' liberties as unruliness and the slogan of the defense of the faith as a mere instrument of rebellion. 'They have torn so many innocent people from their homes, their farms and occupations under the pretext of violation of the faith, in respect to which there had been no wrongdoing to anyone', he wrote to the Cossacks during the negotiations at Pereiaslav. The Cossacks, for their part, in replying to the field hetman, stood by their 'privileges', including the right to elect their leader (*starshyi*) and to defend the Orthodox faith. They confirmed that they had sent proclamations appealing for such a defense, but indicated that the uprising had acquired a religious coloration not so much because of their agitation as because

> certain clerical and lay people . . . not only heard in neighboring towns but experienced it themselves last year, when they were forbidden to celebrate the

[92] On the role of the religious factor in the uprising of 1630, see P. N. Zhukovich, 'Religiozno-tserkovnyi èlement v kazatskom vosstanii 1630 goda (pod predvoditel'stvom Tarasa)', *KhCh* 236 (1911): pt. 1, pp. 777–802, 987–1007 (included in his *Seimovaia bor'ba zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei* [*s 1609 g.*]); Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 66–73, 99–120; Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny*, pp. 528–34.

[93] Koniecpolski's account is cited here and below according to the text in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy* (vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 73). Hrushevsky used a copy of the account in the St Petersburg Public Library, Pol. F. IV, no. 241, p. 682 ff. The same copy was used by Mykola Kostomarov and Platon Zhukovich. It was returned to Poland in the 1920s. Chodynicki cites it as 'regained' (*Kościół Prawosławny*, p. 530).

liturgy in the churches and the brotherhood church was bloodied by the gentlemen soldiers who were stationed in Kyiv—that led people to assemble.[94]

Who were these 'clerical and lay people' who urged the Cossacks to come out in defense of Orthodoxy? Koniecpolski complained about them in his reports, and a contemporary Catholic bishop, Paweł Piasecki, wrote in his *Chronica* about the incitement of the Cossacks by an unidentified Kyivan archimandrite.[95] Unfortunately, we have no detailed information about the attitude of the Orthodox hierarchs to the uprising of 1630.[96] This silence of the sources is entirely understandable in light of the tense relations between the hierarchy and the Zaporozhian freemen prior to the revolt. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that among the lower clergy there were many who easily fit the description of the 'agitators' to whom Koniecpolski referred. To some extent, the attitudes of these supporters of Cossackdom can be reconstructed on the basis of the Lviv Chronicle, whose authorship is attributed by most scholars to the Orthodox priest Mykhailo Hunashevsky.[97]

The author of the Lviv Chronicle quite clearly saw the uprising of 1630 as acquiring the dimensions of a 'war of religion'. His account also lent a religious coloration to the conflict between the registered Cossacks and those stricken from the register, which set off the uprising. Hryhorii Chorny ('Hrys'ko het'man') was censured by the chronicler not only because he 'apportioned the money badly', but also because he 'had sworn allegiance to the Union'. The chronicler said of the Uniates that they had allegedly given money originally collected for schools (between 40,000 and 80,000 zlotys) to Koniecpolski for his expedition against the Cossacks, and that the Uniate metropolitan Rutsky himself had come to Kyiv to meet with Koniecpolski and the Polish soldiers. The quintessence of the chronicler's view of the Cossack–Polish war was a sentence that he

[94] *Zherela* 8 (1908), nos. 215, 216.

[95] Paweł Piasecki, *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego, biskupa przemyślskiego*, ed. Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki (Cracow, 1870), p. 346.

[96] On the identification of the 'Kyivan archimandrite' of Piasecki's chronicle with Mohyla, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 99–100. According to the Lviv Chronicle, however, 'the reverend archimandrite himself was greatly afraid' when the Cossacks routed a Polish company at the Kyivan Cave Monastery (Bevzo, ed., *L'vivs'kyi litopys*, p. 108).

[97] See Bevzo's introduction to *L'vivs'kyi litopys*, pp. 14–15. However, the events of 1630 are related from the viewpoint of an individual who was in Kyiv at the time, most probably in the Mezhyhiria Monastery ('After all, you understand what a fright we were in, as we were now in the Cossack monastery at which everyone was gnashing his teeth', ibid., p. 109). Leaving aside the debate about Hunashevsky's authorship of the Lviv Chronicle, as well as the question of whether he was in Kyiv in 1630 or used someone else's records for his description of events there—all matters beyond the scope of the present work—it may be asserted with some degree of confidence that the author of the account of the Cossack uprising of 1630, whoever he may have been, belonged to the lower clerical circles that were close to the Cossacks and reflected the attitudes to the Cossack revolt prevailing in those strata of Ruthenian society.

placed into Koniecpolski's mouth on the battlefield: 'There is a union for you—the Rus' lie with the Poles!'[98]

Another important element in the Lviv Chronicle's account of the war of 1630 is its author's close association of religious and national elements. In his interpretation, Cossackdom appears as an inalienable element of Rus', and Rus' is often identified with Orthodoxy. The Cossack conflict with the Polish authorities thus takes on the attributes not only of a religious war but also of a national one. The introduction of Commonwealth forces into Ukraine is seen in this context as an attack on Rus' as a whole: 'the soldiers came to Kyiv with the intention of slaughtering first the Cossacks and then the Rus' throughout Ukraine as far as Muscovy', and Koniecpolski nursed a 'great anger . . . against the Cossacks and all of Rus''. The chronicler's account of the actions of a Polish official, Samuel Łaszcz, against the rebels also represents the conflict as a national and religious war:

> On his way to Kyiv, Lord Łaszcz slaughtered the entire small town of Lysianka on Easter Day itself, men, women and children alike who were in church, and the priest together with them. On the way, they killed innocent people, if only they were Rus'.

The chronicle notes that German mercenaries 'plundered' St Nicholas's Hermitage Monastery, 'damaged' the Jordan Monastery, wanted to storm the Mezhyhiria Monastery, and 'probably, if they had succeeded in their intentions, all of Rus' would have suffered . . .'. The author of the chronicle apparently believed that the general assault on the Rus' nation and religion was sanctified by the Polish Roman Catholic Church. According to the chronicle text, Dominican monks gave Koniecpolski their blessing for war with the Rus': 'the sword was blessed and carried around the church, and for the duration of the Mass it lay on the altar with the words that it was against the infidels, against Rus', to extirpate them'.[99]

[98] Bevzo's introduction to *L'vivs'kyi litopys*, pp. 106, 110–11. These words were allegedly spoken in the presence of five 'most reverend' priests who were in the Polish camp. The editor of the chronicle, O. A. Bevzo, paid special attention to this report, transcribing this sentence of the chronicle as follows: 'Pry panu het'manu ottsov bulo chestnishykh p"iat'' (There were five most reverend priests with the lord hetman). Bevzo rejected the readings *i nashykh* (and ours) and *ot nashykh* (of ours) that had appeared in place of *chestnishykh* in previous editions, maintaining that the reference could only be to Catholic priests, and by no means to Orthodox ones. Nevertheless, the reading of the obscure word in the manuscript as *chestnishykh* instead of *i (ot) nashykh* does not alter the general sense of the sentence, as there is no doubt that the Orthodox author could only have used the word *chestnishykh* with reference to Orthodox priests. The presence of Orthodox clergymen in Koniecpolski's company helps to explain why he shared his thoughts on the Union with them and how this information reached an Orthodox chronicler. The strained relations between the higher Kyivan clergy and the Cossacks before the uprising, as well as the Orthodox hierarchy's attempts to remain on the best possible terms with the authorities, make the temporary presence of Kyivan clergymen in the Polish camp a distinct possibility.

[99] Ibid., pp. 106–11. According to the chronicle data, the companions of the 'royal company' that was stationed in Lutsk before military operations began 'greatly overpraised themselves

The chronicle account notes some interesting details confirming that the Cossacks themselves perceived their uprising as a national and religious war. According to the chronicle, the Cossacks, in destroying Commonwealth units advancing to reinforce the main Commonwealth army, left Ruthenian soldiers alive: 'and of the haiduks who were there, those who were Ruthenians, they left them alive and did not kill them . . .'. Nevertheless, this orientation on the national factor was not 'unconditional' among the Cossacks, even according to the chronicler's testimony. It emerges from the chronicle account that the Cossacks, in fighting the Commonwealth army, often showed no mercy to their compatriots and co-religionists in the Polish–Lithuanian ranks and did not hesitate to seek them out even in churches: 'They found one Ruthenian, Popel, at the priest's; they took him out and shot him, and another at the Church of St Theodosius.'[100]

The author of the Lviv Chronicle was not the only Ruthenian who viewed the 1630 uprising as a national and religious war. In large part he merely related rumors and presented views prevailing in Orthodox clerical circles and within the Orthodox population. Corroboration of this is to be found in statements made by Ukrainian Orthodox monks traveling to Moscow at the time who were interrogated by Muscovite border voevodas. According to statements made in Putyvl in April 1630 by messengers from Metropolitan Iov Boretsky on their way to Moscow, Commonwealth forces were stationed in the Dnipro region 'to violate the Christian faith in Kyiv and establish the Union and the Roman faith and go against the Cossacks'.[101] Nor did the Kyivan clergy's view of war aims change when military operations were over. According to statements by Ukrainian monks in Moscow, given that Koniecpolski had failed to defeat the Cossacks and 'did not convert the Christian faith to his own Roman one', he would demand a levy *en masse* to extirpate the Cossacks 'and destroy the Christian faith so as to establish the Roman faith alone throughout Poland and Lithuania'.[102]

The religious element in the ideology of the Cossack revolt received due attention in Commonwealth ruling circles. At the Diet of 1630,

with regard to Rus', saying, "When we return, we will have all of you in our fist"' (Bevzo, ed., *L'vivs'kyi litopys*, p. 109). Among the crimes of the Commonwealth forces in Ukraine, the chronicler singles out the following: 'Before Sunday, they cut to pieces the metropolitan's servant Petro and three of his subjects' (ibid., pp. 105, 106).

[100] Ibid., pp. 107–8.

[101] *VUR*, 1: 82.

[102] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 124; Kulish, *Materialy*, p. 298. There is evidence that during the uprising, Orthodox monks sought to avail themselves of Cossack support in settling their property disputes. Thus the palatine's wife, Sofiia Danylovych, charged in the autumn of 1630 that monks of St Nicholas's Hermitage Monastery had conspired with the Cossacks to seize two villages belonging to her, as well as a ferry crossing near the town of Kryliv on the Dnipro (*VUR*, 1: 88–9).

Koniecpolski demanded the appeasement of the Cossacks and indicated the danger of Orthodox agitation among the Cossacks and commoners, as well as of Muscovite activity among the Cossacks in the religious sphere. Testimony has also survived of an appeal to the Cossacks from Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem at the beginning of 1630 'to stand up for the Christian faith' and to come under the rule of the Muscovite tsar.[103] Although demands for the freedom of the Orthodox faith were all but absent from the final draft of the Cossack–Polish agreement at Pereiaslav in May 1630, and the Cossacks had to apologize to Koniecpolski for having agitated in defense of the Orthodox Church, the religious theme again made its way into the list of Cossack demands immediately after the Pereiaslav agreement. At a council held in Cherkasy in July 1630 in the presence of Metropolitan Boretsky, it was decided to send a delegation to the Commonwealth authorities with instructions that included demands of a religious nature.[104]

Interestingly enough, the presence of the religious factor in the uprising of 1630 was noted not only by Polish–Lithuanian official circles, the Muscovite government, and the Eastern patriarchs but also by representatives of Swedish diplomacy. Sweden was attempting to undermine the Commonwealth's position in the Thirty Years' War and to prevent the use of Cossack contingents against its own forces. In this context, the transformation of the Cossacks from potential enemies into potential allies in the struggle with the Commonwealth was entirely congruent with Swedish political interests. Since religious allegiance was the usual basis for identifying allies and enemies in Europe of the day, one of the ways to achieve an understanding with the Cossacks, from the viewpoint of Swedish diplomats, was to promote anti-Catholic solidarity between Protestant Swedes and Orthodox Cossacks. At first, Swedish diplomatic agents sought to incite actions against the Commonwealth on the part of the Muscovite tsar in defense of the Orthodox in the Commonwealth; later, they attempted to establish direct contact with the Cossacks.[105]

In a letter of June 1631 from the Swedish agent in Riga to the Ukrainian Cossacks, they were encouraged to turn to the Swedish king, who was represented as an enemy of the Jesuits and a supporter of the Greek

[103] Unfortunately, Theophanes's letter has not survived. The Greek Andreas, an envoy of the patriarch's, informed Muscovite voevodas about its contents. See B. N. Floria, 'New Evidence on the 1630 Zaporozhian Cossack Uprising', *HUS* 16, nos. 1–2 (June 1992): 167–73.

[104] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 99, 123, 127.

[105] On the activity of the Swedish diplomatic agent Rubets in Moscow, see P. A. Kulish, *Otpadenie Malorossii ot Pol'shi (1340–1654 gg.)*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1888–9), 1: 161. Earlier, Transylvanian diplomatic representatives had also made energetic efforts to win over the Cossacks because of their opposition to the Union. On attempts by European rulers to establish contacts with the Ukrainian Cossacks, see Kryp"iakevych, 'Kozachchyna v politychnykh kombinatsiiakh'.

religion. It was claimed that Cossack devotion to the faith had been commended to the king by none other than Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris of Constantinople. The attitude of the Cossacks to this Swedish agitation was ambiguous. As noted in a contemporary Muscovite report, the Cossack rank and file was prepared to respond to the Swedish appeal on the basis of the wrongs done to their 'true faith' by the Poles, but the officers greeted the Swedish envoys rather coldly and ultimately turned them over to the authorities. In all likelihood, this was an attempt on the part of the new officers, installed after the uprising of 1630, to show their readiness to collaborate with the government.[106]

A great new Cossack uprising took place in 1637–8 under the leadership of Pavlo But (Pavliuk), Karpo Skydan, and Dmytro Hunia. Like the previous uprising of 1630, the war of 1637–8 was waged at least in part under the banner of the defense of the Orthodox faith. Fortunately, there is much better information available about the use of the religious factor in Cossack agitation during the uprising of 1637–8 than about similar actions in 1630. Several proclamations issued by leaders of the uprising, most notably Karpo Skydan and Dmytro Hunia, have come down to the present; some of them make direct reference to the religious issue. Judging by the early proclamations and correspondence of the first leader of the uprising, Pavlo But, it began with a call for the defense of Cossack liberties, with no reference whatever to religious freedom.[107] The situation changed, however, when news reached the Dnipro region that the Crown army was headed for the Trans-Dnipro region, the Left Bank, in order to take up quarters there. Under these conditions, it was not only the Cossacks but also the local residents who felt themselves directly threatened. Ultimately, as in the uprising of 1630, this made conditions ripe for the mobilization of the masses under the slogan of the defense of the Orthodox faith.

The religious issue was actively exploited in proclamations to the Cossacks and the entire population by Karpo Skydan, whom But dispatched from Zaporizhia to the settled area in order to appeal to the local Cossacks and other social groups established on that territory. In the text of his proclamation of 11 October 1637 to the Cossacks and 'all common people of Christian descent in general', Skydan appealed to all, 'if only they call themselves comrades and hold to the true, venerable faith' to come out against the 'Liakhs', enemies of 'our Christian Ruthenian nation and our ancient Greek faith'.[108] In his proclamation of 24 October, he appealed once again to the Cossacks of the settled area and commoners

[106] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 131–2; Kryp"iakevych, 'Kozachchyna v politychnykh kombinatsiiakh'.

[107] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 252, 254–6.

[108] Cited ibid., p. 259.

courageously to oppose 'that enemy of our Greek faith'.[109] In his proclamation of 29 November, he turned to the same strata with an appeal against 'our foes and the enemies of our faith'.[110]

Appeals in defense of the faith were not, of course, the only instrument employed by the Cossacks for the mobilization of the masses. Skydan's proclamations also made mention of Cossackdom's 'knightly renown', of its rights and liberties, and of the Polish forces' intention not only to spill Christian blood but also to violate the Cossacks' wives and children and make captives of them. In appealing to the Cossacks to protect either religion or their liberties, Skydan in fact targeted the same group of well-to-do Cossacks from the settled area. Their position was no doubt crucial to the success of the revolt, as may be assumed on the basis of a 'Discourse' written by Adam Kysil for Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski in 1636, on the eve of the revolt. In that memorandum, Kysil divided the Cossacks into three categories—officers, 'honorable' Cossacks with families, and 'wild rebels'. Kysil characterized the Cossacks belonging to the first group as ones whose loyalty could easily be purchased and those in the second group as people who 'have God in their hearts, who are to some degree pious in religion, to whom freedom, wife and children are dear'. He claimed that when it came to the third group (the 'rebels'), 'reason, piety, religion, liberty, wives, and children mean nothing to them'.[111]

Whether Kysil's assessment of the 'rebels'' religiosity was right or wrong,[112] there is little doubt that they did not hesitate to use religion to justify their revolt. Characteristically, the split within the ranks of the Cossack officers that facilitated the Polish victory over the rebels was represented in the accounts of Cossacks and peasants who crossed the Muscovite border as a betrayal of Orthodoxy by some of the officers: 'many of their Cherkasian officers have betrayed the Christian faith and converted to the Latin and papist faith'. There is little doubt that the religious factor was significant in shaping contemporary perceptions of the uprising, and the Muscovite voevodas reported to the tsar on the basis of their interrogations of Ukrainians crossing the border to Muscovy that 'in

[109] *VUR*, 1: 180; Szymon Okolski, *Dyaryusz transakcyi wojennej między wojskiem koronnem i zaporoskiem w r. 1637* (Zamość, 1638), repr. Kazimierz Józef Turowski (Cracow, 1859), p. 26.

[110] *VUR*, 1: 182; Okolski, *Dyaryusz*, pp. 26–7.

[111] For a discussion of Kysil's 'Discourse' of 1636, see Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, pp. 80–1.

[112] In his *Description d'Vkranie* (1651/1660), Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, a French engineer who rebuilt Kodak after its destruction by the Cossacks in 1635, left an interesting account of Cossack religiosity as reflected in everyday life: 'They are of the Greek [Orthodox] religion, which they call *Rus'* in their language. They hold [church] feast days in great respect, and as well days of fasting, which they define as refraining from the eating of meat, and to which they devote eight or nine months of the year. They are so fastidious about this practice that they believe their salvation to depend upon distinctions among different sorts of food' (Beauplan, *A Description of Ukraine*, p. 12).

the Lithuanian towns the Poles are executing, in a variety of ways, Cherkasians of the Ruthenian faith, and Lithuanian people of all kinds, and their wives and children who do not apostatize and convert to the papist faith'. Such were the notions of rank-and-file Cossacks and commoners who fled across the Muscovite border to escape the Polish forces.[113]

The Orthodox clergy apparently had a different view of the uprising. When interrogated by Muscovite voevodas, the monks of the Hustynia Monastery stated openly that

> the Cherkasians did not want to be under the rule of the nobles and became unruly as before, and killed and robbed officials, Poles, and Jews in the towns, and burned Roman Catholic churches in the towns. That is why the Poles are killing them, the Cherkasians, and not for the faith.

It is clear from the voevoda's report that this interpretation of events was based on the words of the brother of Crown Field Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, Stanisław, who visited the monastery at the time. Nevertheless, the very fact this view was accepted by monks of the Hustynia Monastery, located far to the east, who cultivated notions of resettling in Muscovy, testifies to a serious degree of estrangement between Cossackdom and the Orthodox clergy during the uprising, as well as to skepticism on the part of the clergy about the Cossacks' sincerity in the use of religious slogans. Even as they complained of Mohyla's alleged conversion to Catholicism and his acceptance of the patriarchal title from the pope (a reference to plans for a universal union initiated by the palatine Aleksander Sanguszko), the Hustynia monks, who were influenced by the long-time supporter and protégé of the Cossacks, Isaia Kopynsky, did not side with the Cossacks, but looked to Muscovy for deliverance.[114]

If the uprising of 1630 impressed itself on the consciousness of the Lviv chronicler as a religious war, that of 1637–8 held no such significance for him. In describing the events of 1637 in Ukraine, the chronicler wrote as follows about the actions of the Cossacks prior to the arrival of the Commonwealth forces:

> And in Ukraine the Cossacks rebelled and treated the Poles with contempt, killed the Germans like flies, burned towns, slaughtered the Jews like chickens, some burned monks in Roman Catholic churches, while others threshed grain, rode about seizing herds, and salted meat in barrels, preparing food for themselves.[115]

[113] See *VUR*, 1: 198, 199, 205. Cf. similar reports cited in Floria, 'Natsional'no-konfesiina svidomist'', pp. 130–1. See also B. N. Floria, 'Otrazhenie religioznykh konfliktov mezhdu protivnikami i priverzhentsami unii v "massovom soznanii" prostogo naseleniia Ukrainy i Belorussii v pervoi polovine XVII v.' in Dmitriev *et al.*, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g.*, 2: 151–74. It is worth noting that the identification of the Union with Roman Catholicism and the failure to differentiate between the two churches may be more a reflection of the way in which the Muscovite scribes themselves viewed the conflict in Ukraine than of the views of the Ukrainian emigrants.

[114] *VUR*, 1: 222, 229.

[115] Bevzo, ed., *L'vivs'kyi litopys*, p. 119.

It would appear that the chronicler did not condemn Cossack attacks on Poles, Germans, and Jews, who represented non-Orthodox confessions, but neither did he respond to them with enthusiasm.

The role of the religious factor in the uprising of 1637–8 was quite different from its role in the previous revolt of 1630. One of the differences was that even the apparent unity of the Orthodox hierarchy and the Cossack officers, which still existed in 1630, had vanished completely by the middle of the decade. In the mid-seventeenth century some Polish authors retrospectively attributed the uprising of 1637–8 to Cossack dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical reforms of Petro Mohyla. An anonymous author of a treatise on ways to put an end to the Khmelnytsky Uprising presented the history of the rebellion of 1637–8 as follows: the Cossacks became angry with the metropolitan and then with the nobility, which led the Commonwealth to intervene and put down the uprising by force of arms. He enumerated the positive changes enacted by Mohyla and noted that because of them, the metropolitan had been suspected of introducing the Union. The Cossacks had allegedly wished to drown Mohyla in the Dnipro because he erected a cross resembling a Catholic crucifix opposite St Sophia's Cathedral and added a cupola like that on a Roman Catholic church to the restored Church of the Holy Savior. Mohyla allegedly had to flee Kyiv for his life.[116]

Cossackdom's growing tendency to exploit religion in order to legitimize anti-government revolts inevitably disturbed not only official circles but also the Orthodox hierarchs, who were attempting to free themselves from the Cossacks' embrace and reach a compromise with the government. Thanks in part to this common denominator in the attitudes of the government and the Orthodox hierarchy toward the Cossacks, the two sides managed to achieve a long-awaited compromise during the metropolitanate of Petro Mohyla. Even so, this success in relegating the Cossacks to the periphery of relations between the Kyivan Orthodox metropolitanate and the Commonwealth government proved only temporary. Considering in retrospect the stages of Cossack politics from the hetmancy of Petro Sahaidachny to the great revolt led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, one may conclude that Cossackdom needed a religion irreconcilable with the Catholic faith of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth so as to legitimize its opposition to that state and its ultimate armed uprising against it. The Cossacks also required a religious consciousness with a powerful national component in order to mobilize support for their revolts in Ruthenian society by means of religious and ethnic appeals.

[116] See the texts of both treatises in Iu. A. Mytsyk, 'Dva publitsystychni traktaty pro prychyny Natsional'no-Vyzvol'noï viiny ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII st.', *UIZh*, no. 6 (1999): 122–35.

FOUR

Order, Religion, and Nation

Writing in 1672 in the preface to the English translation of Pierre Chevalier's *A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government and Religion of the Cossacks*, the publisher of the book, Edward Brown, counted the Ukrainian Cossacks among the contemporary nations and even compared them with Englishmen. He stated in that regard:

> Although *Ukraine* be one of the most remote Regions of Europe, and the *Cossackian* name very Modern; yet hath that Countrey been of late the Stage of *Glorious Actions*, and the Inhabitants have acquitted themselves with as great Valour in *Martial Affairs*, as any Nation whatsoever. . . . The *Cossacks* do in some measure imitate us, who took their rise from their Victories upon the *Euxine*, and setled themselves by incountring the *Tartars* in those Desart Plains, which do so far resemble the Sea, that the *Mariners Compass* may be useful for Direction in the one, as well as the other.[1]

What was the relationship, if any, between Cossackdom and nationhood, how were social and national identities interconnected in Ruthenian society, and what was the role of religion in that relationship? In addressing these questions, it is useful to begin by quoting from Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the most eminent Ukrainian historian and one of the foremost authorities on the history of Cossackdom. Like Brown in the seventeenth century, Hrushevsky, writing in the early twentieth century, linked Cossackdom and nationhood, but in a manner profoundly different from Brown's. He believed that by participating actively in the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy in the autumn of 1620, the Ukrainian Cossacks had entered upon a qualitatively new period of their history, becoming a leading force in the Ukrainian national renaissance of their time.

Apropos of this, Hrushevsky wrote:

> Cossackdom entered a new era of its existence by rendering an extremely important service to the religious and thus also the national life of Ukraine, and by deliberately, from that time on, making service to Ukrainian national needs in their religious form part of the Cossack program. From that time on, the demand

[1] Edward Brown, preface to Pierre Chevalier, *A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government and Religion of the Cossacks, With another of the Precopian Tartars. And the History of the Wars of the Cossacks against Poland* (London, 1672), fasc. A2–A3.

of guarantees for the Orthodox Church—the Ukrainian national palladium of that time—became an almost invariable part of the demands and desiderata that Cossackdom set before the government. That demand was one of their most intimate needs, one of those closest to the Cossack heart. Cossackdom became the generally recognized and official guardian and protector of Ukrainian ecclesiastical life—and thus also of Ukrainian cultural and national life.[2]

Hrushevsky frequently noted the close bond that actually existed at the time between national and religious consciousness in Ukraine, but warned his readers against oversimplifying the matter. 'The concept of nationality', he wrote in his study of the seventeenth-century cultural and national movement, 'which is so elementally obvious to us in its present form, is a creation of very recent times. As a rule, in earlier times it was wholly supplanted by other concepts—political, class, and religious allegiances, as well as geographic and cultural characteristics.'[3] Clearly, Hrushevsky did not consider the Cossacks a nation, but saw them as closely linked with the Ukrainian identity of their day and, indeed, ascribed to them a leading role in the Ukrainian national movement of the first half of the seventeenth century.[4] Was he right to do so?

In the Ruthenian (Ukrainian–Belarusian) lands of the latter half of the sixteenth century, the intermingling of political, administrative, and religious boundaries led to the formation of a distinct identity that combined a number of political, ethnic, and religious elements.[5] The political division of the lands of the former Kyivan Rus' slowly but surely wore away the idea of the unity of Rus' that had been developed by the Kyivan élite

[2] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 303–4.

[3] Hrushevs'kyi, 'Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraïni v XVI–XVII vitsi' in id., *Dukhovna Ukraïna*, p. 143.

[4] My use of the word 'nation' is explained in the introduction and is informed by the cautious approach to this term employed by Ihor Ševčenko in his essays on Ukrainian cultural history: 'In dealing with Ukrainian history from the Kievan Rus' period to the end of the seventeenth century, we have singled out a number of political and cultural factors that help explain the emergence, by 1700, of a distinct linguistic, cultural, and, in some sense, political entity on the territory of Ukraine, and the rise of a concomitant consciousness on the part of its elites. We call this distinctness "national", for lack of a better word, but we should realize that using the term for the early centuries is something of an anachronism' (*Ukraine between East and West*, p. 187).

[5] On the role of the religious frontier in the formation of national identity, see Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, p. 190. On the problem of Ruthenian identity in the early modern period, see the following works: Miron Korduba, 'Die Entstehung der ukrainischen Nation' in *Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VIIe Congrès international des sciences historiques* (Lviv, 1933), pp. 19–67; Ivan Kryp"iakevych, 'Do pytannia pro natsional'nu svidomist' ukraïns'koho narodu v kintsi XVI—na pochatku XVII st.', *UIZh*, no. 2 (1966): 82–4; Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i kozaczyzny*; id., 'The National Consciousness of Ukrainian Nobles and Cossacks'; Sysyn, 'Ukrainian–Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century'; id., 'Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620–1690'; id., 'The Cossack Chronicles and the Development of Modern Ukrainian Culture'; Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 229–45; Mirosław Czech, 'Świadomość historyczna Ukraińców pierwszej połowy XVII w. w świetle ówczesnej literatury polemicznej', *Slavia Orientalis* 38, nos. 3–4 (1989): 563–84.

during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. On either side of the Lithuanian–Mongol border of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, descendants of the Kyivan rulers developed a distinct political consciousness and tradition. With the ultimate partition of the Kyivan metropolitanate in the fifteenth century, a new boundary defining ecclesiastical jurisdiction was superimposed on the political border between the two parts of the formerly united Rus'. Owing in part to the existence of a durable political and ecclesiastical boundary, the idea of the separation of Polish and Lithuanian Rus' from Muscovite Rus', or Muscovy as defined in Polish and West European treatises, became firmly established in the mind of the Ukrainian–Belarusian élites. At the same time, there was a firm conviction of the unity and indivisibility of Lithuanian and Polish Rus', that is, present-day Ukraine and Belarus.[6]

The Union of Lublin (1569) between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was one of the main cornerstones of the future Ukrainian–Belarusian boundary and helped to initiate the disintegration of the common Ruthenian (Ukrainian–Belarusian) identity. The decisions made at Lublin not only established an administrative boundary between Poland and Lithuania more or less coinciding with the present-day Ukrainian–Belarusian border but also united Galicia and Western Podilia, acquired earlier by the Poles and already within the Kingdom of Poland, with the remaining Ukrainian territories to the east. Thus, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Ukrainian lands were separated by a political and ecclesiastical boundary from Muscovite Rus', by an administrative boundary from Lithuanian Rus', and by a religious boundary from Poland.

Rus' was often defined by the Ruthenian authors of the time in territorial, religious, and ethnic categories. The characteristic most often used to denote the Ruthenian community appears to have been ethnocultural.[7] Reference was also made to a distinct 'Ruthenian nation'

[6] One indication of the formation of separate 'political' identities in Muscovite and Polish–Lithuanian Rus' was the strong perception of the émigré prince Andrei Kurbsky as a 'Muscovite' by his Ruthenian brethren. See Inge Auerbach, 'Identity in Exile: Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbskii and National Consciousness in the Sixteenth Century' in *Culture and Identity in Muscovy, 1359–1584*, ed. A. M. Kleimola and G. D. Lenhoff (Moscow, 1997), pp. 11–25. For the interrelation of political, ethnocultural, economic, and religious elements of identity in sixteenth-century Muscovy, see Michael Khodarkovsky, 'Four Degrees of Separation: Constructing Non-Christian Identities in Muscovy', ibid., pp. 248–66.

For the development of an ethnic identity separate from that of Muscovite Rus' in the Ukrainian–Belarusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, see Floria, 'O nekotorykh osobennostiakh', pp. 12–16.

[7] Pamva Berynda's dictionary of 1627 suggests an ethnocultural treatment of the term 'nation' (*narod*). The word *narod* is considered a synonym of *iazyk* (language, nation), and both terms are explained by the word *liudy* (people). See Berynda, *Leksykon slovenoros'kyi Pamvy Beryndy*, ed. V. V. Nimchuk (Kyiv, 1961), p. 70. *Narod* is also given as a synonym of *iazyk* in

(*naród, narod*) equal to the Polish and Lithuanian nations, but terms denoting sovereign statehood and fatherland (*natio, patria*) were rarely used with respect to Rus'.[8] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ruthenian identity was also marked by distinct ethnoreligious features. The ethnic element was closely, almost indissolubly, bound up with the religious one, while the people and the church were termed 'Ruthenian' not only by foreigners but also by the community itself.[9]

The link between ethnicity and religion took on importance for Rus' long before early modern times because of its location on the boundary between Western and Eastern Christianity and its Islamic neighbors. In the early modern period, given the absence of common Ruthenian state institutions, the church became the ideal indicator of Ruthenian identity. The Kyivan metropolitanate had its own jurisdictional territory, hierarchical structure, and separate historical tradition, united people of the same or similar ethnic origin, used a Slavic language to the exclusion of all others, and followed its own (Julian) calendar. The clergy constituted a distinct social order with an interest in maintaining all the distinctions enumerated above, for the church of Rus' had traditionally wielded spiritual power over the Rus' people and sought to maintain it at all costs.

What were the possible consequences of the Union of Brest for Ruthenian identity? One consequence could have been the superimposition of religious boundaries on political ones, following 'normal' practice in contemporary Europe. As a result of the union, the boundary between the Commonwealth and Muscovy could have been transformed into a Catholic–Orthodox one, and there were excellent grounds to suppose that the boundary between Poland and Rus' would become a border not between two different confessions, but between two Catholic rites. The principle 'Cuius regio, eius religio', decreed by the Council of Augsburg in 1555, reflected not only the formula of compromise attained in Germany at the time but also the principle employed to settle all European conflicts between denominational and political boundaries.

The Union of Brest did not, however, lead to a simple shift of the religious boundary. Rus' split apart for a host of reasons, and the formation of

Synonima slavenorosskaia, prepared by an anonymous seventeenth-century compiler on the basis of Berynda's *Leksykon*. See *Leksys Lavrentiia Zyzaniia. Synonima slavenorosskaia*, ed. V. V. Nimchuk (Kyiv, 1964), p. 172.

[8] See, for example, the characterization of the use of these terms by Smotrytsky in Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 230–2. It should be noted nevertheless that their meaning was not fully established for a long time, and the words 'gens' and 'natio' were used interchangeably. For example, Stanislav Orikhovsky, whose self-identification as 'gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus' is well known to scholars, also described himself as 'gente Scytha, natione Ruthena', and called 'Russia' his 'patria'. See Sysyn, 'Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620–1690', p. 397.

[9] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 6: 295–301. On Piotr Skarga's use of the terms 'Ruthenian' (*ruski*) and 'Muscovite' (*moskiewski*), see Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, p. 13.

separate hierarchies drew boundaries not across territories, but within the souls of individual Ruthenians. The situation that developed was regrettable, but far from unique: religious differences and wars in France, the Thirty Years' War in Central Europe, and the spread of Protestantism in the Commonwealth had similar consequences for the French, Germans, and Poles. In the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth, the ecclesiastical division brought about by the Union of Brest was superimposed on already existing political, cultural, and ethnic fault lines. Considering the role played by the religious element in the consciousness of early modern Ruthenian society, it is hardly surprising that the superimposition of the new division on old boundaries ultimately called forth the appearance and development of new models of cultural identity in Rus'.

The events of the Reformation and the Catholic reform movement in Western and Central Europe showed that religious conflict and reconciliation could be as potent a factor in the formation of modern national identities as natural barriers and state boundaries. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation also entailed the confessionalization of European societies, which meant, among other things, the division of the Catholic Church into a number of churches that proceeded to develop separate identities. In post-Brest Ukraine and Belarus, confessionalization promoted the formation of new varieties of religious consciousness that were no longer shaped by allegiance to a once united Kyivan church but by loyalty to one of the supranational denominations—Orthodoxy, Catholicism, or some branch of Protestantism.

The new consciousness took shape in response to the challenge issued by the camps of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation to 'underdeveloped' Orthodox Rus'. The Protestant challenge made itself felt before the Catholic one. It provoked almost no serious polemical conflict (especially as compared with the deluge of religious polemics that attended the enactment of the Union of Brest), but it was keenly felt in Rus'. Orthodox priests in Lviv began complaining about conversions of their faithful to Protestantism as early as the 1560s, and many of the previously Orthodox families enumerated among the lost adornments of the 'Eastern Church' in Meletii Smotrytsky's *Threnos* were in fact lost to various currents of Protestantism. The change of denomination led almost automatically to a change of nationality and, as Janusz Tazbir has noted with reference to the activity of the Protestant church of the Polish Brethren in Volhynia, the Polonization of the Volhynian nobility was carried out by means of that very church.[10]

[10] See Ianush (Janusz) Tazbir, 'Obshchestvennye i territorial'nye sfery rasprostraneniia pol'skoi reformatsii' in *Kul'turnye sviazi narodov Vostochnoi Evropy* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 114–31. On the conversion of the Ukrainian nobility to Catholicism, see Oleh Mal'chevs'kyi, 'Polonizatsiia ukraïns'koï shliakhty (1569–1648)' in *Ukraïna v mynulomu* (Kyiv and Lviv), no. 1 (1992),

Agitation in favor of a church union between the Kyivan metropolitanate and Rome was undertaken in the 1560s and 1570s by Benedykt Herbest and Piotr Skarga. Even though the Orthodox were twenty years late in responding to the challenge, Skarga's book marked the beginning of a polemic that forever changed the outlook of Rus' on itself and its neighbors. The circumstances of the struggle between the Orthodox and Uniates for the spiritual and material legacy of the once-united Kyivan metropolitanate obliged both sides to emphasize their loyalty to the past and to Ruthenian tradition. Otherwise they would have had no hope of carrying the day in the Ruthenian milieu on the issue of true piety or of dealing with the royal administration when it came to conflicts over property. All the privileges accumulated between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries had been granted by Lithuanian princes and Polish kings to the 'Ruthenian' church and the 'Ruthenian nation', hence, in order to claim those privileges, both parties had to establish their 'Rus' identity'. The Orthodox were better positioned to defend their right to the 'legacy of the past' and Ruthenian identity, as Rus' and Orthodoxy were closely linked in the minds of contemporaries, making it possible to accuse the Uniates in perpetuity of having introduced 'novelties' and changes to the old religion.[11]

The Uniates as a whole came out strongly against their opponents' effort to deprive them of their claim to Ruthenian identity. The Uniate nobility drew a clear distinction between its Ruthenian origin and its denominational allegiance. If the Orthodox nobility constantly spoke on behalf of the entire Ruthenian nation, the Uniate nobles never claimed to do so, but rather represented that part of the Polish–Lithuanian nobiliary political nation that was conscious of its Ruthenian origin. Although the Orthodox theoretically recognized the possibility of dividing Rus' into

pp. 37–53, and works by Henryk Litwin, 'Katolizacja szlachty ruskiej, 1569–1647: Stosunki wyznaniowe na Kijowszczyźnie i Bracławszczyźnie', *Przegląd Powszechny* 10 (1985): 58–70; id., 'Catholicization among the Ruthenian Nobility and Assimilation Processes in the Ukraine during the Years 1569–1648', *Acta Poloniae Historica* 55 (1987): 57–83; id., *Napływ szlachty polskiej na Ukrainę, 1569–1648*. Litwin claims that cultural Polonization was a precondition for the conversion of the Ruthenian nobility to Roman Catholicism.

[11] See, for example, the characterization of Orthodoxy as 'the legacy of our fathers' and 'ecclesiastical antiquities' and of the Union as a 'novelty' and a 'new pleasure' in Metropolitan Iov Boretsky's circular letter of December 1621 (Golubev, *Mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, p. 263). The identification of the Union with novelty and Orthodoxy with antiquity was not limited to Boretsky's writings. A patron of Orthodoxy in Lithuania, the Protestant prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł, also referred to it as 'the old Ruthenian worship' (ibid., p. 364), while Kasiian Sakovych called the Union a 'novelty' in his *Verses* ('. . . for the faith every true Christian is prepared | To die, and he will not permit himself to be forced into novelty'). See 'Vĭrshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb' in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, p. 230. On the close association of antiquity with positive qualities and 'novelty' with negative ones in the early seventeenth century, see M. M. Krom, '"Starina" kak kategoriia srednevekovogo mentaliteta (po materialam Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo XIV—nachala XVII vv.)', *MU*, no. 3 (1994): 68–87.

Orthodox and Catholic sections, in practice they denied non-Orthodox Ruthenians any right to the Ruthenian legal and cultural heritage.[12] Their actual policies were based on the 'axiom' of the indivisibility of Rus' and the Ruthenian religion, by which they meant Orthodoxy alone. Among the Orthodox, it was perhaps only Meletii Smotrytsky who attempted to break the rigid link between Rus' and religious denomination, arguing that it was not faith but birth and blood that made a Ruthenian a Ruthenian.[13]

The schism confronted both Ruthenian churches with the ineluctable need to develop new forms of self-identification different from those possessed or claimed by the opposing side. One of the problems requiring immediate resolution was that of naming the two Ruthenian religious communities that had come into existence as a result of the schism caused by the Union of Brest. The Orthodox hierarchy restored in 1620 referred to its faithful as 'Orthodox Ruthenians', 'the Christian Orthodox Ruthenian nation', 'the Ruthenian nation of Eastern Orthodoxy', and so on.[14] The confessional element had an important place in these self-designations, stressing the membership of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church in the broader Eastern Christian community. The Uniates, on the other hand, rather effectively associated themselves with the broader Catholic world by means of their adopted name and their polemics with

[12] Characteristic in this respect is the attitude of Iov Boretsky expressed in a letter to Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł on 14 (24) June 1621: 'If they [the Uniates] have taken a liking to the Roman faith, then let [His Royal Majesty] deign to transfer them from us to their own people; may he order proclamations to be issued and leave us with our spiritual possessions according to the old laws and customs' (Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', pp. 320–1). The Orthodox clearly treated Uniates as traitors to the whole Ruthenian nation. In one version of his *Protestation* of 1621, Boretsky notes that the Uniate bishops, 'having illegally accepted union with the Roman Church against the will and without the knowledge of the Ruthenian nation', had ceased to be 'lawful pastors and leaders of the Ruthenian nation' (ibid., p. 328).

[13] See the text of the *Verification of Innocence* (*Verificatia niewinności*, 1621) in *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, p. 384. Cf. M. V. Dmitriev, 'Uniia i porozhdennye eiu konflikty v osmyslenii liderov uniatskogo lageria' in *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g.*, 2: 105–6.

In late 1623, in a letter to Andrii Muzhylovsky, Smotrytsky expressed his dream of uniting Orthodox and Uniate Rus' as follows: '. . . I ask that He [God] not permit my eyes to be covered over with my mother earth until . . . with one pair of lips and with one heart the two Ruthenian metropolitans, now distant but having grown close by that time, both sing as one, "Let us give our last greetings to our departed brother" over my sinful self' (Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', pp. 340–2, here 341–2). Even so, in his letters and polemical works the same Smotrytsky not infrequently identifies the Orthodox with the whole Ruthenian nation, calling the Orthodox Church 'Ruthenian' with no additional qualifications whatever. See Smotrytsky's letter of September 1628 to Lavrentii Drevynsky and his *Protestation*, written in the same month, in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 317–51.

[14] Among other definitions were 'Orthodox . . . of the renowned Ruthenian stock of the Holy Eastern Church' and 'people [*liudy*] of the ancient holy faith of the Eastern . . . Church of the famed Ruthenian nation [*narod*]', etc. See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 261–2, 264, 279, 310, 311 ff. Here and throughout I render *liudy* as 'people' and *narod* as 'nation', which roughly corresponds to the early modern meaning of these terms in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

the Orthodox. Thus the confessionalization of nomenclature promoted the formation of separate ethnoreligious identities in Rus'.[15]

The participation of Cossackdom in the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 and its championing of one side in the religious conflict necessitated a rethinking of the position of the Cossacks in Ruthenian society and an explanation of their new role to that society, then divided into two warring camps, as well as to the royal administration and the Polish–Lithuanian nobiliary élite, which deliberated at the Commonwealth Diets and actively influenced the course of the religious conflict in Rus'. The changing social, religious, and ethnocultural image of Cossackdom in the Ruthenian and Polish writings of the period is the main focus of this chapter.

The Noble Nation

The 'confessionalization' of Cossackdom, that is, its representation in the eyes of contemporary society as a legitimate member of the Orthodox bloc, was a task that presented its own special problems. On the one hand, although the Uniates generally resisted including the Cossacks within their camp, Rome, in search of allies in its anti-Ottoman struggle, as well as certain Polish publicists who wrote *turcicae* (anti-Ottoman pamphlets), continued to treat Cossackdom as part of a united Christian sphere rather than as representing a hostile denomination. On the other hand, the integration of Cossackdom into the world of Orthodoxy encountered opposition on the part of remnants of the princely clans and the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility, which challenged the right of the 'Zaporozhian rascals' to represent the interests of the Orthodox Church and the entire 'Ruthenian nation' to the king.

[15] The Uniate Metropolitan Rutsky accepted the term 'Uniates' with regard to his flock, but in return he wanted the Orthodox to refer to themselves as 'schismatics'. In his writings, Rutsky made an interesting distinction between 'religion', which he interpreted as 'rite', and 'faith', which he saw as equivalent to 'confession'. According to Rutsky, the Uniates belonged to the Greek 'religion' and the Catholic 'faith' (see 'Sowita wina' in *AIuZR* [1887]: pt. 1, vol. 7, pp. 493–4; discussion in M. V. Dmitriev, 'Uniia i porozhdennye eiu konflikty' in *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g.*, 2: 105–6). Potii referred to his opponents not only as 'stubborn Ruthenians', but also as 'Orientalists'. See his poem 'Parenetica jednego do swej Rusi' in *Roksolański Parnas*, 2: 60–1.

The arguments for the union of the Ruthenian Church with Rome were thoroughly developed by Lev Krevza (1617): *Lev Krevza's 'A Defense of Church Unity' and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's 'Palinodia'*, translated with a foreword by Bohdan Strumiński (=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations, vol. 3, pt. 1) (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), pp. 1–156. Krevza devoted considerable attention to defending the supreme authority of the pope in the Christian world. This was a major change in comparison with the position taken earlier by Ipatii Potii, who claimed in polemics with Stefan Zyzanii that he did not intend to defend the pope, since Catholics had enough scholars of their own for the purpose; instead, he would focus on his native Rus'. See discussion in Dmitriev, 'Uniia i porozhdennye eiu konflikty', pp. 97, 116.

The Cossacks were not the first non-nobiliary group to take upon itself the defense of the rights of the 'Ruthenian nation' and its religion. The first such group was made up of the Ukrainian burghers, united in their brotherhoods. But the brotherhoods' efforts in that regard were rejected or even condemned by the pre-Brest hierarchy. The Orthodox hierarchy of 'Theophanes's consecration' found itself in a fundamentally different situation from its predecessors of the late sixteenth century. It could expect no support from the king or the princes, hence it not only accepted but actively welcomed the new role of the 'ill-born' Cossacks as representatives and protectors of Rus' and its religious liberties.

The nobiliary conception of Rus', or the 'Ruthenian nation', like the prevailing conception of the Polish nation and most early modern European nations, was very clearly framed in terms of social estates.[16] It was founded on the tradition, revived by Ostrih and Kyiv intellectuals, of grand-princely Kyiv and on the Ruthenian interpretation of the Union of Lublin (1569), according to which the king had guaranteed the princes and nobles—the 'noble residents' (*obywatele*) of the Ruthenian lands—immunity of the Ruthenian faith. Thus historical rights derived from ancient Kyiv and legal ones proceeding from the Union of Lublin and guaranteeing freedom of religion pertained, according to this conception, exclusively to princely and nobiliary Rus'. Other social estates were neither part of the 'Ruthenian nation' nor, in this context, components of Rus' from a legal point of view. Such a position had a certain logic, for in a nobiliary state such as the Commonwealth, it was precisely the nobility that could represent and, indeed, for some time actually did represent the interests of all Rus' most effectively.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, princely and nobiliary opposition to royal authority found expression in the vigorous application by the leaders of Ruthenian society of the results of the so-called 'legal and historical revolution of the mid-sixteenth century'. As defined by J. H. Elliott, that revolution meant the rejection by European intellectuals of the exclusive application of Roman law in favor of the revival of customary law, once again endowed with its old significance and authority, which became a powerful weapon in the aristocracy's struggle against the encroachments of the absolute monarchy. As Elliott notes, 'This "aristocratic constitutionalism" of the later sixteenth century was regarded, at least initially, as a means of defence. But historic rights were capable of almost indefinite extension once the initial point had been gained.'[17]

[16] On the development of national identity in early modern Poland, see Janusz Tazbir, 'Polish National Consciousness in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 316–35.

[17] Elliott, *Europe Divided*, p. 92. On the spread of Ruthenian identity within the princely and nobiliary élite in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Natalia Iakovenko, 'Rodova

Claims based upon the old privileges and traditional rights of Rus' and the 'Ruthenian faith' were potent weapons in the arsenal of Prince Ostrozky and the polemicists of his entourage. Even so, in the appeals of Ostrozky and his learned circle to history one may discern not only 'aristocratic constitutionalism' but also a phenomenon that may provisionally be termed 'dynastic legalism'. By this term I mean the efforts of representatives of aristocratic clans not only to undermine the authority of the reigning king but also to advance claims to the royal Crown by making reference to their own dynastic rights. Actual or even imagined membership in a ruling dynasty that had once ruled a sovereign state and then lost power when the country forfeited its independence was of considerable importance in Europe at that time. The South and West Slavs, who had lost their sovereign independence as a result of aggression on the part of the Ottoman Turks or the Habsburg Monarchy, preserved legends and tales associating the rebirth of their lost statehood with representatives of the dynasties that had once ruled those lands.

In Ukraine it was precisely the Ostrozky family that most actively sought to establish its origins in the times of Kyivan Rus' and claimed close kinship with the Riuryk dynasty. Such claims found an echo in a number of panegyrics dedicated to Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky.[18] These panegyrics display a tendency to associate the activity of Prince Ostrozky with the times of Kyivan Rus' and to compare his merits with those of Prince Volodymyr the Great. It would appear that Kostiantyn (Vasyl) Ostrozky did not inherit an interest in the traditions of Kyivan Rus' from his father, the eminent political and military leader Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky, who served as hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Such an interest was rather an 'innovation' of the second half of the sixteenth century. Evidence of this is to be found in a comparison of texts composed in praise of the older and younger Oztrozkys, Kostiantyn Ivanovych and Kostiantyn Kostiantynovych.

In the so-called Shorter Volhynian Chronicle, whose concluding section is a panegyric to Prince Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky, his victory over the forces of the Grand Principality of Muscovy is noted with the following words:

elita—nosii "kontynuïtetu realii" mizh kniazhoiu Russiu i kozats'koiu Ukraïnoiu', *Suchasnist'*, no. 1 (1994): 118–24; Sysyn, 'Ukrainian–Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century'; id., 'Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine'. On the attitude toward the past and the rediscovery of the Old Rus' heritage in early modern Rus', see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 298–301; Krom, '"Starina" kak kategoriia srednevekovogo mentaliteta'; Oleksii Tolochko, '"Rus'" ochyma "Ukraïny"'.

[18] There is an extensive literature on Kostiantyn Ostrozky. For a listing of major publications, see M. P. Koval's'kyi, 'Ostroz'kyi kn. Vasyl'-Kostiantyn Kostiantynovych (1526 (1527)–1608)' in *Ostroz'ka Akademiia XVI–XVII st.*, pp. 129–30 and Chynczewska-Hennel, 'Ostrogski, Konstanty Wasyl, książe (ok. 1526–1608)'. For the most recent biographical study, see Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*.

You are like the great valiant knights of the famous town of Rhodes who by their courage keep safe many Christian castles from infidel hands. . . . By your courage in resisting such a powerful lord, you have come to attain the same glory and honor; with that service of yours you have brought gladness to your overlord, the great King Zygmunt. For such an act you deserve not only to sit on the thrones of local great capitals, but to rule God's city of Jerusalem itself.[19]

In honoring the elder Ostrozky, the chronicler alludes rather openly to his ambitions of taking power in the 'great capitals', but that aspiration is not supported in the Chronicle by references to Ostrozky's descent from the grand-princely line of Kyivan Rus', which would seem natural in this context. Nor does the Chronicle compare Kostiantyn Ivanovych Ostrozky with the medieval Kyivan princes, although it draws parallels with biblical personages and heroes of antiquity, and makes mention of Zygmunt I, king of Poland and grand prince of Lithuania.

A very different picture emerges when one examines the panegyrical literature dedicated to Kostiantyn (Vasyl) Ostrozky. In the poem 'Vsiakoho chyna pravoslavnyi chytateliu' (Orthodox reader of every degree), included in the Ostrih Bible (1581), its author, Herasym Smotrytsky, overtly associates the activity of Kostiantyn (Vasyl) Ostrozky with the times of Kyivan Rus', comparing the merits of his patron with those of the Kyivan grand princes Volodymyr and Iaroslav. The basis for these comparisons was the attitude of the princes to the Orthodox Church, as is clearly apparent from the following lines of Smotrytsky's poem:

> For Volodymyr enlightened his nation by baptism,
> While Kostiantyn brought them light with the writings of holy wisdom.
> Then polytheism was abolished with its idolatrous temptations;
> Today the sole ruling Godhead is worshipped.
> Iaroslav embellished Kyiv and Chernihiv with church buildings,
> While Kostiantyn raised up the one universal church with writings.[20]

Such analogies and parallels have a distinct political coloring, given that Kostiantyn Ostrozky claimed the direct descent of his dynasty from the Riurykide princes of Kyiv and was considered one of the possible candidates for the royal throne of Poland. In analyzing the activities of Prince Ostrozky and his relations with Rome in 1582–4, Jan Krajcar wrote of

[19] 'Volynskaia kratkaia letopis'' in *PSRL* (=vol. 35, *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie*) (Moscow, 1980), p. 126.

[20] Herasym Smotryts'kyi, 'Vsiakoho chyna pravoslavnyi chitateliu' in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XIV–XVI st. Apokryfy. Ahiohrafiia. Palomnyts'ki tvory. Istoriohrafichni tvory. Polemichni tvory. Perekladni povisti. Poetychni tvory*, ed. V. L. Mykytas' (Kyiv, 1988), p. 461. The same poem gives an interesting assessment of Ostrozky as continuator of the cause of his ancestors, the Kyivan grand princes, and protector of the Orthodox Church: 'Today Konstantyn, prince of Ostrih, | God Himself chose him as faithful guardian | By the will of his forefathers of the Orthodox faith, for divine gifts revealed themselves in him', ibid.

Oztrozky's 'Constantine complex', referring to literary comparisons of Kostiantyn with the Roman emperor Constantine the Great.[21] There would appear to be no less reason, and perhaps even more, to speak of Ostrozky's 'Volodymyr complex', especially as it was not uncommon for Ruthenian authors to compare Volodymyr the Great with Constantine the Great. In a section of his *Palinode* (1622) dedicated to Kostiantyn (Vasyl) Ostrozky, the Orthodox polemicist Zakhariia Kopystensky follows Herasym Smotrytsky in comparing him with Prince Volodymyr, reminding the reader that Volodymyr, like Ostrozky, was christened with the name Vasyl: 'Prince Ostrozky, Vasylii Kostiantynovych, traces his lineage from the blessed generation of Japheth-Ros': he is a true descendant of the most famous Volodymyr, named Vasyl in holy baptism, the great monarch, and Danylo, Ruthenian princes.'[22]

As recent genealogical research has shown, there is serious doubt that the Ostrozkys were actually related to the Riurykides. It has even been hypothesized that the Ostrozkys were of Lithuanian descent, belonging to one of the branches of the Gediminoviches,[23] and in other circumstances their genealogy might have been traced in a completely different manner by the bookmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Ostrozkys might have been associated with the grand princes of Lithuania, or, for example, with the ruling dynasties of East–Central Europe. All the same, Ukrainian intellectuals represented Ostrozky exclusively as a descendant of the Kyivan princes. Such a genealogy stressed the independence of the Ostrozkys' rule from that of the Polish kings and Lithuanian princes, potentially confronting the latter with the threat of an imagined blood tie between the Ostrozkys and the last Riurykides to occupy the Muscovite throne.

The European historical and legal revolution of the mid-sixteenth century and Prince Ostrozky's renewed interest in the Orthodox tradition offered almost unlimited scope for the expression, formulation, and legitimation of the prince's active opposition to the ecclesiastical union of 1596, a union fully supported by the royal authorities. At first glance, the Ostrozkys and other Orthodox princes failed in their confrontation with royal authority: the Council of Brest took place and the union of the Kyivan metropolitanate with Rome was proclaimed and put into effect, while the princely families themselves either died out or gave up their opposition to the king, abandoning their support of the Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, as far as the continued existence of the Orthodox

[21] See Krajcar, 'Konstantin Basil Ostrozskij and Rome'.

[22] Zakhariia Kopystens'kyi, 'Palinodiia' in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, p. 102.

[23] See Iakovenko, *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta*, pp. 87–94, 276–7. For a survey of the historiographical discussion on the descent of the Ostrozky clan, see Lev Voitovych, 'Rodyna kniaziv Ostroz'kykh', *ZNTSh* 231 (1996): 355–67, here 355–8.

Church was concerned, the failure was only a partial one, for Ostrozky and his supporters among the nobility, clergy, and burghers managed to preserve the Orthodox ecclesiastical structure. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, it survived the struggle with the Uniate Church, which enjoyed the support of the king, largely because of support from the middle and lower ranks of the nobility.

The nobiliary Rus' of the first half of the seventeenth century developed their own model of the Ruthenian nation, one that did not stress dynastic links with the Kyivan Rus' princes, but legal rights acquired by the Ruthenian nobility as a result of the Union of Lublin. Despite these differences of interpretation, both the Ruthenian nobility and the representatives of princely families were united in their uncompromising opposition to any change in the estate-based model of the Ruthenian nation. Most interestingly, such a rigid approach was shared by Ruthenian nobles on both sides of the religious divide. Orthodox and Uniate nobles alike rejected the claims of non-nobiliary social groups to represent the Ruthenian nation and religion to the outside world. The most typical statements to that effect are to be found in the polemical tracts of the early 1620s, whose appearance was provoked by the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy in the autumn of 1620.

From the Orthodox side we have a number of contemporary documents that elucidate the attitude of the noble order to the consecration of the new hierarchy. They all enumerate the wrongs suffered by the Orthodox as a result of the church union and emphasize the rights of Rus'.[24] The most interesting of these documents is the *Supplication of Residents of the Noble Order* (1622).[25] The authors of the *Supplication* based their whole concept of the defense of the Orthodox Church on the protection of the rights and prerogatives of the noble estate guaranteed to the Ruthenians by the kings of Poland, beginning with the Union of Lublin. To that end they created an idealized image, favorable to Rus', of Zygmunt August II and Stefan Batory, depicting them as guarantors and protectors of the rights of the Ruthenian religion. As far as the development of Ruthenian political consciousness was concerned, the most important aspect of the *Supplication* was the authors' interpretation of the legal nature of the Union of Lublin and the political association that it had brought into being. As seen by Ruthenian nobles, it was a union of three free and equal nations—Poland, Lithuania, and Rus'. Emphasizing the rights of Rus', the authors of the *Supplication* noted that '. . . the Ruthenian nation had

[24] See the general characterization of the Orthodox writings of the period and copious citations from them in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 202–6, 275–91.

[25] For the Polish text of the *Supplication*, see Lipiński, *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 99–111. For a Ukrainian translation of excerpts from the *Supplication*, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 272–90.

this previously, and did not obtain it only through incorporation, that we remain a free nation, equal in all respects to the Polish nation!'[26]

Elsewhere in the document, contrasting the political union (of Lublin) with the church union (of Brest), they asserted: 'So far there has been complete agreement on the civic union for the defense of the integrity of the fatherland and freedom of the rights and liberties of all three nations: let the bone of contention of that fictional union be removed from their midst. . . . Better that Poland, Lithuania, and Rus' together come to their senses before any harm is done.'[27] In effect, the Orthodox nobility of Rus' attempted to read into the Union of Lublin what was not there at all, and in that interpretation, which it attempted to impose on the government, it transformed the Commonwealth of two nations (Poles and Lithuanians) into a Commonwealth of three nations—Poles, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians.

Meletii Smotrytsky developed similar ideas in his works.[28] In his protestation of 1621, the Kyivan metropolitan Iov Boretsky also noted that the advance of the Union threatened good relations between Poland and 'ancient Rus'', making reference to rights granted to the Ruthenian nation by the monarchs and princes of Rus' and even speaking of separate Ruthenian and Lithuanian principalities when it came to the current situation in the Commonwealth.[29] In the second variant of the protestation, Iov Boretsky made reference not only to 'innate Christian liberty', but also to the 'resolution of the Kyiv principality for union with the Crown in the year 1569'.[30] The *Supplication* was based on more than twenty-five years' experience of struggle for the rights of the Orthodox nobility, employed arguments drawn from previous polemical works,[31] and, in its own way, laid out a plan of action for the Ruthenian nobility to follow over the next several decades.

The views of the authors of the *Supplication* set forth above also corresponded to the ideas expressed in the text of a Diet speech delivered in 1621 by the Volhynian nobleman Lavrentii Drevynsky.[32] Like the authors

[26] Lipiński, *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, p. 101. [27] Ibid., p. 110.

[28] See Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, p. 237.

[29] See Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', pp. 139, 145, 147–8.

[30] See Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 327. The Kyiv principality was, in fact, abolished in 1470, and did not exist at the time of the Union of Lublin, but its historical tradition, apparently, was very much alive in the 1620s.

[31] For example, in arguing against the royal administration, the authors of the *Supplication* made free use of the charge, already present in the writings of Jan Szczęsny Herburt (1606), that the administration was working to ensure that 'there be no Rus' in Rus' '. See Lipiński, *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 80–97. Cf. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 278–9; 'Rozmysl pro narod rus'kyi Iana Shchesnoho-Herburta' in *Ukraïns'ki humanisty epokhy Vidrodzhennia*, 2: 173–7.

[32] For excerpts from Drevynsky's speech, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 205. Cf. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 347.

of the *Supplication*, Drevynsky neither defends nor condemns the new hierarchy or the participation of the Cossacks in its consecration. He does not mention the new hierarchs at all, and the lengthy *Supplication* touches on their consecration only once, requesting the authorities to lift the ban on the hierarchs and permit them to occupy their sees. This seemingly deliberate silence is highly symptomatic and eloquent, given that other sources attest to support on the part of the Volhynian and Kyivan nobility for the consecration of the new hierarchy in the autumn of 1620 and the spring of 1621.[33] Insistence on the rights of Rus' and silence with regard to the new hierarchy and the Cossacks imply, on the one hand, *de facto* support for their actions on the part of the Orthodox nobility, and, on the other, an attempt by Orthodox writers to abide by the letter of the law and not to associate themselves—publicly, at any rate—with the illegal consecration and the actions of the Cossacks. It is clear that under such conditions the nobiliary authors chose to avoid a direct discussion of the legitimacy of the new Orthodox hierarchy, preferring to attack the legitimacy of the Uniate one. Ironically, both Drevynsky's speech and the *Supplication*, which took that approach, included theses that in fact undermined the basic legitimacy of the new hierarchy.

Both documents were sharply critical of several Uniate hierarchs who were not of noble origin, according to the Orthodox authors. 'Who does not see with his own eyes', notes Drevynsky, 'that the present bishop of Peremyshl, Shyshka by surname, was born of a swineherd, and that his father's natural-born brother is even now sitting on the parcel of land in Khlopushi in service to the palatine of Kyiv?'[34] Drevynsky and the authors of the *Supplication* are no more favorable in their characterizations of other hierarchs, including Iosafat Kuntsevych, whose noble status is placed in doubt.[35] To make such charges when a number of Orthodox bishops were also of questionable origin was more than imprudent, but quite logical if one's argument was based on the premise of a nobiliary Rus', to which the authors of these documents remained faithful. Thus the Orthodox nobility gave *de facto* support to the new hierarchy, but *de jure*, proceeding from the traditions of its own political thought, alienated itself from that same hierarchy, placing it in a very difficult situation.[36]

[33] See 'Letopis' monastyria Gustinskogo', *ChOIDR* 8 (1848): bk. 4, Materialy otechestvennye, p. 13.

[34] As quoted in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 205.

[35] Ibid., pp. 205–6.

[36] Touching on the question of the Orthodox hierarchy (not the newly consecrated one but an ideal hierarchy, as it were), the authors of the *Supplication* asserted that the hierarchs were initially to be selected by the nobility and then presented by the king to the patriarch for consecration. In effect, this requirement placed the new hierarchy in a position of illegality: as Mykhailo Hrushevsky pointed out long ago, 'the hierarchs consecrated by Theophanes had not undergone this legal procedure as formulated by the authors of the *Supplication* themselves: they had not

How did the non-Orthodox nobility of Rus' view the relationship between the social and religious components in the fabric of the Ruthenian nation? In 1621 Meletii Smotrytsky attempted to bring that element of Rus' over to his side by dedicating the second edition of the *Verification of Innocence* to representatives of formerly Orthodox families: Ianush Skumyn-Tyshkevych (Janusz Skumin-Tyszkiewicz), Adam Khreptovych (Chreptowicz), Mykola (Mikołaj) Tryzna, and Iurii Meleshko (Jerzy Mieleszko).[37] The answer to this unusual appeal was not long in coming, as that same year saw the publication of a *Letter to the Monks of the Monastery of Vilnius*[38] by those same worthies, setting forth the views of Catholic–Uniate Rus' on the new Orthodox hierarchy and its new ideology.

To begin with, the authors of the *Letter* denied the right of the Orthodox hierarchy to speak on behalf of the whole Ruthenian nation. This denial may be seen as an attempt on the part of the authors to distance themselves personally from the illegal actions of the Orthodox episcopate (the appeal addressed to them in the introduction to Smotrytsky's book placed them in a highly embarrassing position), as well as to remove the non-Orthodox Ruthenian nobility as a whole from the line of fire of the state and Polish–Lithuanian Catholic society, given that charges of support for the new hierarchy and 'treason' were often levelled against Rus' in general. The most important aspect of the denial was the authors' attempt to break out of the vicious circle that implacably linked Rus' as an ethnic unit with Ruthenian Orthodoxy. 'How is the honorable nation of Rus' to blame for the suits of those aspirants of yours to church offices? Through our ancestors we are descended from the nation of Rus', but . . . [your cause] does not involve . . . either us or the descendants of those [families] that you have enumerated in that *Lament*', wrote the authors of the *Letter*.[39]

been presented to the king and had not been commended by him to the patriarch!' (Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 290–2.

The views of the Orthodox nobility on the election of future bishops by the nobility are best expressed in the documents arising from the protracted struggle of the Orthodox nobility of Peremyshl against the Uniate bishop Atanasii Krupetsky, who had been imposed on them by the royal administration. In a letter written to the Polish king in April 1611, the nobles rejected Krupetsky's candidacy, calling him 'unheard-of, unseen and unknown in our land of Peremyshl and in the whole Ruthenian palatinate as well' and requested that 'a man from among ourselves worthy of being bishop' be presented for consecration (see the text of the letter in Golubev, *Mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 190–2). Clearly, the election of bishops for Rus' as a whole by an indeterminate group of people in Kyiv was not entirely acceptable to the Ruthenian nobility outside the Kyiv palatinate.

[37] See the facsimile of the second edition of the *Verification* in *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, p. 314.

[38] See the reprint of this publication, 'List do zakonnikov Vilenskogo Sviato-Dukhovskogo monastyria' in *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 732–61, here 732–6. Hrushevsky discusses the letter in detail in his *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 252–5.

[39] Quoted in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 253. For a discussion of the strong complex of inferiority and 'self-hatred' characteristic of a significant portion of the Ruthenian élite, see Frick, '"Foolish Rus"'.

Boretsky, Smotrytsky, and, in their persons, all members of the newly consecrated hierarchy were denied the right to represent the whole nation of Rus' not only because Rus' did not constitute a denominational unit (this was hinted at in the above-mentioned reference to the list of Ruthenian families enumerated in the *Lament* (Smotrytsky's *Threnos*), that had abandoned Orthodoxy) but also because they were allegedly not of noble descent and, as 'upstarts from the common people', could not belong to the 'nation of Rus'' in its princely and nobiliary incarnation. In their attack on the non-nobiliary hierarchs of the other church, the Uniate authors of the *Letter* proved as intolerant and aggressive as their brethren of the Orthodox nobility. 'What is this "one blood"—that of our nobility and the plebeians? What relation to the peasantry?' says the letter. 'You join yourselves by blood and equate yourselves in lineage with the ancient Ruthenian families, [claiming] that you are also Rus' simply because of your descent: that is a stupid claim, not in keeping with monastic modesty.'[40]

The Uniates, unlike the Orthodox who wrote the *Supplication*, also touched upon the Cossack problem in their missive. Given the time at which they were writing, they broached the matter very cautiously: after the defeat at Ţuţora (1620), Cossack units were essential for the coming war with the Ottomans, and their support was being solicited by the highest dignitaries of the Commonwealth, including the king himself. In the *Letter*, the Cossacks were depicted as a knightly race that had involuntarily become a tool of the newly consecrated hierarchy and, acting on its instructions, had presented the king with demands on behalf of the whole Ruthenian nation. Although in this instance it was the Orthodox hierarchy that was made to shoulder most of the blame, there was also a perfectly obvious condemnation and rejection of the whole idea of Cossack intervention in religious affairs and of the notion that Cossackdom could represent the interests of the 'nation of Rus''. Furthermore, the *Letter* indicated that the praise heaped upon the Cossacks in Orthodox writings and publications 'betrayed' the true intentions of the newly consecrated hierarchy. Thus the hierarchy's praise of the Cossacks was exploited in order to compromise it in the eyes of its opponents.

The authors of the *Letter*, who referred to themselves as 'politicians in the Commonwealth' (and thus declared themselves members of the Polish–Lithuanian political nation first and foremost) were as insistent as their Orthodox counterparts in rejecting the notion that social strata of non-noble origin could belong to the Ruthenian nation. Both the Uniate

[40] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 254. Interestingly, Boretsky and the other Orthodox hierarchs who wrote the protestation of 1621 asserted that they were 'noble residents' born in 'nobiliary homes' (Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 150).

and the Orthodox nobility rejected the non-noble clergy (each with reference to the opposing camp) and denied its right to represent the Ruthenian nation. Moreover, they took the same attitude to the dangerous and rebellious Cossacks, either by passing them over in silence or by advancing very cautious criticism of them.

Cossacks into Ruthenians

The task of substantiating and legitimizing the new role of Cossackdom in Ukrainian society and Ukrainian religious life devolved onto the shoulders of those intellectual forces that benefited most from Cossack assistance and support. Those forces were the new Orthodox hierarchy, illegal in the eyes of the state, which had been consecrated under the protection of the Cossack sword in the autumn of 1620, and the Kyivan clergy, which was closely associated with Zaporizhia. The views of the Orthodox élite on the social significance and new role of Cossackdom found their fullest expression in a whole series of political, historical, and poetical works written in Kyiv in the 1620s. Their authors carried out a transition, significant for political thought, from publicistic and literary works dedicated to the princes to works written in praise of Cossack hetmans.

The active involvement of Cossackdom in the socio-political life of the Ukrainian lands in the first quarter of the seventeenth century was clear evidence that when it came to protecting Orthodoxy and representing the interests of the 'Ruthenian nation', the Cossack order was ever more clearly supplanting the princely one. With the extinction or conversion to Catholicism and Polonization of the princely clans, whose real or imagined descent from the house of Riuryk was already well 'documented' in contemporary historical tradition, it was only natural that the 'grace' of grand-princely Kyiv should come to repose on other shoulders at least potentially capable of carrying on the princely tradition of protecting and supporting the Orthodox Church against the growing pressure of Counter-Reformation Catholicism and royal authority.

A mere decade passed between the publication of Meletii Smotrytsky's celebrated *Threnos* (1610) and the consecration of the Orthodox hierarchy under Cossack protection, but in that time the social orientation of the Orthodox polemicists and the tone of their writings changed beyond recognition. If Smotrytsky shed tears on behalf of the church for the house of the Ostrozkys and the princely lines of the Slutskys, Zaslavskys, Zbarazkys, 'and others without number, whom it would be tedious to list individually',[41] then Iov Boretsky, Kasiian Sakovych, and other authors

[41] See the reprint of Meletii Smotryts'kyi, *Thrēnos To iest Lament iedyney ś. Powszechney Apostolskiey Wschodniey Cerkwie* (Vilnius, 1610) in *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, p. 31.

of the 1620s sang the praises of the new 'ornament' of the church, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, endowing them with historical legitimacy.

In the eyes of many of their contemporaries, neither the new Orthodox hierarchs nor the Zaporozhians belonged to the 'ancient' princely and nobiliary Rus'. Not all bishops could pride themselves on undeniable noble descent. Nevertheless, it was an important feature of the situation in Rus' that the nobiliary stratum did not have an absolute monopoly on representing the interests of the Ruthenian Church and nation, nor was it able completely to ignore the claims of other social orders to Ruthenian identity. Those orders, most notably the clergy and the burghers united in brotherhoods, also enjoyed privileges with regard to religious liberty and property.

As the polemical writings and correspondence of the 1620s indicate, the church had its own particular view of the social composition of the Ruthenian nation. Since the Ruthenian Church and nation were in fact identified with each other by the authors of polemical treatises, and, according to their logic, the Ruthenian Church included the whole Ruthenian nation, it followed that the nation, like the church itself, had to include all the social components of Rus', beginning with the princes and ending with the commoners.[42] A good indication of this is the appeal to the faithful in Iov Boretsky's circular letters addressed to 'every man of the holy Eastern religion of the Ruthenian nation', 'to the whole community of the faithful of the Eastern Church of the illustrious Ruthenian nation of every clerical and secular order of every degree', etc.[43] This 'expanded' treatment of the concept of the Ruthenian nation was no innovation on Boretsky's part, and was shared by Herasym Smotrytsky, among others, as is shown by the opening words of one of his introductions to the Ostrih Bible (1581): 'Orthodox reader of every degree . . .'. The same pattern of treating a nation as a body composed of a number of orders is to be found in Uniate writings of the period. For example, an unpublished work by Iosafat Kuntsevych, 'On the Falsification of Slavonic Writings', was addressed 'To all orders, clerical and secular, of our Ruthenian nation'.[44] In the writings of the clergy, the Ruthenian nation was most commonly divided into two major orders, clerical and secular. If the clerical order was not further differentiated, the secular one was generally considered to include the princes/nobles and commoners. This second component was variously described for the purposes of a given

[42] On the role of the clergy in bridging the gap between the nobility and lower classes of a West European nation, see Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, pp. 191–3.

[43] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 263, 264, 279, 314, etc.

[44] See a brief description of the manuscript in the Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, Archive of the St Petersburg Division, in *Kolektsiia ta arkhiv iepyskopa Pavla Dobrokhotova*, comp. V. I. Ul'ianovs'kyi (Kyiv, 1992), p. 165.

document, but in general, second place in the secular hierarchy of Ruthenian society was accorded to the burghers.[45]

A comparison of two variants of Metropolitan Boretsky's protestation of 1621[46] shows how the burgher element was replaced by the Cossack one and how Cossackdom was introduced into the ecclesiastical model of the Ruthenian nation. In the first variant, which is better known in modern scholarship and was cited above, Boretsky notes that the protestation was drafted on behalf of the whole 'nation of Ruthenian worship', both clerical and secular, with the secular component divided into two orders, nobles and burghers.[47] None the less, in another, somewhat later, version of the protestation, Boretsky writes that it was composed on behalf of 'Their Graces the most eminent knights, the well-born and noble lords, and the entire knighthood of His Majesty's Zaporozhian Host'.[48] As other documents penned by Boretsky attest, the new Orthodox hierarchy regarded the Cossack/knightly order as a separate subcategory approaching the status of the nobility. Judging by Boretsky's circular letter of December 1621, the 'people of the eminent Ruthenian nation' included princes, dignitaries, noble lords, knights, and commoners.[49] The placement of knights between the 'noble lords' and the commoners was not Boretsky's invention. According to a letter from the nobility of Pinsk written in November 1627 on behalf of dignitaries, court and noble officials, nobles, knights, and residents of Pinsk county, the knightly order belonged to a more broadly conceived category of 'noble residents'.[50]

One of the first attempts to represent the Cossacks as a component of traditional Rus' society and to extend the rights of the 'ancient' nobiliary nation to them is to be found in Boretsky's protestation of 1621.[51] Its main purpose was to respond to accusations that the newly ordained hierarchy was guilty of treason and was inciting the Cossacks to revolt. In responding to those charges, the authors of the protestation were obliged to depict the Cossacks as an independent force and a wholly legitimate constituent of 'ancient' Rus'. This was accomplished in a number of

[45] As the Statute of the Vilnius Brotherhood indicates, the Orthodox brethren divided their members into three orders—clerical, noble, and common. The commoners were taken to be burghers, as may be deduced from the same statute's division of women/sisters into two orders, nobles and burghers (*mistskoho*). See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 240, 244.

[46] The first variant of the protestation, discussed and quoted above, is dated 28 April 1621, and was published by Zhukovich from a copy currently in RGIA, fond 823, Archive of the Uniate Metropolitans, no. 458, ff. 34–43. Zhukovich also mentions the existence of a second variant of the protestation, which was submitted to the Kyiv castle court on 15 May 1621 (id., no. 458, ff. 44–7). Recently the latter variant of Boretsky's protestation was published from a copy in AGAD, 'Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie', II, no. 800 by Iurii Mytsyk ('Iz lystuvannia', pp. 325–9).

[47] See Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 138.

[48] Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 328.

[49] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, p. 261.

[50] Ibid., p. 297.

[51] For the text, see Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', pp. 135–53.

ways. Firstly, the Cossacks were represented as bearers of the legacy of the grand princes of Kyiv and as a constituent part of the Ruthenian nation; secondly, they were deemed to be Christians who required no incitement on the part of the clergy to take up the defense of the Orthodox faith; thirdly, they were termed 'knightly men', indicating their moral right to the princely and nobiliary legacy of Rus'.

According to the text of the protestation, the Cossacks belonged to the tribe of Japheth, and since time immemorial they had fought the Greeks on the Black Sea, stormed Constantinople together with Prince Oleh, and fought under the leadership of Prince Volodymyr, under whose rule they had accepted Christianity from Byzantium. The protestation represented the Cossacks as exemplary Christians who were educated, worshipped God, were law-abiding, and did no less than the Greeks or the king of Spain to release Christian prisoners from Turkish captivity. Quite independently of the specific purposes that the authors of the protestation had in mind, this Christian image of the Cossacks made the new protectors of Orthodoxy legitimate representatives of Old Rus' and its wronged religion, thereby giving them the right to represent the interests of the Orthodox Church before the king and the Commonwealth.

These ideas, which modified the old model of the Ruthenian nation and first found expression in the protestation, were subsequently formulated in verse. One of the literary monuments of the period, *Verses on the Sorrowful Obsequy for the Worthy Knight Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny*, written by Kasiian Sakovych, rector of the Kyiv Brotherhood School,[52] and recited by his pupils at a memorial service for Sahaidachny in Kyiv in 1622, overtly glorifies Cossackdom and its hetman. In so doing, it breaks fundamentally with the attitude expressed toward Cossackdom by the writers of the late sixteenth-century Ostrih circle.

It was by no means appropriate for the new Kyivan clergy to treat the Cossacks according to the princely 'tradition'. That tradition was exemplified in many ways by Szymon Pękalski's poem 'De bello Ostrogiano ad Piantcos cum Nisoviis' (On Ostrozky's Battle at Piatka against the Lower Dnipro Cossacks). As noted earlier, the poem describes the rebellion led by Kryshtof Kosynsky, in essence a conflict between the Cossacks and the Ostrozky family, from the viewpoint of the latter. The princes Ostrozky are represented in the poem in the full brilliance of their Kyivan tradition as descendants of Prince Volodymyr and other rulers of Kyivan Rus'. Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky appears in the poem as the inheritor and sole surviving protector of his ancestors' glory. Judging by the text of the poem, he is devoted to the memory of his ancestors, his native Volhynia,

[52] See Sakovych, 'Vĭrshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb'. On Sakovych, see Mirosław Szegda, 'Sakowicz (Isakowicz) Kalikst' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 34 (1992–3): 343–5; Frick, '"Foolish Rus'"'.

and his larger Ruthenian homeland. On the other hand, the Zaporozhians represent the ill-born and unreligious anarchic element in the poem.[53]

Sakovych's *Verses* constitute a rejection of the views of Pękalski, who distinguished clearly between knightly Orthodox Rus' and the ill-born, unreligious Cossacks. Like the Orthodox hierarchy's protestation of 1621, the *Verses* represent the Cossacks as inheritors of the Kyivan tradition:

> For this is the tribe of the seed of that Japheth
> Who together with Shem covered his father's secrets.
> Under Oleh, the Rus' monarch, they sailed
> On boats on the sea and stormed Constantinople.
> It was their ancestors who were baptized together with
> The Rus' monarch Volodymyr, and they kept that faith with dignity.
> They still stand by it with such dignity
> That in the end they are prepared to die for it;
> In that army there were princes and lords
> From among whom came good hetmans.[54]

The main protagonist of the Orthodox intellectuals in the *Verses on the Sorrowful Obsequy* is no longer the prince but the hetman, although many characteristics attributed by Sakovych to the 'panegyrical' hetman were in fact transferred from the 'panegyrical' prince. According to the logic of the *Verses*, the ideal hetman (whom Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny certainly represents) was to maintain a triune loyalty: to God (the Orthodox Church), the king, and the Host.[55]

Although from the viewpoint of the defense of Christianity and Orthodoxy the figure of Sahaidachny was almost ideally suited to panegyrical treatment, his image still required a certain amount of retouching. For one thing, he had taken part in wars with other Christian and even Orthodox peoples. Sakovych writes that Sahaidachny 'took great . . . care that there be no war of Christians | With Christians, but only with infidels',[56] noting at the same time that his valor would be remembered not

[53] Among the ancestors of the Ostrozkys, Pękalski mentions mythical and actual princes: Rus, Kyi, Riuryk, Ihor, Olha, Sviatoslav, Volodymyr, Iaroslav, Mechyslav, and Roman. Speaking of Roman, the poet notes, probably not by accident, that the prince had no fear of going to war against the Polish king Mieszko; he refers to Danylo as prince of Ostrih and a crowned king. See the Ukrainian translation of the Latin poem in *Ukraïns'ki humanisty epokhy Vidrodzhennia*, 2: 40–77.

[54] Sakovych, 'Vĭrshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb', p. 221. On the treatment of Sahaidachny and the Cossacks in the *Verses*, see Sas, *Politychna kul'tura ukraïns'koho suspil'stva*, pp. 74–81. On the role of biblical genealogy in the writings of this period, see Anatolii Momryk, 'Bibliina heneolohiia v etnohenetychnykh kontseptsiiakh pol's'kykh ta ukraïns'kykh litopystsiv i khronistiv (do postanovky problemy)', *MU*, no. 5 (1998): 111–18.

[55] Sakovych noted in summing up Sahaidachny's life that he had 'kept faith with God, the king, and the Host'. See Sakovych, 'Vĭrshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb', p. 234.

[56] Ibid., p. 223.

only by the Turks and Tatars but also by the 'Moldavian land', 'the Wallachian', 'the Livonian', and 'the northern lands' (i.e. Muscovy). According to Sakovych, Sahaidachny's merit in wars with other Christians (of whom the Moldavians, Wallachians, and Muscovites were Orthodox) consisted in the fact that '. . . when he captured a town in Christendom, | He ordered that the churches be left in peace'. In this respect, wrote Sakovych, Sahaidachny followed the example of the Polish Crown Grand Hetman Jan Zamoyski, who ordered his soldiers not to disturb Orthodox churches as they campaigned in Moldavia.[57]

Sakovych tried to downplay the actual conflict of loyalties to the Orthodox Church and the Catholic king in the actions undertaken by Sahaidachny to support the newly consecrated Orthodox hierarchy. Actual deeds of his that were contrary to the king's wishes are passed over lightly in Sakovych's account. For example, it is noted that Sahaidachny escorted Patriarch Theophanes to the Moldavian border with the permission of the king and by order of the Host, thereby endowing the entire consecration of the new hierarchy with legitimacy. Earlier in the *Verses*, Sakovych notes that Sahaidachny, together with the whole Host, had asked 'the lord king' 'to accommodate our holy faith', and that 'the king and the Senate put off that request'.[58]

The principal designation employed by the author of the *Verses* to define the moral and ethical status of Sahaidachny and the Cossack Host as a whole is that of knight. The published *Verses* open with a reproduction of the emblem of the Zaporozhian Host accompanied by an explanation in verse. The emblem, often trivialized in present-day accounts as an image of a Cossack bearing a musket, is glossed in the explanatory verse as the depiction of a knight (*rytser*). According to the text of the *Verses*, the knight is a warrior who defends his fatherland and his monarch with arms in hand. Both Hetman Sahaidachny and the rank-and-file Cossacks appear in the *Verses* as 'worthy knights'. 'And no knights are so famous among us | As the Zaporozhians, and so fearsome to the enemy', notes Sakovych. The depiction of the Cossacks as knights who protected their king and country defined them as a particular social order that, albeit unequal to the nobility in status, was still superior to the commoners and burghers, and thus deserving of special rights and freedoms.[59]

Clearly present in the *Verses* is the nobiliary idea of 'golden liberty', which was extraordinarily popular in early modern Poland, becoming the

[57] Ibid., p. 230. [58] Ibid., pp. 230–1.

[59] Ibid., p. 236. Here, as elsewhere, Sakovych's *Verses* present or develop ideas expressed earlier in Iov Boretsky's protestation, which represents Sahaidachnyi as a 'famous and eminent knightly man' and the Cossacks as 'knightly men'. See Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', pp. 142, 148.

leitmotif of nobiliary political thought and Polish Sarmatism. Sakovych represents liberty as 'the greatest thing of all', writing as follows:

> Golden liberty—so they call it.
> All strive ardently to attain it.
> Yet it cannot be given to everyone,
> Only to those who defend the fatherland and the lord.
> Knights win it by their valor in wars,
> Not with money, but with blood do they purchase it.[60]

In Sakovych's opinion, 'The Zaporozhian Host has obtained liberties | By its faithful service to king and country.' According to the *Verses*, it was the duty both of the hetman and of the whole Host to serve the king and defend the fatherland against its enemies. In the *Verses*, the word 'lord' is often substituted for 'king', or the author speaks of the 'lord king'. 'Liberty' granted by the 'lord king' is the reward for faithful service. In this context, then, relations between the hetman and Host on the one hand and the king on the other resemble those between vassal and suzerain.

Calling on the 'worthy knights' to hold fast to their own faith, Sakovych also advises the Cossacks to

> Be true to the lord king in all things,
> For which liberty is granted to you,
> For, aside from the king himself, you have no lord.
> From taxes and courts of all kinds you are free
> Thanks to your meritorious services.[61]

Sakovych and other Kyivan authors of the 1620s not only responded to the shift in the political situation by exchanging one patron (the princes) for another (the Cossacks) but also understood in some measure that in the Dnipro region of Ukraine, control over the levers of power was passing before their very eyes from the princes to the hetmans and the Cossacks whom they led. The Hustynia Chronicle, composed in Kyiv in the 1620s, presents an account of the origins of Cossackdom that lends itself to just such an interpretation. The anonymous author of the chronicle, thought by some to have been Zakhariia Kopystensky, includes a subsection entitled 'There Are No More Princes in Rus'' in the chapter on 'The Origins of the Cossacks', noting that 'from internecine wars we have

[60] Sakovych, 'Vĭrshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb', p. 221. On the treatment of the Renaissance idea of 'golden liberty' in Sakovych's *Verses* and the attempted 'ennoblement' of Cossackdom in the poem, see Natalia Pylypiuk, 'Golden Liberty: Kasiian Sakovych's Understanding of Rhetoric and Preparation for the Civic Life' (forthcoming); Hryhorii Hrabovych (George G. Grabowicz), 'Do ideolohiï Renesansu v ukraïns'kii literaturi: "Vĭrshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb zatsnoho rytsera Petra Konashevycha Sahaidachnoho" Kasiiana Sakovycha' in *Ukraïna XVII st. mizh Zakhodom i Skhodom Ievropy: Materialy I-ho ukraïns'ko-italiis'koho sympoziumu 13–16 veresnia 1996 r.*, ed. Sante Graciotti, Omeljan Pritsak *et al.* (Kyiv and Venice, 1996), pp. 277–97.

[61] Sakovych, 'Vĭrshĭ na zhalosnyi pohreb', p. 222.

grown malicious and petty, and so there have ceased to be princes among us'.[62]

On the other hand, to judge by the available sources, the attempted creation of a new national model was by no means a wholly conscious or deliberate undertaking on the part of the Orthodox intellectuals. Most probably, it was an unconscious modification of the old stereotype of Rus' carried out under adverse circumstances of official persecution and repression. The significance of the first efforts to make the Cossacks a component of the 'Ruthenian nation' becomes fully apparent only in retrospect, as one observes the waning of the nobility's monopolistic claim to represent the 'Ruthenian nation' in the course of the Khmelnytsky Uprising and the Cossack wars of the second half of the seventeenth century.

The Sarmatian Challenge

Just as 'ancient' Rus' was more than reluctant to accept the services of Cossackdom and its Kyivan hierarchical clients in defense of the 'Greek' faith, the Cossacks became a preoccupation not only of Ruthenian intellectuals but of Polish ones as well. The newly acquired popularity of the Cossacks following the Battle of Khotyn and their military potential prompted efforts at 'intellectual privatization' and 'nationalization' not only on the part of Kasiian Sakovych but also by Polish publicists. Strange though it seems today, the path to the potential inclusion of the Cossacks within a broadly conceived Polish identity wound through the ideology of Polish Sarmatism.

That ideology, which became dominant in Poland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was based on the myth of the country's Sarmatian origins. It served as a basis for the creation of an estate model of the Polish nation based predominantly on the nobiliary element. The components making up the Sarmatian ideology were a conviction of the superiority of the Commonwealth political system over all other forms of government, the treatment of 'golden liberty' as the supreme social value, and a notion of the Commonwealth as the 'defensive bastion' (*antemurale*) of the Christian world in its struggle against the threat from Islam.

The ideology of Sarmatism, which became a symbol of xenophobia and ultra-Catholicism in the second half of the seventeenth century under the influence of the Counter-Reformation and a long series of mainly unsuccessful Commonwealth wars, had a different orientation and social function in the first half of the century. In the opinion of

[62] 'Hustyns'kyi litopys. Frahmenty' in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, p. 165. Cf. *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* (= *PSRL*, vol. 2) (St Petersburg, 1843), p. 367.

Tadeusz Ulewicz, supported by Janusz Tazbir, the Sarmatian idea initially emerged as an integrating factor that sought to unite the various ethnic and linguistic elements making up the Commonwealth.[63] In one sense, Sarmatism supplied an ideological foundation for Polish expansion into Eastern Europe. Within the framework of the Commonwealth created by the Union of Lublin, Sarmatism aspired to create a family feeling among the Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian nobles, who were equal in rights but divided along ethnic and denominational lines. As for ethnicity, Sarmatism was associated above all with Poland, throwing wide the doors to the Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility on the path to their progressive assimilation.

The creative work of the Polish publicist and 'bard' of Sarmatism, Szymon Starowolski, is of particular interest to students of Polish and Ukrainian identity as an interesting attempt to represent the Ruthenian and Lithuanian nobility as part of the Polish–Sarmatian noble nation, as well as to include Ukrainian Cossackdom in that national model. His first step in that direction was the publication of *Eques Polonus* in Venice in 1628. In that brochure, which presented the Polish nobility to a European audience as the protector of the defensive bastion of Christian Europe, a whole chapter was devoted to an account of the Zaporozhian Cossacks.[64] Starowolski developed the Cossack theme in his book *Sarmatiae bellatores* (Warriors of Sarmatia), published in 1631.[65] In it he created a pantheon of Polish Sarmatism that included, along with Mieszko I, Bolesław the Brave, Stefan Batory, and other Polish kings, Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great of Kyiv, Prince Mykhailo Hlynsky, the princes Ostrozky, and a number of other representatives of Ruthenian princely lines. From today's perspective, however, the greatest surprise may be Starowolski's inclusion among his approximately 130 'Sarmatian warriors' of leaders of Ukrainian Cossackdom—Ostafii Dashkovych, Havrylo Holubok, Hryhorii Loboda, and Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny—whom he considered individuals of lower, non-noble, origin.

In his biographical sketch of Ostafii Dashkovych, designated here as a Ruthenian and hetman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Starowolski notes,

[63] On the development of the Sarmatian idea in Poland, see Tadeusz Ulewicz, *Sarmacja: Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI w.* (Cracow, 1950); Stanisław Cynarski, 'Sarmatyzm—ideologia i styl życia' in *Polska XVII wieku: państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. Janusz Tazbir (Warsaw, 1979), pp. 22–43; *Dzieje Polski*, ed. Jerzy Topolski (Warsaw, 1976), p. 353; and Tazbir, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy*.

[64] On Starowolski, see Ignacy Lewandowski, introduction to Szymon Starowolski, *Wybór z pism* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1991), pp. xxxi–xxxvii. For a list of his publications, see *Bibliografia literatury polskiej 'Nowy Korbut'*, 3: 282–6. Surprisingly, *Eques Polonus* remained unknown to the editors of *'Nowy Korbut'*. The only copy of this book known to me is preserved in the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw.

[65] See the Polish translation: *Szymona Starowolskiego Wojownicy sarmaccy*, ed. and trans. Jerzy Starnawski (Warsaw, 1978).

as if to justify the inclusion of individuals of non-noble or dubious noble origin in a biographical collection, that 'nobility should be judged not on the basis of the glory of ancestors, but on that of an individual's own actions and deeds. It is better to attain glory if one is low-born than to deserve scorn if one has been born into a worthy family'. In his sketch of Hryhorii Loboda (mistakenly referred to as 'Jan' in the book), Starowolski returns to the theme of nobility. He cites Seneca in support of his view that a distinguished lineage does not make one noble and notes that spirit is the sign of nobility. In his biography of Sahaidachny, Starowolski points out that even though his subject was not of noble birth, he possessed an 'uncommon' and 'noble' intelligence.

Notable in Starowolski's account of the Cossack leaders is not so much his definitive ascription to them of common, non-noble, origin (both Dashkovych and Sahaidachny were, more likely than not, descendants of Ruthenian noble families) as his readiness to include precisely such individuals—Orthodox Ruthenians of non-noble descent—in a pantheon of Polish heroes to which *Sarmatiae bellatores* did not even admit all the Polish kings. Starowolski's attitude toward the Cossacks reflected to some extent the atmosphere of enthusiasm for Cossackdom on the part of Polish society in the years immediately following the Battle of Khotyn (1621), in which the Cossacks under Sahaidachny's leadership helped to save the Commonwealth from possible defeat in the conflict with the Ottoman Turks.[66]

Kasiian Sakovych's *Verses*, discussed earlier in this chapter, not only give a good illustration of the efforts of the Orthodox hierarchy to 'Ruthenianize' the Cossacks but also attest to the formative influence of Sarmatian ideas and values in establishing the image of Cossackdom within Ruthenian society in the first half of the seventeenth century. One of the characteristic features of the *Verses* is their consonance with the Sarmatian notion of the Christian defensive bastion and their rather pronounced identification with general Christian values and orientations when it comes to combating the 'infidel'.[67] In order to stress Sahaidachny's services to Christendom, most notably his contribution to the victory at Khotyn, the author of the *Verses* asserts that Sahaidachny would rather '. . . suffer wounds himself | Than betray Christians to the infidel'. The

[66] It is worth noting that even under such circumstances Starowolski's attitude to the Cossacks was much more favorable than that of the royal administration. In the royal instructions to a messenger to the Cossacks after the defeat at Ţuţora, the Cossacks, whose services the king was soliciting, were termed mere 'knightly servants'. See the text of the instructions in Mytsyk, 'Dva lysty het'mana Nerody (Borodavky)', p. 441.

[67] In this instance, as in many others, Sakovych echoes ideas expressed in Iov Boretsky's protestation of 1621, which noted that 'They [Roman Catholics and Uniates] prefer to turn their swords against the Ruthenians, who have the Tatars and Turks on their backs, rather than against an enemy of the name of Christian' (Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 144).

Verses also indicate Sahaidachny's role in the liberation of Christian slaves and give an animated account of his attack on Kaffa.

Notwithstanding the general Christian orientation apparent in many lines of the *Verses*, it should be remembered that they were written by a teacher of an Orthodox collegium at a time of bitter conflict between the new Orthodox hierarchy consecrated with Sahaidachny's assistance and the Uniate Church supported by the royal administration. Quite naturally, Sakovych understood faith in God to mean, first and foremost, loyalty to the Orthodox Church. Not surprisingly, he dubbed Sahaidachny a 'true hetman' in noting his services to Christianity. A quarter-century later, Szymon Starowolski restricted his use of the term 'true knight' to the Roman Catholic 'knights', while for the Orthodox author of the *Verses* it was, of course, the Orthodox knight who was the 'true' one.

In *The True Knight*, which Starowolski published in 1648, after the outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising and the first defeats of the Polish forces, he divided Christian knights into three categories: 'true' knights, that is, Roman Catholics; heretics, or Protestants; and schismatics, or Orthodox. He referred to the latter as renegades or the 'main enemy'. In this new work of Starowolski's, the multidenominational Sarmatian warrior of the 1620s and 1630s was clearly transformed into a one-denominational Roman Catholic Polish knight, while the image of the Commonwealth as the defensive bastion of Christianity as a whole turned into one of the Commonwealth as the bastion of Roman Catholicism alone. Thus Orthodox Rus' was easily transformed into the enemy of that bastion, if not entirely supplanting the traditional Muslim threat, then certainly overshadowing it to a very considerable degree.

Starowolski's 'confessionalization' of the image of the 'true' knight marked a sharp break with previous efforts on the part of some Polish publicists, including Starowolski himself, to treat the Cossacks above all as fellow Christians. This new tendency was reinforced by the Cossacks' own stance in defense of Orthodoxy, which impeded any effort to include Cossackdom in a new model of the Polish political nation. No doubt, the change in Starowolski's views largely reflected the mood of Polish society as a whole. By the 1630s and 1640s, the Khotyn-inspired notions of including the Cossacks in the Polish nation by means of cultural and social 'Sarmatization' had clearly lost support. Starowolski's attitude reflected the social climate, which was influenced by anti-Polish Cossack uprisings, the growth of Counter-Reformation influences in the Commonwealth, and the decline of religious toleration.[68]

By the 1630s and 1640s, not only Starowolski but also the Orthodox advocates of Cossackdom had lost interest in the heroes of Khotyn. The

[68] See Lewandowski, introduction to Starowolski, *Wybór z pism*.

Cossacks' unwanted interference in the affairs of the restored Kyivan metropolitanate should be listed among the factors that contributed to Kasiian Sakovych's conversion to the Union and later to Roman Catholicism. As noted earlier, Meletii Smotrytsky had also converted to the Union, while Metropolitan Petro Mohyla tried to distance himself from the Cossacks as much as possible. The Orthodox intellectuals no longer advocated the inclusion of Cossackdom in Ruthenian nobiliary society. They also abandoned the project of integrating Cossackdom into a broader Commonwealth political nation, either through Sarmatian ideology or otherwise.

Having adopted an exclusionary denominational character in the second half of the seventeenth century, Sarmatism could not incorporate Cossackdom into a broader Polish–Lithuanian political nation, but had a considerable influence on the formation of Cossack consciousness and identity and on the development of its values, ideals, and world-view. Sakovych's emphasis on the special knightly rights of the Cossacks and Starowolski's inclusion of Cossack leaders among the Sarmatian knights corresponded to the Cossacks' own aspirations to be included in the circle of nobiliary privilege through their military service and membership in the category of knightly men.[69] The Cossacks' efforts to establish their 'knightly' status may be traced back to the early seventeenth century. As early as 1602, in striving for the restoration of Cossack privileges abolished after the Nalyvaiko uprising, the Cossack hetman Ivan Kutskovych noted in his letter that the king, as a protector of knightly men, had granted the Cossacks their ancient liberties—privileges that also applied to their families and properties.[70] More than a quarter of a century later, in his account of the war of 1630, the author of the Lviv Chronicle made mention of the Cossacks' special status and the recognition of their knightly virtues by the Poles. Referring to Cossack privileges, he wrote that as a result of the war Hetman Koniecpolski 'left them [the Cossacks] their cannon and recognized them as Cossacks', and 'accorded knightly status' to the leader of the uprising, Taras Triasylo.[71]

The royal administration and the noble estate, on the other hand, definitively rejected all Cossack claims to the rights of the nobility by not allowing them to participate in the election of the new king following the death of Zygmunt III. In his account of the response to the Cossack delegation in the matter, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł notes that they were 'roundly cursed for having dared to consider themselves members of the Commonwealth and having demanded the right to vote in the election;

[69] For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Chapter 1.
[70] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 144–5.
[71] See Bevzo, ed., *L'vivs'kyi litopys*, pp. 105, 110.

the Senate gave them a strict warning not to try it again'.[72] The Cossacks were obliged to swallow this rejection, but were not content to leave it without a response. In a letter to the election Diet, the new Cossack leadership noted that 'we are not pleased to hear that Your Graces, our Gracious Lords, having recognized us as members [equal to you] by the authority of Their Graces the Lords Commissioners of Kurukove, have now decided to keep us at arm's length when it comes to electing a king'.[73] Not until December 1632 did the newly elected King Władysław IV note in a letter to the Cossacks that he had been chosen 'by the will of God and of all noble residents of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania'. He called on the Cossacks to support him 'with their services and knightly deeds'.[74] This was scant recompense to the Cossacks after they had been denied the right to take part in the king's election.

In claiming nobiliary rights, the Cossacks were following the example of the Ruthenian boyars, who had managed to exchange the status of knightly men for that of nobles in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Ruthenian boyars were no exception in this respect, as the formation of the nobility 'from below' through the accretion of knightly warriors was common practice in East Central Europe. In the case of the Cossacks, then, the problem lay not so much in their choice of means of attaining nobiliary privilege as in the obvious misiming of their attempt. The Cossack initiative was clearly 100–150 years too late: as

[72] Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, 1: 135. In referring to the debate on Cossack demands for participation in the election of the king, Radziwiłł conveyed the mood of the Senate as follows: 'It was resolved to censure . . . the Cossacks for having referred to themselves as members of the Commonwealth (perhaps like hair and fingernails to the body: necessary indeed, but when they grow too long, the former is heavy on the head, while the latter inflict painful wounds, so both require frequent cutting)' (ibid., p. 125). The Diet diary gives a similar account of the Senate's reaction to Cossack aspirations. See an excerpt from the Diet diary in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, p. 423. The diarist records the primate's words to the Cossack delegation to the effect that the 'noble nation [would] elect itself [a king] on its own', adding that these words were intended to let the Cossacks know 'that they [were] not part of the election'.

[73] For the text of the Cossacks' letter of 4 September 1632, see ibid., vol. 1, appendixes, p. 451 (Golubev gives *Kunikow* instead of *Kurukove*). It is not clear what the authors of the letter had in mind when they spoke of having been recognized by Commonwealth representatives at Kurukove. Most probably they were referring to a statement in the commissioners' declaration to the effect that the Cossacks, most of whom were not nobles, were accorded equal status with the nobility in matters of personal liberty and property rights. In their response to the commissioners, the Cossacks referred to liberties to which they were entitled as 'knightly men' and that they wished to pass on to their descendants. See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 428–9. Significantly, in the autumn of 1632 the secretary of the Zaporozhian Host was once again Sava Burchevsky, who had first held that post during the Kurukove commission. The Cossack demands at Kurukove are discussed by Petro Sas, 'Tsinnisni oriientatsiï zaporoz'koho kozatstva do Vyzvol'noï viiny: "prava", "svobody", "vol'nosti"' in *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 46–52. Cf. his *Politychna kul'tura ukraïns'koho suspil'stva*, pp. 151–60.

[74] Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, p. 506.

Natalia Iakovenko has pointed out, the formation of the ruling stratum in Rus' was for the most part complete by the end of the fifteenth century.[75]

Only a violent revolution could bring about the change in the established social order desired by the Cossacks. Such a revolution did indeed take place in the mid-seventeenth century: it was the Khmelnytsky Uprising that allowed Cossackdom to attain fully equal status in its tandem arrangement with the Ruthenian nobility. The new Ukrainian élite arose out of the flames of the Cossack revolution from the ranks of the Cossack officer stratum, which in social terms consisted mainly of representatives of the Cossack élite and Cossackized nobles. According to the terms of the Treaty of Hadiach (1658), which was signed by Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and representatives of the Commonwealth, the Cossack élite was to be accorded the status of Polish nobles. Although the Treaty of Hadiach never took effect, its provisions testified to the vitality of the concept, developed in the 1620s, of extending the model of the Ruthenian nation in social terms by including the Cossack stratum within its ranks. The Treaty of Hadiach also demonstrated the vitality of another element of the model of the Ruthenian nation that was modified by the Kyivan Orthodox intellectuals—the denominational component. According to the terms of the treaty, it was precisely the one-denominational Orthodox Rus' that became the third partner in the Commonwealth.

[75] See the chapter 'Na porozi stanu: vid boiarstva-rytsarstva do boiarstva-shliakhty' in Iakovenko, *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta*, pp. 25–40. On the formation of the nobiliary estate in the Commonwealth, see the chapter 'Rycerstwo—Szlachta' in Bardach *et al.*, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*, pp. 38–42.

FIVE

A War of Religion

The author of the Eyewitness Chronicle, himself a participant in the Khmelnytsky Uprising, began his account with the following words: 'The origin and cause of Khmelnytsky's war is nothing other than the persecution of Orthodoxy by the Poles and their impositions on the Cossacks.'[1] Religious motifs remained dominant in the thinking of the seventeenth century, and many contemporaries saw the outbreak of the revolt led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky as the beginning of yet another of the wars of religion that were so common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Muscovite informers and officials who found themselves in Ukraine in 1648 were unanimously of the opinion that the Cossacks were 'fighting with the Poles for the faith'. Their impressions coincided with the reactions of Western observers. Reporting to Paris in July 1648, the French envoy in Warsaw, Count Nicolas de Brégy, gave the persecution of the 'Greek faith' as one of the reasons for the war, and the religious aspect of the Khmelnytsky Uprising was also stressed in French and English newspapers of the day.[2]

The concepts of religious war and the right of resistance on religious grounds were well developed in medieval and early modern Europe. Medieval political theory comprised both a demand for subordination to royal authority and an assertion of the right of resistance to the monarch on grounds of religious belief. There were at least two grounds on which a ruler could be declared tyrannical: usurpation of power and illegal activity. This often applied to situations in which the monarch violated the rights of the church or the prerogatives of the pope himself. In such cases, it was claimed that the monarch was no longer ruling according to God's will, but was only tolerated by God, who made use of him to punish the monarch's subjects for their sins. In such instances, the 'sacred right of

[1] *Litopys Samovydtsia*, ed. Ia. I. Dzyra (Kyiv, 1971), p. 45.

[2] See Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, 1: 19, 25, 28, 33; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2, pp. 116–17; Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 1st edn., p. 114; Plokhii, *Papstvo i Ukraina*, pp. 159–60. On the coverage of the first years of the Khmelnytsky Uprising in the Western press, see Joel Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial: The Fate of the Jews in the Wars of the Polish Commonwealth during the Mid-Seventeenth Century as Shown in Contemporary Writings and Historical Research* (Boulder, Colo., 1995), pp. 167–88.

resistance' to the tyrant would take effect.[3] In Muscovy, Iosif Volotskii and his student Metropolitan Daniil also developed a theory of righteous disobedience to tyrannical rulers.[4]

With the onset of the early modern period and the advance of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the concept of the 'sacred right of resistance' began to be broadly applied by Catholics and Protestants alike. The former employed it to justify assassinations or broader resistance movements against Protestant rulers, while the latter made use of it to legitimize similar actions against Catholic monarchs. The wars of religion in France called forth an unprecedented torrent of polemical literature discussing the legitimacy of the Huguenot revolt. The Huguenots justified their rebellion against royal authority primarily with arguments of a dynastic character, claiming to defend the 'legitimate' right of the Bourbons to the French crown against the 'illegitimate' claims of the Guises, but also developed the notion that revolts in defense of religious liberty were legitimate. Their pamphleteers maintained that a king who persecuted the true church was a tyrant, and resistance to him was just, as he himself had rebelled against God.[5]

The French wars of religion also witnessed the development of ideas of religious toleration and contractual relations between the estates and the king, who had undertaken to guarantee the liberties of the estates, including religious freedom. These same ideas were disseminated in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, which came to be seen in the second half of the sixteenth century as a model of religious toleration. In 1573, when the newly elected king of Poland, Henri de Valois, fled to France (he became king of France under the name Henri III and died at the hands of a 'tyrannicide'), the charter of the Warsaw Confederation, which guaranteed broad religious freedoms to the nobility, was adopted in the Commonwealth. The charter was included in the constitution of the Coronation Diet of King Stefan Batory, incorporated into the Third Lithuanian Statute, and confirmed by subsequent kings. According to the charter, the nobility was entitled to refuse submission to the king's authority if he violated the principles of toleration.[6]

[3] For a detailed discussion, see Fritz Kern, chap. 3.2, 'The Ecclesiastical Right of Resistance and the Doctrine of Passive Obedience' in *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, trans. with an introduction by S. B. Chrimes (Oxford, 1939), pp. 97–117.

[4] For a discussion of the views of Iosif Volotskii and Metropolitan Daniil, see S. V. Utechin, *Russian Political Thought: A Concise History* (New York and London, 1963), pp. 22–4.

[5] For a more detailed discussion of the political and legal ideas of the Huguenots, see J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London and New York, 1961), pp. 302–31; Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660*, 2: 59–61.

[6] On the history of religious toleration in Poland, see the following works: Mirosław Korolko and Janusz Tazbir, eds., *Konfederacja warszawska 1573 roku, wielka karta polskiej tolerancji* (Warsaw, 1980); Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów. Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVII wieku*

Since relations between the king and the nobiliary order in the Commonwealth became contractual long before the early modern period, the West European notions of tyranny and resistance to it gained scant dissemination there. In the Commonwealth, religious toleration became a condition of the contract, and its violation theoretically invalidated that contract, leading to a breach of relations between the king and his subjects. The principal forum in which the dissenters waged their struggle for religious freedom was the Diet. In Diet debates, in courts and tribunals that adjudicated suits concerning the violation of the religious liberties of the nobiliary order, and in multitudinous works of polemical literature, the Orthodox élite gained experience in the legal defense of its religious liberties.[7]

The Orthodox nobility limited its political activity almost exclusively to the Diet and was as far removed from the notion of revolt in defense of religious liberty as were the representatives of the early seventeenth-century Orthodox clergy. Quite symptomatically, Orthodox polemicists never developed any coherent theory of the right of resistance on religious grounds. Even such an Orthodox radical as Stefan Zyzanii was opposed to violence. Meletii Smotrytsky wrote that the 'true church' was more important than any earthly kingdom, and Zakhariia Kopystensky asserted that Rus' aspired to a heavenly kingdom, not a temporal one.[8] The same notes were sounded in Metropolitan Iov Boretsky's protestation of 1621, even though he was often accused—probably not without reason—of inciting the Cossacks to revolt.[9] Thus the Orthodox intellectuals considered it inappropriate and dangerous to propagate the idea of religious warfare in publications or in protestations addressed to the authorities.

In the early 1620s, when the Cossacks, not uninfluenced by the Orthodox nobility and clergy, brought their religious demands to the forefront, they went considerably further in that respect than their predecessors had done. Even though the rights of the Cossack order, unlike those of the

(Warsaw, 1967); Mirosław Korolko, *Klejnot swobodnego sumienia. Polemika wokół konfederacji warszawskiej w latach 1573–1658* (Warsaw, 1974); Wisner, *Rozróżnieni w wierze*; Dzięgielewski, *O tolerancję dla zdominowanych*.

[7] On the functioning of Diet democracy in the Commonwealth, see Bardach *et al.*, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*, pp. 106–12; Kriegseisen, *Sejmiki Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*. On the struggle of the Orthodox nobility in the Diet, see Bednov, *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve*; Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba (do 1608 g.)*; idem, *Seimovaia bor'ba (s 1609 g.)*.

[8] Velychenko, 'The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas', pp. 95–7.

[9] In his protestation, Iov Boretsky wrote: 'The goal and end is the heavenly kingdom and life with God Almighty. And the profit, trophy and reward is the crown of heaven. Others have our fatherland, while we have the mountainous places [a biblical reference to Jerusalem]; others have our bishoprics, while we have Christ.' Only the concluding pages of the protestation, with their eschatological orientation, admit of any interpretation as a call to resistance ('The years and days return to us that lasted from apostolic times to Constantine the Great. . . . The Day of Judgment approaches') or an exhortation of the faithful to martyrdom ('make haste freely on happy feet to holy martyrdom'). See Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 153.

nobility, were not guaranteed by royal oath, the Cossack officers, as shown in the preceding chapters, were thoroughly convinced of their right to revolt in defense of their 'ancient rights and liberties', which with the passage of time also came to include the freedom of the 'Greek religion'.

Orthodox versus Catholics

Bohdan Khmelnytsky's victories at Zhovti Vody and Korsun in May 1648 touched off a large-scale uprising in the Dnipro region; after the Battle of Pyliavtsi in September, the revolt spread deep into Right-Bank Ukraine, Podilia, and Volhynia. During the first weeks of the uprising the emissaries sent by Khmelnytsky's army to the settled area met with a degree of support that they clearly did not at first expect, and their appeals summoned forth a popular uprising of such dimensions that the hetman himself was at times hard put to deal with it. The vitally important allies of the Cossacks—the Tatars on the one hand; the peasants and burghers on the other—all exacted a price for their support. The Tatars required booty, while the peasants and burghers demanded social vengeance and took it as they saw fit.

Among those who paid the price demanded by the allies of the Cossack élite were the Polish nobility and burghers, that is, Poles in general, as well as Jewish leaseholders and merchants, meaning—given conditions prevailing at the time of the uprising—Jews in general. Reports on local developments (mainly Polish accounts and letters) testified to the insurgents' persecution of Catholics and Jews, which the hetman and his administration were powerless to control.[10] Meanwhile, the Ukrainian population also felt the immediate effects of Tatar depredations in the summer of 1648. As the Eyewitness Chronicle attests, 'Not only did they wreak perdition on the Jews and nobles, but the same misfortune befell the common people living in those lands; many fell into Tatar captivity, especially young craftsmen who shaved their heads in the Polish manner, with a forelock on top.'[11]

[10] For Polish reports on the first months of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, see *Dokumenty ob Osvoboditel'noi voine ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg.* (=*DOV*), comp. A. Z. Baraboi *et al.* (Kyiv, 1965), pp. 14–197; *Jakuba Michałowskiego, wojskiego lubelskiego a później kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza (1647–1655)*, ed. Antoni Zygmunt Helcel (Cracow, 1864), pp. 1–361.

[11] *Litopys Samovydtsia*, p. 54. In the mid-seventeenth century, the word *khokhol* (topknot), which later became a standard Russian term for Ukrainians, appears to have signified Polish identity. The tsar's hortatory proclamations of May 1654 included the following appeal to the Orthodox Ruthenian population of the Commonwealth: 'And prior to the arrival of our tsarist forces, create a division with the Poles, as in faith, so in deed: shave off the topknots that are on your heads' (Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 193).

Most of the Cossack leaders were clearly unhappy with the radicalism of the peasant mobs. Some Polish sources even make reference to serious conflicts between Khmelnytsky and the leader of the popular uprising in Right-Bank Ukraine, Maksym Kryvonis.[12] The negative attitude of the Cossack officers to the 'excesses' of the popular uprising was reflected not only in Khmelnytsky's actions against Kryvonis but also in written sources of Cossack officer provenance. A note by the Cossack colonel Syluian Muzhylovsky differentiates clearly between Cossacks on the one hand and peasants and burghers on the other with reference to the massacres of 1648. In writing about the events of that summer, he notes in particular that

> . . . when the common people heard that there was no longer a king in the country, they all turned Cossack, both on this side of the Dnipro and on the other. They killed those of their lords who had not fled, as well as Poles, Jews, and Roman Catholic priests, pillaged [Roman Catholic churches], and took castles in which Poles and Jews had locked themselves up.[13]

Muzhylovsky's note described a situation well known to his contemporaries. The Muscovite voevoda of Briansk, Nikita Meshchersky, reported to Moscow in June 1648 that '. . . it is said, Sire, that all kinds of volunteers who have gathered, and not Cherkasians [Ukrainian Cossacks], are fighting in their Lithuanian lands'.[14]

The attitude of the Cossack officers toward the actions of the 'common people' in the summer of 1648 is also fully reflected in the Eyewitness Chronicle. In his description of the robberies and massacres of the first months of the uprising, the Cossack author affirms:

> It was a rare individual at that time who did not dip his hands in blood and take part in the plunder of those estates. And at that time people of every station knew great sorrow and persecution at the hands of the common people . . . so that even if a man of standing did not want to associate with that Cossack army, he had to do so.[15]

The apparent attempts of some of the officers to stop the massacres or at least to limit their scope were reflected in the false rumors that circulated among the rebels to the effect that Colonel Hanzha, the man who led Cossack assaults on Uman and Tulchyn in the summer of 1648, was allegedly killed by his own men for sparing the lives of noblemen.[16] It is quite clear that when robbery was involved, the insurgent peasants and

[12] Khmelnytsky is supposed to have ordered that Kryvonis be chained to a cannon; more than a hundred of his followers were executed. See a letter from Adam Kysil dated August 1648 in *DOV*, pp. 97–8. Other sources also mention Khmelnytsky's executions of peasant leaders responsible for plunder and massacres during the truce of the summer of 1648. See Janusz Kaczmarczyk, *Bohdan Chmielnicki* (Wrocław, 1988), pp. 53–4. On the rivalry between Khmelnytsky and Kryvonis, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, pp. 48–9.

[13] *VUR*, 2: 129. [14] Ibid., p. 43. [15] *Litopys Samovydtsia*, p. 52.

[16] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, p. 40.

burghers made little distinction between the possessions of the Catholic and Orthodox clergy. Evidence of this is to be found in Khmelnytsky's proclamations intended to stop insurgent attacks on Orthodox monasteries.[17] Orthodox clergymen who carried out diplomatic and reconnaissance missions among the Cossacks at the behest of their Polish patrons also found themselves in difficulty.[18]

Orthodox solidarity was breached in other instances as well. Many Orthodox nobles, including the leader of the Orthodox party before the war, the Bratslav palatine Adam Kysil, did not join the rebel camp, but remained loyal to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Kysil and other Orthodox nobles were often employed by the authorities to mollify the rebels.[19] Nevertheless, from the very beginning of the revolt, allegiance to Orthodoxy became the distinguishing mark of identification with Ruthenian identity, and thus with the uprising. Contrariwise, the opposing ethnodenominational and social characteristics (Catholic–Pole-landlord; Hebrew–Jew-leaseholder), which were closely intertwined in mass consciousness at the time, defined the image of the enemy. Under such conditions, a change of religious allegiance sufficed to break the vicious circle of identity. The insurgents accepted converts to Orthodoxy as bona fide adherents to their cause. Thus, at the beginning of 1649, Bohdan Khmelnytsky said in addressing Commonwealth commissioners: 'I did not say that the innocent should be killed, but only those who do not want to join us or to be baptized in our faith.'[20]

There are grounds to assume that representatives of Ruthenian noble families who had previously become Catholics or Protestants were

[17] In July 1648, Bohdan Khmelnytsky intervened with a letter on behalf of the monks of the Hustynia Orthodox Monastery near Pryluky in order to stop looting by the rebels. Apparently they attacked the monastery, tortured monks, killed some of the monastery donors, and looted church valuables. Khmelnytsky ordered that the ringleaders be captured and punished. In a proclamation to the colonels of Myrhorod and Pryluky, issued in February 1649, the hetman demanded the punishment of Cossacks who had helped to drive out 'their spiritual mentors' (*DBKh*, pp. 55–7, 108).

The rebel attacks on Orthodox churches continued long after the first, 'unruly' stage of the uprising. As letters of Orthodox clerics attest, the Cossack 'rabble' was involved in attacks on Orthodox churches in Kyiv as late as March 1651. See, for example, a copy of a letter from the archimandrite of the Ovruch Orthodox Monastery, writing from Kyiv on 10 March 1651 to the Reverend Boryskovych in Ovruch (AGAD, 'Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie', dział 6, no. 36, p. 539).

[18] Adam Kysil's envoy to the Cossacks, the Reverend Petronii Lasko, stared death in the face on several occasions (see his letter to Kysil in *DOV*, pp. 230–1). According to Samuel Kuszewicz, the insurgents executed an Orthodox monk who was acting on the instructions of Jeremi Wiśniowiecki (see Kushevych, 'Lysty zi L'vova', *Zhovten'* (Lviv), no. 4 [1980]: 126).

[19] For a biography of Kysil, see Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*. For the attitudes of Orthodox nobles who did not join the revolt, see the coverage of the first year of the uprising in the diary of Ioakym Ierlych (Joachim Jerlicz), *Latopisiec albo kroniczka Joachima Jerlicza*, ed. Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1853), 1: 62–72.

[20] Quoted in Wojciech Miaskowski's diary of the Commonwealth embassy to Khmelnytsky, *VUR*, 2: 111.

generally willing converts to Orthodoxy. One of the best-known converts from Catholicism to Orthodoxy was the colonel of the Chyhyryn regiment of registered Cossacks, Stanisław Michał Krzyczewski, a close friend of the hetman. Upon becoming an Orthodox, he began to make exclusive use of his second name, Michał, and entered the annals of the Khmelnytsky Uprising under the name Mykhailo Krychevsky. Iurii Nemyrych (Jerzy Niemirycz), the general chancellor of the Cossack Host during the hetmancy of Ivan Vyhovsky, who participated in the drafting of the Treaty of Hadiach (1658), converted from Socinianism to Orthodoxy.[21] Undoubtedly, there were other cases of reconversion to Orthodoxy by members of Ruthenian nobility, although we know very little about the original religious allegiance of the middle-rank Cossack officers of the Khmelnytsky era.

Often, those who suffered most at the hands of the insurgents were Catholic monks and priests. In the very first days of the uprising, rumors began to reach Warsaw that Catholic churches and monasteries were being ruined and monks put to death.[22] As attested by subsequent charges in nobiliary sources, monks were often shot or murdered, even when the nobles themselves were allowed to go free.[23] Aware of the threat to their safety, monks belonging to Catholic orders and Catholic priests, along with nobles and the remaining troops of government and magnate armies, sought refuge in castles and other fortified points. But the nobiliary forces, knowing of the insurgents' hatred for the Catholic clergy, did not hasten to take those refugees under their protection. Thus the forces of the Kyivan palatine, Janusz Tyszkiewicz, dispatched to take up the defense of Berdychiv, made no effort to defend the discalced Carmelites who had taken up residence there; instead, 'they ordered the monks to make themselves scarce, otherwise they would drown them'.[24] To save

[21] On the life of Mykhailo Krychevsky, see his biography by V"iacheslav Lypyns'kyi (Wacław Lipiński), 'Stanisław-Michał Krzyczewski' in *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 145–513. On the life of Iurii Nemyrych, see Janusz Tazbir, 'The Political Reversals of Jurij Nemyryč', *HUS* 5, no. 3 (September 1981): 306–19; Stanisław Kot, *Jerzy Niemirycz w 300-lecie ugody hadziackiej* (Paris, 1960); id., *Georges Niemirycz et la lutte contre l'intolérance au 17-e siècle* (The Hague, 1960). Interestingly, Iurii Nemyrych's conversion from Socinianism to Orthodoxy was welcomed even by Catholics, especially by the palatine of Poznań, Jan Leszczyński, who wrote to Nemyrych to congratulate him on 'joining us' and noted that he saw no great difference between Catholicism and Orthodoxy: '. . . Your Gracious Lordship, having renounced initial errors, has returned to us. For I see nothing but the subtlest difference between the Greek and Roman faiths . . .'. Published in Vasyl' Harasymchuk (Herasymchuk), comp., *Materialy do istorii kozachchyny XVII viku* (=L'vivs'ki istorychni pratsi: Dzherela, vyp. 1), ed. Iaroslav Fedoruk (Lviv, 1994), no. 85, p. 108.

[22] Among the Jesuit establishments in Ukraine attacked in the first months of the uprising was the college in the Left-Bank town of Pereiaslav. For details of the damage caused to the college by the rebels between 20 May and 22 June 1648, see NBL, 'Acta Jesuitica', teka 3, no. 228.

[23] The murder of the Dominicans of Chornobyl in the autumn of 1648 was in many ways typical of the fate of Catholic monks captured by the insurgents in the first months of the uprising. For a report on the killing, see *DOV*, p. 176.

[24] See a letter of 15 July 1648 by the Reverend Starowolski in *DOV*, p. 79.

their lives, the Catholic clergymen abandoned the wealth accumulated by their churches and convents in Ukraine and fled deep into Commonwealth territory. Lviv and Zamość became major rallying points for the refugees, and there is evidence that Jesuits and members of other Catholic orders began to arrive in Zamość as early as July 1648.[25]

Like the insurgents, the Commonwealth authorities tended to treat the war as a religious one.[26] Just as the insurgents considered every Catholic priest a potential enemy, so the authorities regarded the Orthodox—priests in the first instance—as potential allies of Khmelnytsky. Such mutual suspicions and prejudices were by no means without foundation. Many Orthodox priests took part in the uprising and even led peasant insurgent units. An instance of Orthodox clerical support for peasant and Cossack forces, characteristic of the early months of the uprising, is detailed in the so-called 'confessata' (information extracted under torture) of the Cossack scout Iarema Kontsevych. According to Kontsevych, 'Afanasii, the bishop of Lutsk, sent Kryvonis 70 harquebuses, half a barrel of gunpowder, a sufficient quantity of lead, and they brought 7,000 in cash to attack Olyka and Dubno.' Among those who knew of Kontsevych's activity was the priest of St Michael's Church in Lavryniv Kut (Galicia), who told the scout: 'we have better information because we write to one another, and news reaches Kyiv itself . . .'. Following his capture on 31 July 1648, Kontsevych 'admitted that the priest of Zavaliv wrote to the priest of Pidhaitsi in Stare Misto, and the priest of Pidhaitsi wrote to Archpriest Avramii of Ternopil, the bishop's messenger. Letters are also being sent to the Cossacks.'[27] One could cite further examples of Orthodox clergymen supporting the uprising and even leading insurgent units.[28] Roman Catholic polemicists often accused the Orthodox clergy

[25] Ibid. Throughout the Khmelnytsky Uprising, Lviv remained one of the main bases of Catholic religious orders in Ukraine. As an example of contemporary correspondence between Lviv monks and their counterparts in other regions of Ukraine, see a letter from a Carmelite monk, Fr Henryk of Kamianets, to the Carmelites in Lviv on the location of Khmelnytsky and the Tatars and military action in the area (Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 189, Notes of Marcin Goliński, pp. 244–6). On the situation of Catholic monks who stayed in Ukraine during the uprising, see a letter of July 1653 to the rector of the Jesuit Collegium in Lviv, the Reverend Światosław Rudnicki, in TsDIA (Lviv), fond 140, no. 119, ff. 26–7.

[26] See, for example, references to the revolt in an exchange of letters between Pope Innocent X and the Diet concerning the death of Władysław IV and the election of Jan Kazimierz to the Polish throne (Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 225, f. 147^{v}–148; no. 198, pp. 486–7).

[27] *VUR*, 2: 70.

[28] It became widely known among the Poles that a significant portion of the Orthodox clergy supported Khmelnytsky's forces. In one of his letters, the Lviv councillor Samuel Kuszewicz pointed out that in November 1648 a priest from Krekhiv had come to see Khmelnytsky, who was then encamped near Lviv, and invited the hetman to his town (see Kushevych, 'Lysty zi L'vova', 4: 121). A letter from a noble dated 31 August 1648 speaks of support for the uprising on the part of the Orthodox clergy of Kamianets: 'A priest brought from Dunai-horod charges that the priests of Kamianets sent letters more than once to Khmelnytsky via watchmen, begging for salvation and promising to take over the town and butcher us because we supposedly wanted

of having instigated the uprising, as they believed that only the clergy was capable of rousing the peasants to revolt.[29]

Despite the importance of the religious element in the course of the uprising as a prime indicator of allegiance to one of the warring camps, the significance attributed to it in the early documents of the hetman's administration was less than secondary. This sheds light on the attitude of the movement's leadership, the Cossack officer stratum, toward Orthodox institutions. The decade immediately preceding the Khmelnytsky Uprising, termed the period of 'golden peace' in older Polish historiography, was noted for the absence of major denominational conflicts. The 1620s, which had seen the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy, the deterioration of Orthodox–Catholic relations, the murder of Iosafat Kuntsevych, and similar episodes, receded into the past. The Orthodox hierarchy headed by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla was officially recognized by the royal administration, and relations between the Orthodox and Uniates became generally stable. The hierarchies of both churches sought ways of attaining the 'unification of Rus''. The protracted conflict between the Orthodox hierarchy and the royal administration left Khmelnytsky and the insurgents with no clear idea of how to wage ideological warfare with the Commonwealth.

Initially, the Khmelnytsky Uprising proceeded under temporal, secular, motifs, not religious ones. An examination of Khmelnytsky's correspondence of the spring and summer of 1648 shows clearly that his efforts to endow the uprising with legitimacy were dominated by arguments of a secular nature. Broadly speaking, three main levels of argument were employed to legitimize the uprising. The first included attempts to show that Khmelnytsky was entitled to defend himself against the unlawful

to slaughter the local Ruthenians' (letter of August–September 1648 to Mikołaj Potocki in *DOV*, pp. 108–9).

According to reports from Kyiv dating from the early summer of 1649, as Cossack detachments led by Colonel Holota passed through the city on their way to do battle with Janusz Radziwiłł's forces, local Orthodox priests blessed the Cossacks for the destruction of the Poles ('as Holota proceeded . . . through Kyiv with his regiment, local priests, on meeting him, blessed him to destroy Poles as he went on'). See AGAD, 'Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie', dział 6, no. 36, p. 9.

In July 1651, the *Gazette de France* noted that the Commonwealth authorities had intercepted a letter from the Orthodox bishop of Lviv calling upon Khmelnytsky to make his way to the city. According to the *Gazette*, the king ordered the bishop's arrest. On reports in the *Gazette de France* about events in Ukraine, see the works of Il'ko Borshchak (Élie Borschak), including his 'Roky 1650 i 1651 na Ukraïni po "Frantsuz'kii hazeti"', *Litopys polityky, pys'menstva i mystetstva* (Berlin) 2, nos. 15–16 (1924): 234–6; id., 'Ukraïns'ki spravy 1649 r. po "Frantsuz'kii hazeti"', ibid., 1, no. 6 (1924): 90.

[29] For a discussion of the views of Polish Catholic polemicists on the role of religion in the Khmelnytsky Uprising, see Frank E. Sysyn, 'Seventeenth-Century Views on the Causes of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising: An Examination of the "Discourse on the Present Cossack or Peasant War"', *HUS* 5, no. 4 (December 1981): 430–66.

encroachments of a royal official. On this level, the argumentation generally came down to the right of a nobleman, as a member of his social order, to defend his life, liberty, and property. At the second level, Khmelnytsky's arguments included the right to defend the 'ancient rights and liberties' of the Cossack order, especially the registered Cossacks. Slogans and arguments pertaining to religion appeared only at the third level, although in time they acquired ever greater importance and came to overshadow arguments of a personal and corporate nature.[30]

Demands to extradite Daniel Czapliński, Khmelnytsky's main enemy and persecutor, which were often repeated in the hetman's letters of 1648 and 1649, fell off in subsequent years. As early as the first few months of the uprising, the name of Jeremi Wiśniowiecki was already being added to that of Czapliński, the 'main culprit of the war'. The victory at Zboriv opened a completely new account of Cossack wrongs and reasons to continue the conflict. The dimensions of the uprising greatly exceeded those of the personal injury done to the nobleman Khmelnytsky, and unilateral violations of the Zboriv treaty conditions now began to emerge as the principal grievance. Khmelnytsky's arguments pertaining to the defense of 'ancient Cossack liberties' were exhausted even more quickly. As early as the first year of the uprising, its achievements exceeded the boldest expectations of its organizers, while a demand for the revival of 'ancient liberties' would have meant the renewal of a register of only 8,000–12,000 Cossacks at best. At Zboriv, the Cossacks obtained an expansion of the register to 40,000 men, while the Pereiaslav Agreement with Muscovy (1654) brought confirmation of a register of 60,000: both figures considerably understated the actual number of Cossack troops.

Under such conditions, only religious slogans retained the potency ascribed to them, and thus quite naturally grew in importance. With time, the appeal to defend the 'Greek religion' became an important factor in mobilizing Ruthenian society as a whole for armed struggle with the Commonwealth. Arguments of a religious nature, which included both purely denominational and ethnonational elements, made it possible to overcome the limitations of an appeal for the defense of personal (nobiliary) or corporate (Cossack) privileges and to endow the uprising with a broader ideology shared not only by the nobility and the Cossacks, but also by the peasants, burghers, and, of course, the clergy.[31] Moreover, the

[30] Changes in Khmelnytsky's argumentation on the legitimacy of the uprising are clearly apparent in his official correspondence of 1648–9. Cf. *DBKh*, pp. 28–154.

[31] A letter of December 1657 from the newly elected Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky to Prince Stepan Sviatopolk Chetvertynsky offers an indication that religion played a leading role in facilitating the rapprochement of the Cossack officer stratum with the Ruthenian princely élite. In the letter, Vyhovsky states that his true desire was not to become hetman but to serve the Orthodox faith, the churches of God, and nobiliary society. See Harasymchuk, comp., *Materiialy do istorii kozachchyny*, p. 39.

idea of defending religious liberty lent a desired legitimacy to the uprising not only in the eyes of the insurgents themselves, but of their immediate and more distant neighbors as well. The religious idea made it possible to justify an uprising against a legitimate king.

As Khmelnytsky's early documents attest, the idea of defending the 'Greek religion' first came into his field of vision after his victories at Zhovti Vody and Korsun. The hetman's instructions to Cossack envoys to Warsaw dated June 1648 contain the following passage: 'As for our clergymen of the age-old Greek faith, we earnestly request that they not be disturbed, and that the holy churches in Lublin, Krasnostav, Sokal and other towns that were forcibly held captive by the Union retain their ancient freedoms.'[32] This mention was clearly overshadowed by the other Cossack demands and had more to do with settling local denominational conflicts than with attacking the Union in general. Not until November 1648 did a demand for the abolition of the Union find expression in a letter of his to Prince Jan Kazimierz ('that our Greek faith remain intact, as before, without the Union and Uniates, and that there be no Union anywhere'),[33] but even then that demand was expressed in very general terms and remained clearly secondary on the insurgents' agenda. There was no marked change in the situation until early 1649, following Khmelnytsky's ceremonial entry into Kyiv.

As Khmelnytsky entered Kyiv in December 1648, he was met by Patriarch Paisios, Metropolitan Kosov, and representatives of the Kyivan clergy. Khmelnytsky's discussions with Paisios must have contributed to shaping his new attitude of complete seriousness toward his mission in the Orthodox world, and the patriarchal blessing for his war with the Commonwealth finally gave him the long-desired legitimacy for his actions. During Khmelnytsky's stay in Kyiv, new ideological justification was found for the newly expanded goals of the uprising. The change in the hetman's attitude to official Orthodoxy also appears to have been influenced by changes in the leadership of the rebellion. If at first Khmelnytsky drew support mainly from representatives of the Cossack officer stratum, by late 1648 there was a rather large and influential group of Orthodox nobles led by Ivan Vyhovsky in the leadership of the insurgent camp. Khmelnytsky certainly needed the knowledge and political experience of this element, whose tradition was one of close association with the Orthodox Church. The new religious demands of the Cossack leadership should be also attributed to the fact that the Commonwealth was represented in the negotiations by Adam Kysil, himself an ardent supporter of the Orthodox Church.

An indication of the change in the Cossack administration's attitude to

[32] *DBKh*, p. 39. [33] Ibid., p. 81.

religious matters was given by Khmelnytsky's negotiations with Commonwealth commissioners in Pereiaslav at the beginning of 1649. Before the delegation's departure from Pereiaslav, Khmelnytsky handed its leader, Adam Kysil, the text of a proposed truce, as well as letters to King Jan Kazimierz and Crown Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński. The letter to the king, known from many copies as the 'Points of Petition of His Royal Majesty's Zaporozhian Host', included an extensive set of demands pertaining to the religious sphere. It began with a rather peremptory demand for abolition of the church union: 'First of all we ask that the captivity, worse than that of the Turks, endured because of the Union by our Ruthenian people, who maintain the ancient Greek faith, be abolished, that is, that as of old, so now all of ancient Rus' maintain the Greek rite . . .'. Khmelnytsky's letter to the king is important as a formulation of the main lines of the insurgent administration's religious policy. In general terms, that policy came down to the following points: abolition of the Union and transfer to the Orthodox of churches and properties that the Uniates had taken over; royal appointment of an Orthodox administration in Kyiv; the expansion of Orthodox influence in the Senate; and restrictions on the activity of Catholic religious orders in Ukraine.[34]

The results of the military campaign of 1649 and, in particular, the victory at Zboriv gave the insurgents another opportunity to present their demands pertaining to religion. As the battle neared its end on 7 (17) August 1649, the hetman sent the king the 'Points of Petition of the Zaporozhian Host'. The document consisted of eighteen clauses, eleven of which concerned matters of religion and nationality. They may be summarized as follows: abolition of the Union on the territory of the Commonwealth; transfer to the Orthodox of property held by the Uniates; equalization of the Orthodox clergy in rights with the Catholic clergy; guarantees of the existence of Orthodox churches in Cracow, Warsaw, and Lublin; a prohibition on the residence of Catholic monks on the territory of the Zaporozhian Host; and the assignment of royal officials of the Orthodox faith to that territory.[35] The religious program formulated at Pereiaslav was considerably expanded at Zboriv. The demands for equalization of the Orthodox clergy with the Catholic and the assignment

[34] In particular, the hetman demanded the abolition of the very 'name of the Union'. The second demand was for the dismissal of the Catholic Janusz Tyszkiewicz as palatine of Kyiv and the appointment to the palatinate of representatives of the 'Ruthenian nation' and the 'Greek rite'. Thirdly, the hetman requested Senate seats for the palatine of Kyiv, the city's castellan, and the Orthodox metropolitan; and fourthly, he insisted that the Jesuits be forbidden to reside in Kyiv. For the different versions of the 'Points of Petition', see Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 225, f. 200; *DBKh*, pp. 105–7; Iu. A. Mytsyk, *Analiz istochnikov po istorii Osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg.* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1983), p. 64 (from a copy in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow).

[35] For the text of the Cossack 'points' presented at Zboriv, see *DBKh*, pp. 128–31.

of Senate seats to the metropolitan and two bishops were not accidental elements of the Cossack program. These had been major demands of the Orthodox initiators of the Union that they had been unable to secure in 1596. Now, under completely different circumstances, they were being advanced by Cossack diplomacy.

In the difficult negotiations at Zboriv,[36] Khmelnytsky managed to obtain the king's recognition of some of his principal demands, which pertained to military and political affairs. Religious and national demands were met to a much lesser extent. The most important of them, that of abolishing the Union, was removed from the agenda and deferred to the subsequent Diet. The 'Declaration of the King's Grace in Response to the Points of Petition of the Zaporozhian Host' (the title of the Cossack–Polish section of the Treaty of Zboriv) provided that administrative posts in the three Cossack palatinates of Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Bratslav would be granted to noblemen of the Greek faith, and that the Jesuits would not have the right to maintain schools in Kyiv or other towns on Cossack territory. The king also promised to assign a Senate seat to the metropolitan of Kyiv, but that counted for little without the Senate's consent. For Cossack diplomacy, the extent of the Hetmanate's territory and the size of the Cossack register were paramount. The religious issue depended on the resolution of the first two points, for the brief Cossack–Polish truce (from late 1648 to the spring of 1649) had already shown that the implementation of conditions of any kind was guaranteed only on the territory controlled by the Zaporozhian Host.

The Treaty of Zboriv gave evidence of new elements in the Cossack attitude to the Union. On the one hand, Cossack diplomacy continued to stress the violation of the rights of the 'Ruthenian nation' (the third clause of the Cossack demands at Zboriv stated that 'the Union, as the persistent cause of the oppression of the Ruthenian nation . . . must be abolished . . .').[37] On the other hand, political considerations dictated that the principle of toleration be extended to the Uniates as well as to the Orthodox. The credit for bringing about a change of Cossack policy on the

[36] For an account of the Zboriv negotiations, see a report by Łukasz Miaskowski in TsDIA (Kyiv), fond 1230 (photocopies of documents from Polish archives), op. 1, no. 61, ff. 15–30, and an official version of events in *Relatio gloriosissimae expeditionis*, reprinted in *DOV*, pp. 288–308. For the text of king's declaration, see *Akty IuZR*, vol. 3 (1861): 415–16. The eighth clause of the document reads as follows: 'With a view to the turmoil surrounding the Union both in the Kingdom of Poland and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as well as to maintain the indivisibility of church properties and the endowments attached to them, which the churches had in years past, as well as all ecclesiastical rights, as will be decided and established with the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Kyiv and with the clergy at the next Diet, His Royal Majesty is prepared to uphold that everything be permitted according to the wishes of the Reverend Metropolitan, so that everyone may enjoy his rights and liberties, and His Royal Majesty allows the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Kyiv to have a seat in the Senate.'

[37] *DBKh*, p. 130.

question belonged to Adam Kysil. His main argument in the discussion with the Cossack officers was the consistent application of the principle of religious toleration: 'If you do not want your conscience to be commanded, then you, too, must not seek to command.'[38] Khmelnytsky at least provisionally accepted this argument of Kysil's and sometimes made use of it himself. In a letter of November 1650 to the Volhynian nobility, expatiating on the idea of the return of Orthodox church property, he wrote, 'And from Their Graces the lords, let everyone believe who wishes and as he wishes; we do not demand anyone else's property, but our own.'[39] Nevertheless, the demand to abolish the Union was removed from the diplomatic agenda only temporarily. Khmelnytsky could not completely renounce such a useful argument in his negotiations with the Polish side.

From the nobiliary and burgher movement of the turn of the seventeenth century, the administration of the Hetmanate completely took over the view of the church union not as a separate ecclesiastical institution or religious denomination, but as a royal intrigue intended to encroach on the 'ancient rights' of the 'Greek religion' and the 'Ruthenian nation'. Thus the main emphasis shifted from attempts to 'unite Rus' with Rus'', characteristic of Orthodox thinking of the Mohyla period, to the treatment of the Union as a means of destroying the Orthodox Church, which corresponded to the tradition of Orthodox thought of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. No doubt, this treatment of the Union also reached back to Cossack participation in the religious struggles of the 1620s. As far as Khmelnytsky himself was concerned, there is every indication that the problem of a divided Rus' simply did not exist. For all practical purposes, his Rus' was one and Orthodox. In the purely military context, the Union counted for nothing, and its cultural superiority, which had attracted some Orthodox intellectuals in the 1620s, meant little not only to the Cossack officer stratum but also to the Orthodox nobility educated by Mohyla's school. On the other hand, the Union was politically useful to the new Cossack authorities as a means of legitimizing the insurrection and as a bargaining chip in treaty negotiations with the royal administration.

Inasmuch as the Union provided the main argument for the claim of

[38] For a report on the discussion, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 25; pt. 2, p. 1511. On Kysil's role in the settlement of the religious issue at the Diet of 1649–50, see Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, pp. 178–80.

[39] In the same letter to the Volhynian nobility, Khmelnytsky wrote: 'And the Uniate gentlemen should return the property that they took from others by force, for the illustrious Ruthenian princes and lords, ancestors of Your Graces, our Gracious Lords, and our ancestors, brave warriors, gave their lives to win liberties from the kings, lords over us and the Commonwealth, and to defend the holy Greek faith. It was the Polish and Ruthenian Zaporozhian Armies that fought, and not Uniate ones, of whom there was nothing to be heard' (*DBKh*, p. 196).

religious persecution of the Orthodox in the Polish–Lithuanian state, it was extraordinarily important to Khmelnytsky in legitimizing his insurrection and subsequently to Muscovy in justifying its intervention in the war in 1654. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that anti-Uniate feelings ran high among the leaders of the uprising or its rank-and-file participants. If diplomatic documents placed primary emphasis on Uniate violations of religious liberty, the actions of the Cossacks and peasants showed that in their eyes the main enemies were Roman Catholics and Jews. These latter denominational categories were very readily transformed into national and social ones. No such transformation seems to have applied to the Uniates. Relatively few instances of the killing of Uniates by Cossacks are known to have occurred, while Catholic and Jewish victims numbered in the thousands.[40]

In practice, the Cossack struggle against the Union amounted to the seizure of Uniate churches and properties. On the popular level, the unity of religious rite maintained by Uniate and Orthodox Christians in the first decades after the Council of Brest counted for much more than the distinction between the two confessionalizing churches. At Zboriv, the real agenda of the Cossack administration with respect to the Union was already apparent: the demand for its abolition was employed from time to time as a tactical device in negotiations with the royal administration, but in fact the hetman sought to obtain the transfer of the largest possible number of Uniate eparchies and church properties to the Orthodox hierarchy. Until the Treaty of Pereiaslav (January 1654), depending on the fortunes of war on the Ukrainian–Polish front, Cossack diplomacy made several attempts to put forward demands of a religious and national character. These efforts yielded no long-term results, as the talks and negotiations were merely short breathing spaces in the bitter armed struggle, mainly intended to gain time to prepare for the next campaign.

Christians versus Jews

The Khmelnytsky revolt of 1648 entailed the destruction of numerous Jewish communities, the forced conversion to Christianity of hundreds,

[40] Fifteen years after the events of 1648–9, the Uniate bishop of Kholm, Iakiv Susha, wrote in his memorandum to the Roman Curia, 'De laboribus unitorum', that in the course of the Cossack wars forty Uniate monks and a hundred priests had been killed (see Michael Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Rutheniae* [Lviv, 1862], pp. 328–9). Unfortunately, there is no way to verify these figures, presented long after the events by an interested party. Even if Susha's statement reflects the actual Uniate losses sustained during the revolt, the toll of Uniate clerical victims is very moderate as compared with the ferocity of the anti-Uniate discourse in Cossack correspondence with the Commonwealth authorities. On the life and activities of Susha, see Irynei Nazarko, 'Iakiv Susha—iepyskop Kholms'kyi (1610–1687)', *Analecta OSBM* 7 (1971): 22–83.

if not thousands, of Jews, and the expulsion of the rest of them from long-settled areas. What did the leaders and rank-and-file participants in the uprising think about the 'Jewish question'? Why were Jewish communities among the principal victims of the revolt? What was the attitude of participants in the uprising toward Jews as adherents to a different, non-Orthodox, and non-Christian, religion—Judaism?[41]

The first half of the seventeenth century witnessed an acute religious conflict in Ukraine, and the atmosphere of relentless religious struggle created a situation in which religious intolerance became a fact of everyday life. Nevertheless, it would appear that Jews were not immediately affected by the growing religious tensions in Ukraine, and at least initially there were more victims of religious violence among the Orthodox and Uniates than among the Jews.[42] Although Ukrainians themselves did not produce any anti-Jewish pamphlets (on the agenda was the much more important question of struggle against the union of churches), there are clear indications that the attitude of the Ruthenian Orthodox élite in general and the Orthodox clergy in particular toward Jews was quite

[41] Traditionally, research on the history of the Jewish population in seventeenth-century Ukraine has concentrated almost exclusively on two major topics: the social role of Jewry in Ukraine prior to the uprising and the fate of the Jewish population at the time of the revolt. See the following works: Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion (1200–1650)*, vol. 16, *Poland–Lithuania, 1500–1650* (New York and Philadelphia, 1976); Shmuel Ettinger, 'Jewish Participation in the Settlement of Ukraine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, 2nd edn. (Edmonton, 1990), pp. 23–30; Mordekhai Nadav, 'The Jewish Community of Nemyriv in 1648: Their Massacre and Loyalty Oath to the Cossacks', *HUS* 8, nos. 3–4 (December 1984): 376–95; Frank E. Sysyn, 'The Jewish Factor in the Khmelnytsky Uprising' in *Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, pp. 43–54; Jaroslaw Pelenski, 'The Cossack Insurrections in Jewish–Ukrainian Relations', ibid., pp. 31–42.

Only in the last two decades has more attention been paid to the history of ideas, views, and especially popular perceptions of Jews by their neighbors and vice versa. Frank E. Sysyn's study of the views of the mid-seventeenth-century Polish priest Paweł Ruszel gives a good idea of Polish attitudes toward Jews at the time of the uprising; Bernard Weinryb's analysis of the information presented in contemporary Jewish chronicles helps to explain the reaction of Jews themselves to the events of the revolt; and Joel Raba's extensive study of the fate of the Jews in mid-seventeenth century Ukraine adds a great deal to our knowledge of the perception of the Jewish tragedy by Jews, Poles, and Western Christians alike. See Frank E. Sysyn, 'A Curse on Both Their Houses: Catholic Attitudes towards Jews and Eastern Orthodox during the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising in Father Paweł Ruszel's *Fawor niebieski*' in *Israel and the Nations: Essays Presented in Honor of Shmuel Ettinger*, ed. Shmuel Almog *et al.* (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. ix–xxiv; Bernard D. Weinryb, 'The Hebrew Chronicles on Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Cossack-Polish War', *HUS* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 153–77; Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, pp. 37–166. For a critique of Raba's book and its interpretive strategies, see Frank E. Sysyn, 'The Jewish Massacres in the Historiography of the Khmelnytsky Uprising', *JUS* 23, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 83–9.

[42] Quite characteristic in this respect is an observation in a letter from one of the Commonwealth representatives in Istanbul in the early 1620s: 'All of Rus' is so hostile to us . . . that it would prefer to live a thousand years with Jews, Turks, or Tatars than a year with us' (Mytsyk, 'Iz lystuvannia', p. 312).

negative. Orthodox opposition to the new calendar, introduced by the papacy in 1582, was largely based on the possibility that Easter could fall on the same day as Passover. In 1593, the Lviv Brotherhood published an anti-Jewish pamphlet by Meletios Pegas (Pigas), and the early modern Ruthenian didactic gospels were replete with attacks on Judaism and its adherents.[43]

In the opinion of Shmuel Ettinger, the attitude of the Orthodox clergy toward the Jews reflected the mood of the Ukrainian burghers, who competed with Jewish merchants and artisans in the towns and played an important role in contemporary church affairs. Ettinger also argues that the decades preceding the Khmelnytsky revolt witnessed greater conflict between the Orthodox clergy and the Jews than between the latter and the Catholic clergy, explaining this by the more cautious attitude of Jews toward Catholics as the dominant religious grouping in the state.[44] It may safely be suggested that in defining its attitudes toward the Jews, the Orthodox clergy was not showing any initiative, but simply following the lead of its Polish adversaries. Anti-Jewish literature of both the Protestant and Counter-Reformation varieties became accessible in Ukraine and 'educated' the Orthodox reading public in the latest trends of Christian anti-Judaism.[45] Anti-Jewish attitudes of Western Christians found their way into Ukraine just as an increasing tide of Jewish immigrants flooded in from Western and Central Europe.

It was not only the Uniate Church that underwent the strong influence of Roman Catholicism. As shown earlier, the Orthodox Church was also

[43] For an example of Orthodox polemics against the new calendar and references to the Jewish Passover, see a work of 1608 by the monk Leontii of the Kyivan Cave Monastery in *Akty IuZR*, vol. 2 (1865): 277–8. For a description of Pegas's book, see Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam"iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, vol. 1, no. 24. For negative references to Jews in other Orthodox writings, see, for example, *Ymnolohia* (1630), a collection of panegyrics dedicated to Petro Mohyla, in *Ukraïns'ka poeziia: kinets' XVI—pochatok XVII stolittia*, comp. V. P. Kolosova and V. I. Krekoten' (Kyiv, 1978), p. 359. For an analysis of anti-Jewish motifs in the didactic gospels, see M. V. Dmitriev, 'L'Eglise Orthodoxe de Ruthénie et les Juifs au XVIe—début du XVIIe siècles' (forthcoming in *Les Chrétiens et les Juifs dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin*, ed. M. Dmitriev and D. Tolet [Paris, 2001]).

[44] Ettinger, 'The Legal and Social Status of the Jews of Ukraine from the Fifteenth Century to the Uprising of 1648', *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (summer–winter 1992): 107–40, here 125–6. Ettinger's suggestion is fully supported by Nathan Hanover's story of Rabbi Aaron of Tulchyn, who allegedly prevented his flock from attacking their Polish enemies with the following words: 'If you will lay a hand upon the nobles, and the Catholic kings will hear of it, they will wreak vengeance upon our brethren in exile (God forbid)' (Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, p. 55). More controversial is Ettinger's assertion that the Orthodox Church 'became closely tied to the burgher element after most of the nobility converted to Catholicism' ('Legal and Social Status', p. 126). This assertion is only partly correct, for the Orthodox Church, unlike the Uniate, was known precisely for the active support that it received from the nobility.

[45] On Polish anti-Jewish literature of the period, see Daniel Tolet, 'La littérature antisémite polonaise de 1588 à 1668. Auteurs et éditions', *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 14 (1977): 73–105.

reformed along Counter-Reformation lines by its metropolitan, Petro Mohyla, in the 1630s and 1640s. This Catholic influence was clearly reflected in the anti-Jewish decisions of the Orthodox sobor of 1640.[46] The sobor decided to forbid the Orthodox to buy meat from Jews and to prohibit Orthodox women from working for Jews as midwives and cooks. That decision clearly followed the general policy adopted by Roman Catholics in their dealings with the Jews and formulated by Pope Paul IV in the bull 'Cum nimis absurdum', issued in 1555. The bull marked the beginning of a new Counter-Reformation papal policy toward the Jews and, in particular, announced the creation of the first Jewish ghetto. Among other things, the bull deplored the fact that some Jews had Christian nurses and maids working for them.[47]

The decisions of the Orthodox sobor of 1640 are generally taken to indicate a rise in tensions between the Orthodox clergy and the Jewish communities, although it is difficult to determine to what extent the sobor's decision influenced the Orthodox faithful. Apparently, some elements of this particular decree were hardly observed by the Orthodox at all. When in 1647 an Orthodox priest in a village near Lutsk, apparently in accordance with the sobor's ruling, forbade his flock to buy meat from Jewish merchants, he was taken to court at the initiative of a local nobleman and fined a substantial sum of money.[48] This episode suggests, nevertheless, that Orthodox priests attempted to implement some of the sobor's decisions, and that eventually many provisions of anti-Jewish Counter-Reformation teachings found their way through the hierarchy and clergy of the Ukrainian churches to the masses of the faithful.

According to most researchers of Ukrainian–Jewish relations, antagonism between Jews and Ukrainians was greatest in the towns and nobiliary estates. In the first instance, Jews competed directly with Ukrainian burghers; in the second, they often represented the Polish administration and nobility in their dealings with the Ukrainian peasants. Thus

[46] Ettinger, 'Legal and Social Status', p. 126. Mykhailo Hrushevsky viewed many of the decisions of the sobor more as reactions to the Catholic offensive than as initiatives on the part of the Orthodox. He wrote in that regard: 'The debates conducted at the Kyivan sobor of 1640 provide an exact picture and appraisal of contemporary theological concerns. Besides various elementary issues, such as the ban on taking snuff or on purchasing meat from Jews by the Orthodox faithful, many other questions were discussed, e.g., the place where the souls of the righteous or sinners reside after death; how the individual souls of deceased persons are judged; and whether a child obtains a soul from its parents or from God. All these questions required ready, prepared answers, so that the Catholics could no longer reprove the Orthodox for being ignorant of articles of their own faith' (Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2, p. 91).

[47] Cf. relevant excerpts from the bull of Pope Paul IV, 'Cum nimis absurdum' (1555), and commentary on the change in papal policy toward the Jews with the onset of the Counter-Reformation in Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555–1593* (New York, 1977), pp. 3–62.

[48] See Weinryb, 'Hebrew Chronicles', p. 162.

Jewish–Ukrainian antagonism was keenest in the densely populated western and central regions of Ukraine. In the Cossack steppes, on the other hand, the situation was rather different. In the first place, there were fewer Jews than in other regions; in the second, their social functions were different. Here Jews were pioneers and first settlers, just as the Cossacks were: they sometimes joined Cossack detachments and generally cooperated with the Cossacks in defending their settlements against Tatar raids.[49]

One of the first indications of the spread of anti-Jewish attitudes among the Cossacks appeared in the early 1620s, when the Cossack élite began to involve itself actively in the religious and socio-political struggle in Ukraine. The alliance between Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny and the Orthodox hierarchy, which had been reinstated under his protection in 1620, largely contributed to the 'confessionalization' of Cossackdom. More and more, the Cossacks began to regard themselves as protectors of Christianity in general and Orthodoxy in particular. Although the image of Cossackdom as defender of Christianity was directed mainly against Islam, while the image of protector of Orthodoxy was oriented against Catholicism and the Union, it was still the Jews of Ukraine who not uncommonly became victims of this newly acquired Cossack identity.

Such was the ideological background of one of the first Cossack attacks on Jews, which took place in June 1621. The attack began after a Cossack council at which a letter from Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem was read, the newly consecrated Orthodox metropolitan Iov Boretsky spoke, and a decision was made to appeal to royal authority in defense of the interests of the Orthodox Church. Judging by the available sources, there was no mention of Jews at the council; nevertheless, it was they who became the principal victims of the new Orthodox spirit of the Cossacks. The occasion for the attack was the discovery in Bila Tserkva of a desecrated icon of Christ in a Jewish storeroom, which gave the officiating hetman, Iakiv Borodavka, grounds to allow the Cossacks to plunder Jewish dwellings throughout Ukraine.[50] The association between Orthodoxy and anti-Jewish actions on the part of Cossackdom was also apparent in the Cossack revolts of the 1630s. By that time, Cossack–Jewish relations were sufficiently hostile that the major Cossack uprising led by Pavlo But (Pavliuk) in 1638 claimed the first Jewish lives.[51]

[49] Ettinger, 'Legal and Social Status', pp. 122–30; Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800* (Philadelphia, 1972), pp. 185–7.

[50] Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 360.

[51] See Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, p. 32; Bevzo, ed., *L'vivs'kyi litopys*, p. 119, and Muscovite reports, based on information obtained from monks of the Hustynia Monastery (*VUR*, 1: 211,

The decade prior to the Khmelnytsky revolt witnessed the further deterioration of Cossack–Jewish relations owing to the expansion of nobiliary landholdings in the traditional Cossack areas. Jews were often employed by the nobles as leaseholders of their newly acquired possessions—a policy that thrust the Jewish population at large into the midst of the Cossack conflict with the authorities. Nevertheless, it was not the Cossacks who unleashed anti-Jewish violence in the first months of the uprising. The bloodiest episodes of the revolt took place in the summer of 1648, when Khmelnytsky's army, observing a truce, was encamped at Bila Tserkva, while insurgent peasants on the Right Bank took the administration of justice into their own hands. Maksym Kryvonis, the leader of the popular uprising in Right-Bank Ukraine in the summer of 1648, also appears to have been the author of one of the earliest and strongest anti-Jewish statements to emerge from the rebel ranks. In a letter to Prince Dominik Zasławski written in July 1648, Kryvonis complained bitterly about the actions of Prince Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, who had tortured Orthodox priests, and stressed that the rebels were defending their faith, among other things. Kryvonis singled out the Jews as the cause of the rebellion and demanded their expulsion 'beyond the Vistula'.[52]

Social vengeance has long been considered one of the main reasons for Cossack attacks on Jews at the time of the uprising, and as such has been reflected in many sources of Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish provenance. The rebels generally blamed the Jews for many of the injustices visited upon Ukrainians before the revolt. The Eyewitness Chronicle (its probable author, the Cossack officer Roman Rakushka-Romanovsky, was a direct participant in the uprising) summarized those grievances as follows:

> In the towns . . . the injustice was that a Cossack was not permitted to keep any drink at home for his own use, not only mead, liquor and beer, but homebrew as well. . . . While the lazy scoundrel, the lazy Jew grows rich, keeping several teams of horses, contriving onerous duties, ox taxes, wedding taxes, grain taxes, milling taxes, grinding fees and others, taking away estates.[53]

216). As early as 1631, some residents of Lubny in Left-Bank Ukraine joined the Russian pretender Ivan, who claimed to be an 'Eastern tsar and prophet' and called for the destruction of the Jews. Those who joined him participated in an attack on Jewish shops and dwellings in Lubny. See B. N. Floria, 'Novye svidetel'stva ob otnoshenii naseleniia Ukrainy k evreiam v pervoi polovine XVII v. (dokumenty)' in *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vyp. 5, *Evreiskoe naselenie v Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope. Srednie veka—novoe vremia*, ed. G. G. Litavrin *et al.* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 136–8.

[52] See *Jakuba Michałowskiego . . . księga pamiętnicza*, pp. 88–9.

[53] *Litopys Samovydtsia*, pp. 46–7.

The Eyewitness Chronicle's attitudes were also shared by the authors of folk dumas.[54]

One of the basic sources on the ideology of the Khmelnytsky Uprising is the array of documents produced by Bohdan Khmelnytsky himself. Considering the attention paid to the hetman's person by Jewish chroniclers of the mid-seventeenth century, it comes as a complete surprise that few documents pertaining in any way to Jews are to be found in his diplomatic correspondence. Among the documents whose authenticity is not in question, we find only eleven references to Jews, most of them sporadic in nature. Those references are generally to be found in the context of explanations of the 1648 uprising.

The first reference occurs in a letter from Khmelnytsky to Crown Grand Hetman Mikołaj Potocki dated 3 March 1648. In addressing Potocki, Khmelnytsky began by indicating the injustices perpetrated against Cossackdom by the local administration—'Their Lordships the border officials'—and colonels in charge of the register and the standing army, which was directly subordinate to Potocki. In that context, Khmelnytsky also made mention of the Jews. 'We saw', wrote the hetman,

that we were protected by no one, for neither are the letters of Your Gracious Lordship heeded nor are the orders and will of His Royal Majesty carried out; we are being ever more badly mistreated; we have suffered intolerable injustice and contempt even at the hands of the Jews. Such cruelties as have been perpetrated

[54] In the 'Duma about the Battle of Korsun', the Jews are accused of the following 'sins' committed on behalf of the Poles:

> Why did you raise such rebellion and alarums,
> Why did you build three taverns per mile?
> Why did you collect such high tolls—
> From every wagon
> Half a golden coin,
> From every man on foot, two small coins.
> You did not leave even the poor beggars alone,
> But took away their millet and eggs!

The abuses of Jewish leaseholders are described in almost the same words in the 'Duma about the Oppression of Ukraine by Jewish Merchants':

> And they demanded as tax
> Half a golden coin from each wagon,
> And from a man on foot they took three small coins,
> From a poor beggar they took chickens and eggs . . .

Quotations from *Ukrainian Dumy. Editio Minor: Original Texts*, trans. George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina (Toronto and Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 159, 163.

Unfortunately, neither of the dumas quoted above can be considered a wholly reliable source, as they were recorded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even so, it is noteworthy that the dumas present virtually identical lists of injustices perpetrated by the Jews, and both are clearly consistent with the testimony of the Eyewitness Chronicle. On the Jewish theme in Ukrainian folklore, see Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, pp. 215–23.

against us, the servants of His Royal Majesty and of Your Lordship, our most gracious Lord, have not been experienced by Christians even in the Turkish lands.[55]

Khmelnytsky called upon Potocki 'to rescue us in such misfortune both from Their Lordships the officials and from the Jews, so that by the generous grace of Your Lordship, our gracious Lord, we may abide by our liberties according to the military rights granted us by His Royal Majesty . . .'.[56]

These were probably the first Cossack grievances against the Jews ever to be aired in the course of Cossack negotiations with the government. They reflected the growing role of Jewish leaseholders as intermediaries in the uneasy relations between the Cossacks and the authorities. In this context it is not surprising that neither in 1648 nor in 1649 does Khmelnytsky's diplomatic correspondence refer to Jews in isolation. Jewish injustices are mentioned in connection with mistreatment at the hands of officials of the royal administration, who are portrayed as those most responsible for the uprising. The placement of Jews in the second or third echelon of the general hierarchy of enemies was of course characteristic not only of Khmelnytsky himself but also of his entourage—the Eyewitness Chronicle, after all, presents a similar hierarchy of enemies.[57] Most probably, Khmelnytsky and his closest advisers shared many of the anti-Jewish sentiments of the rank-and-file Cossacks, peasants, and townspeople, but their own basic attitude to the Jews continued to reflect views characteristic of the Ukrainian nobility and Cossack officers. Although both social groups harbored mainly religious prejudices against Jews, they made a general practice of employing their services in the management of their estates and in their business dealings. Accordingly, they were in practice more tolerant and pragmatic in their attitude to the Jews than any other stratum of the insurgents.[58]

At the same time, seventeenth-century Cossackdom apparently subscribed to the principal theses of the Counter-Reformation on the 'Jewish question': Jews were tolerated by Christians only because sooner or later they would be converted to Christianity.[59] Judging by the available sources, the outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising was seen by some of its participants as an opportunity not only to exact social vengeance but

[55] *DBKh*, p. 30. [56] Ibid.

[57] Cf. references to Jews in Khmelnytsky's correspondence of 1648–9, ibid., pp. 33–6, 39–44, 151. Cf. *Litopys Samovydtsia*, pp. 46–7.

[58] Some of the Khmelnytsky documents that have been preserved mention his efforts to release a Jewish merchant detained by the Cossacks (*DBKh*, pp. 528, 546). There is also evidence to suggest that the hetman's own treasurer was a baptized Jew (Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, p. 187). On the attitude of the nobility toward the Jews, see Ettinger, 'Legal and Social Status', pp. 122–4.

[59] Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, p. 6.

also to carry out one's 'Christian duty' by converting as many Jews as possible to Orthodoxy. The actions of the rebels give no evidence of any similar 'missionary' intention toward the Poles. In June 1648, a Muscovite emissary to Adam Kysil related that

> many Jews, it is said, are being baptized and are joining their forces, but as for the Poles, it is said that even if they wish to be baptized, they do not accept them, but kill them all. And they even say that all the Poles in Poland and Lithuania should be killed, because they killed many Christians and converted them to the Polish faith by force.[60]

Here, as in other sources,[61] it is clearly Roman Catholics and not Jews who figure as the main enemies of the rebels. The latter appeared to believe that the Jews could still be 'redeemed' by conversion to Orthodoxy.

The Jewish chronicles of the Khmelnytsky era speak of mass Jewish conversions to Orthodoxy. Nathan Hanover, the most authoritative of the Jewish chroniclers, presented conversion to Orthodoxy as the worst possible response for the Jewish communities attacked by the rebels. Of the three choices that confronted Jews at the time of revolt—to be massacred, converted to Orthodoxy, or taken captive by the Tatars—Hanover advocates the third.[62] The Tatars had no religious mission *vis-à-vis* the Jews: they massacred or captured for ransom not only Jews and Catholics but even their allies, the Orthodox rebels. According to Hanover, if Tatar captivity was not an option, it was better to die than to convert. Hanover definitely sides in that respect with Rabbi Jehiel Michael of Nemyriv, who on the eve of the rebel attack on the town allegedly 'admonished people that if the enemy should come (God forbid) they should not change their faith, but rather be martyred for the sanctification of His Name'.[63]

According to Hanover, the Cossacks first attempted to convert Jewish captives and then killed those who refused to accept Christianity. That was, apparently, the case in Tulchyn, where one of the Cossacks called thrice on the Jews to convert and exhorted those willing to change their religion to gather under his banner. Allegedly, no one responded, and the Jews of Tulchyn were massacred.[64] But it appears from other sources that not all Jews willing to convert were spared. According to testimony in a rabbinic court that examined the case of a Jewish woman who wanted to be remarried after the death of her husband in a massacre, the Cossacks sometimes played cruel games with Jews indicating their willingness to

[60] *VUR*, 2: 41.

[61] According to a Polish contemporary of the war, Samuel Grądzki (Grondski), Jews were safer from the rebels than Catholics. Quoted in Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, p. 112.

[62] Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 44–5.

[63] Ibid., p. 52.

[64] Ibid., p. 57. On the Tulchyn massacre, see Edward Fram, 'Creating a Tale of Martyrdom in Tulczyn, 1648' in *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honor of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach *et al.* (Hanover and London, 1998), pp. 89–109.

convert. In that instance, the Cossacks allegedly gave non-kosher food to one of the Jews who tried to save his life by conversion, but then killed him.[65]

In other cases, the rebels showed some respect for the religious convictions of their victims and tried to accommodate them at the time of their death. That was the case in Nemyriv, where, according to Meir ben Shmuel of Szczebrzeszyn, Rabbi Jehiel Michael—the same rabbi who before the attack called on his people to die but not to abandon their faith—was brought to the Jewish cemetery at his request to be killed there.[66] Nathan Hanover tells a similar story about a massacre in Ostrih, where the rebels allegedly granted the request of Jews to be killed at the cemetery so that they could later be buried there.[67] The record of a case heard at a rabbinic court shortly after the massacres shows that in one case the rebels allowed a captive Jew to choose how he would die (given a choice of decapitation or shooting, he chose the latter), to wash himself, and say a prayer before they killed him.[68]

It is well known that among those Jews who did not convert there were survivors of the Cossack massacres. In most cases the rebels appear to have gone after Jewish men, while sparing the women. Young and middle-aged men were probably considered potential soldiers and hence killed mercilessly. As armies in mid-seventeenth-century Europe did not distinguish between combatant and non-combatant males, the Khmelnytsky revolt followed the general pattern, but at the same time there were authoritative voices that pleaded for mercy in the treatment of women, the elderly, and children.[69] The suggestion that in the Khmelnytsky Uprising Jewish women had better chances of survival than Jewish men is also supported by rabbinic permissions to remarry given to Jewish women who had lost their husbands in the massacres.[70] Hanover's information, too, shows that in many cases women were spared by the Cossacks. In addition, he notes cases in which Cossacks would take Jews, especially representatives of rabbinic families, into captivity in order to ransom them at a later time.[71]

Hanover, who was a rabbi himself and wrote to Jews in Italy in an attempt to secure their support for Jewish refugees from Ukraine, probably

[65] See the testimony accompanying ruling no. 61 of Rabbi Nathan Neta Kahana in his *Sefer She'elot u-teshuvot Divre renanah*, ed. Itzhak Herskovitz (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1984).

[66] For an English translation of excerpts from Meir ben Shmuel of Szczebrzeszyn, 'Zok Haitim', see Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Nemyriv', pp. 388–93.

[67] Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, p. 70.

[68] See the testimony accompanying response no. 62 of Rabbi Nathan Neta Kahana in his *Sefer She'elot u-teshuvot Divre renanah*.

[69] See Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, p. 18.

[70] See responses nos. 60–2 of Rabbi Nathan Neta Kahana in his *Sefer She'elot u-teshuvot Divre renanah*.

[71] Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 53, 57, 88, 91.

tended to downplay the scale of the forced conversion of Jews to Christianity, emphasizing instead the martyrdom of the Jewish people during the Khmelnytsky Uprising. A similar attitude was taken by Meir of Szczebrzeszyn, who wrote that those Jews who converted 'did not obey God's commandments and transgressed them', while those who were 'honest did not escape . . . destruction'.[72] Nevertheless, both Hanover's and Meir's comments on the forced conversions of Jews suggest that the number of converts to Orthodoxy was quite significant. Hanover estimates the number of Jewish converts in Right-Bank Ukraine at several hundred. Another comment of his on the return to Judaism after 1649 of 'hundreds' of forced converts, including Jewish women married to Cossacks, and 'hundreds' of converted children, also supports the suggestion that conversion was a mass phenomenon.[73] Meir of Szczebrzeszyn did not offer any figures, but noted that 'Many women denied their religion and married the Greeks [Orthodox] they had chosen; many Jews broke the Covenant.'[74] The reports of the Jewish chronicles on mass conversions to Orthodoxy are corroborated by a proclamation of 1650 by King Jan Kazimierz allowing Jews who had been forcibly converted to Orthodoxy a free return to Judaism.[75]

The rebel view of the conversion of the Jews to Orthodoxy as one of the goals of the war is also reflected in some Ukrainian sources, including the Eyewitness Chronicle. Although its author makes reference to the compulsory nature of the conversions, he nevertheless complains with evident asperity that most of the new converts eventually went back to their previous faith: 'And at that time many of the Jews, fearing death, accepted the Christian faith, but then again, having bided their time and fled to Poland, they remained Jews, and it was a rare one who maintained the Christian faith.'[76] This excerpt from the chronicle, like the accompanying phrase that refers to a broader context ('And so there was not a single Jew remaining in Ukraine . . .'),[77] testifies to the chronicler's view of Jews as a purely religious grouping. According to that way of thinking, it sufficed to change one's religion to cease being a 'Jew' and gain acceptance by the rebels as an equal. It is noteworthy that Cossacks with first names and surnames of Jewish origin are listed in the Cossack register of 1649. It contains twenty-four surnames derived from the term 'convert' (*perekhryst*)—a possible name for someone who had converted to Orthodoxy from Islam or Judaism. In the opinion of Susanne Luber, a student

[72] See the English translation of excerpts from the book of Meir of Szczebrzeszyn in Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Nemyriv', p. 391.
[73] Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 44, 103.
[74] Nadav, 'Jewish Community of Nemyriv', p. 391.
[75] See the text of the proclamation and its English translation, ibid., pp. 393–5.
[76] *Litopys Samovydtsia*, p. 52. [77] Ibid.

of the register, at least a few of the names included in it, such as Zhydenko, Zhydovkin, and Zraitel, indicate the possible Jewish origin of their bearers.[78] Subsequently, a number of Jews who converted to Orthodoxy at the time of the Khmelnytsky Uprising held high ranks in the Cossack army.

What was the reaction of the Orthodox clergy to the fate of the Jews in Ukraine at the time of revolt? Who was behind the 'purification of the land' clause of the Treaty of Zboriv, which prohibited the presence of Jews in Cossack Ukraine?[79] Unfortunately, we know very little about the reaction of the hierarchs and almost nothing about that of the lower clergy. The latter can be deduced from the fact that the local clergy joined the revolt in large numbers and in some cases even produced leaders of Cossack detachments, hence it generally shared the attitudes of the rebel masses toward the Jews. The hierarchs, for their part, apparently had nothing against the 'purification of the land' or Jewish conversions to Orthodoxy. At the same time, there was a reluctant condemnation of the 'excesses' of the revolt. There is a report, for example, that Metropolitan Kosov intervened with the Cossacks on behalf of Jews whom they captured in March 1649, securing their release.[80] Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied Patriarch Makarios of Antioch on his trip through Eastern Europe, recorded in his diary that his own heart and that of the patriarch 'were burdened by sadness caused by the weeping' of Jewish children, whose parents were tortured by Cossacks 'to make them convert and reveal their treasures'.[81] Contemporary sources indicate that in many cases, when attacking Jews, the rebels were interested not so much in their conversion to Christianity as in their worldly possessions. The reaction of the upper Orthodox hierarchy in that respect was most probably the same as that of the Cossack officers and noblemen reflected in the Eyewitness Chronicle: they harbored anti-Jewish sentiments, but regretted the harshness of the mob violence.

It appears from Khmelnytsky's official correspondence and other sources of Cossack officer provenance that the Jewish issue was among those repeatedly used by the hetman's administration to legitimize the

[78] See Susanne Luber, *Die Herkunft von Zaporoger Kosaken des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Personennamen* (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 100. On the participation of baptized Jews in the uprising on the side of rebels, see S. Ia. Borovoi, 'Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia voina ukrainskogo naroda protiv pol'skogo vladychestva i evreiskoe naselenie Ukrainy', *Istoricheskie zapiski* (Moscow) 9 (1940): 116–18.

[79] At Zboriv, the rebels demanded not only that Jews be denied leaseholds on the territory of the Zaporozhian Host but also that they be completely forbidden to establish permanent residence there. For the text of the Cossack demands at Zboriv, see *DBKh*, no. 68.

[80] The case was recorded by the Ukrainian Orthodox nobleman Ioakym Ierlych. See Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, p. 83.

[81] Ibid., p. 136.

revolt. In letters to the Commonwealth authorities and foreign monarchs, Khmelnytsky and his officers quite often referred to the Jews while explaining the causes of the revolt. One group of references to the Jews in Cossack documents was based on a comparison of the status of the biblical Jews in Egyptian captivity and the Rus' people under Polish rule. Comparisons of the people of Rus' with the Hebrews of the Old Testament, and of Khmelnytsky with Moses, who led his people out of Egyptian captivity, are to be encountered in various seventeenth-century sources. In December 1648, Khmelnytsky was hailed as 'Moses' by students of the Kyivan College who greeted him on his entrance into the city.[82] A contemporary of the revolt, the Polish chronicler Wespazjan Kochowski, even wrote about the comparisons then being made between Khmelnytsky and the Maccabees.[83] The parallel between the Hebrews in Egyptian captivity and Ruthenians under the Polish yoke was also drawn by the compiler of the most authoritative of the Jewish chronicles, Nathan Hanover. In *The Abyss of Despair*, he described the hardships imposed on the Ruthenians by their Polish masters, employing a quotation from the book of Exodus that referred to the suffering of the Hebrews in Egypt: 'Their lives were made bitter by hard labor, in mortar and bricks, and in all manner of services in the field.'[84]

Hanover's parallel between the Hebrews and Ruthenians was not an isolated instance, as educated Ukrainian social circles also interpreted the Khmelnytsky era according to that paradigm. Among the sources that compare the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) people with the Hebrews in Egyptian captivity is Colonel Syluian Muzhylovsky's report on the outbreak of the war. 'God Almighty has sh[own] mercy to the nation, as he once did to His people of Israel when they were held captive in Egypt', stated the colonel in his note to the tsar.[85] Muzhylovsky, who had studied at the Kyivan College, belonged to the educated stratum of the Cossack officers, and his interpretation of the events of late 1648 and early 1649 largely reflected that of the Orthodox élite involved in the uprising.

The identification of one's own people with the people of Israel and of national leaders with Moses was a rather common ideological practice in European political and religious discourse of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such parallels were most often encountered among dissident religious minorities, of which there was no shortage in the post-Reformation period. Not surprisingly, these motifs also made their

[82] See the text of Wojciech Miaskowski's diary of the Commonwealth embassy to Khmelnytsky in late 1648 and early 1649, *VUR*, 2: 109.

[83] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, p. 127; vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 120.

[84] Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, p. 28. Cf. the King James Version of the Bible, Ex. 1: 14: 'And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field . . .'.

[85] *VUR*, 2: 128.

appearance in the writings of the Ukrainian Orthodox élite, which set itself against the eastward offensive of the Counter-Reformation. The comparison of Ukrainians with the Hebrews in Egyptian captivity was intended by its authors to justify the uprising and endow it with legitimacy in the eyes of observers both foreign and domestic by portraying it as the revolt of a persecuted nation.[86]

Khmelnytsky and other Cossack officers often accused their Commonwealth correspondents of tolerating a situation in which Christians (the Rus') were dominated by non-Christians (Jews). Some of Khmelnytsky's letters represent a direct appeal to Polish and Lithuanian Catholics for Christian solidarity against the Jews, as well as a rebuke to fellow Christians for allowing their co-religionists to fall under Jewish domination. One of Khmelnytsky's documents, dating from 1656, contains the following comment on the matter: '. . . today and before th[is] the infidel Jews have had [great]er liberties than the Ortho[dox] and have [cele]brated their devotions, while the Ortho[dox have not had any liberties]'.[87] Writing to the tsar in 1649, Syluian Muzhylovsky went even further in that regard, accusing Prince Jeremi Wiśniowiecki of persecuting Christians and even killing them, while affording protection to Jews: '[He takes the Jews with him], but cuts down the Christians in the towns.'[88]

The motif of rebuking Polish and Lithuanian Catholics for treating the Orthodox worse than Jews appeared in Ukrainian writings even before the Khmelnytsky era, during the outburst of Orthodox–Uniate polemics in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1620, the Orthodox nobleman Lavrentii Drevynsky claimed that in Vilnius the Orthodox

[86] For a discussion of the Jews of the Old Testament as a model of nationhood in medieval and early modern Europe, see Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, pp. 4, 195–7. The comparison of Khmelnytsky with Moses and of the Ukrainian people with the Israelites in Egyptian bondage first encountered during the years of the Khmelnytsky Uprising remained popular into the eighteenth century. This motif is most fully developed in the *Heroic Verses on the Glorious Martial Deeds of the Zaporozhian Host*, written in 1784:

> But wait, Pole, the Lord is gazing from above
> At your injustice and righteously avenging
> The wrong done to the Cossacks, as to the Israelites,
> And punishing you, who are hard-hearted, like the Egyptians.
> God inspired Khmelnytsky, as He did Moses by faith and lineage,
> With zeal, so that he might restore liberty.
>
> ('Heroïchni stykhy o slavnykh voiennykh diistviiakh Voisk Zaporoz'kykh . . .' in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st. Poetychni tvory. Dramatychni tvory. Prozovi tvory*. Ed. V. I. Krekoten', comp. O. V. Myshanych [Kyiv, 1983], p. 79).

[87] *DBKh*, p. 521. Here and throughout, brackets indicate passages that are not entirely legible.

[88] *VUR*, 2: 129. The complaints about the torture of Orthodox priests by Wiśniowiecki's forces and the demand for Jews to be driven beyond the Vistula are to be found in the abovementioned letter of July 1648 from Maksym Kryvonis to Prince Dominik Zasławski. See *Jakuba Michałowskiego . . . księga pamiętnicza*, pp. 88–9.

population had fewer rights than 'even Jews and Tatars'.[89] In 1621, defending the legitimacy of the newly ordained Orthodox hierarchy, Iov Boretsky noted in his protestation that the people of Rus' had fewer rights than Karaite Jews, Socinians, Evangelicals, and Armenians.[90] Similar arguments advanced by the rebels were fully accepted and even further elaborated by some Polish authors of the mid-seventeenth century.

One of those authors, a Catholic priest named Paweł Ruszel,[91] wrote that Jewish leaseholders were continually devising new taxes to impose on the Ukrainian populace, and, as he had been told by 'well-informed people . . . it was prohibited there for a Christian [Roman Catholic] or a Schismatic [Orthodox] to take the sacrament of holy matrimony, to have children baptized, without first having given over a certain tax to the Jewish leaseholder . . .'.[92] Ruszel was by no means alone in blaming the Jews for the outbreak of the revolt. Jewish sources make repeated reference to attempts by Poles to buy off the rebels at the expense of the Jews. Such situations generally arose in the summer of 1648, during the advance of the peasant army led by Kryvonis on the Right Bank. Jews were surrendered mainly at the direct insistence of the rebels, who either demanded social vengeance, pursued their 'missionary' agenda, or sought to exploit the Jews and their wealth to pay off the Tatar forces allied with them.[93]

Khmelnytsky's correspondence with Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich contains a protest against Jewish domination of the Orthodox and, in effect, a call for exclusively Orthodox, not general Christian, solidarity. If in his first letter to the tsar, dated 8 (18) June 1648, Khmelnytsky made only passing reference to persecution by the 'Godless Arians', in his letter of 22 April (2 May) 1649 the hetman stated more directly, 'And we entreat God that the Poles and the Jews no longer rule over Orthodox Christians, for they, being devious, have long been accustomed to shed Christian blood and perpetrate treason.'[94] Khmelnytsky was clearly attempting to

[89] See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 347.

[90] See Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 147.

[91] On references in Polish writings to Jews as a major cause of the revolt, see Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, pp. 111–12.

[92] See the analysis of Ruszel's reports in Sysyn, 'A Curse on Both Their Houses'. Quotation from p. xxiii.

[93] Details in Weinryb, 'Hebrew Chronicles', p. 170; id., *Jews of Poland*, pp. 189–90; Maurycy Horn, *Powinności wojenne Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1978).

Although there is ample evidence to the effect that Khmelnytsky demanded the surrender of Jews during his siege of Lviv in the autumn of 1648, no letter of his containing such demands has been preserved. On the other hand, we do have a letter from Khmelnytsky demanding the surrender of the Jews of Lviv during his siege of the city in 1655. Here the point about the surrender of the Jews, although included in a list of ransom payments that the besieged city was obliged to make, is formulated wholly in the spirit of Christian anti-Judaism: 'That the Jews, who are enemies of Christ and of all Christians, be surrendered to us with all their belongings, children and wives' (*DBKh*, pp. 451–2).

[94] *DBKh*, pp. 48, 115–16.

play simultaneously on anti-Polish and anti-Jewish attitudes. The latter were widespread in Muscovy and would find expression in 1654 with the outbreak of the Commonwealth–Muscovite War and the advance of Muscovite forces into Belarusian territory.[95]

When it comes to the Orthodox world, the anti-Jewish motifs appearing in justifications of the uprising were intended to make an impression not only on Muscovy but also on the Orthodox East, as numerous Eastern Orthodox hierarchs visited Ukraine. Paul of Aleppo, who was in Ukraine during the Khmelnytsky Uprising, noted in his diary that 'the Cossacks have taken over the whole country and recovered it for themselves, uprooting the whole tribe of Poles, Armenians, and Jews . . .'. Here, the usual association of Poles with Jews in Orthodox sources is amplified with a mention of the Armenians. This is probably an extrapolation to Orthodox–Armenian antagonisms in the Levant: at the beginning of the uprising in Ukraine, the authorities were just as wary of the Armenians (often also considered adherents of the 'Greek religion') as they were of the Ukrainians.[96]

Khmelnytsky's complaints about the persecution of Ruthenian Christians by Jews were among the most effective measures that he took to legitimize the revolt in the eyes of Christian Europe.[97] With their characteristic stress on the notion that 'even Jews' were perpetrating injustices against the Cossacks, those letters were in complete accord with the papal bull 'Cum nimis absurdum', which considered it absurd and inadmissible that Jews should lord it over Christians instead of being their servants.[98] Even Jews themselves, influenced by Counter-Reformation propaganda and centuries of Christian dominance, probably considered their role in Ukraine abnormal and humiliating to Christians. That

[95] Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, p. 190.

[96] Clearly, Paul of Aleppo's ideal was a one-denominational state, whose incarnation he perceived in Ukraine of the Khmelnytsky era: 'O what a blessed people! And what a blessed land! Its great virtue is that it contains not a single foreigner of another faith, but only Orthodox alone, faithful and pious!' (Pavlo Khalebs'kyi, 'Z podorozhnikh zapysok', *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 4 (1995): 46. Cf. *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo*, ed. and trans. Maria Kowalska [Warsaw, 1986], p. 38). For Paul of Aleppo's attacks on the Poles for allowing Jews to rule over the Orthodox, see ibid., pp. 23, 76.

[97] In the course of Commonwealth–Muscovite negotiations taking place in Lviv in the summer of 1653, when the Muscovite envoys repeated their earlier charge that the Poles were treating the Orthodox worse than Jews, the Commonwealth commissioners responded entirely in the spirit of anti-Judaic solidarity between Eastern and Western Christians: 'And as they, the grand envoys of His Tsarist Majesty, say that there is greater freedom in His Royal Majesty's realm for Jews than for Christians, His Royal Highness does not take an oath to the Jews, but considers them slaves in his realm, and His Royal Highness may drive the Jews out of his realm like dogs. But His Royal Highness takes an oath to the people of the Greek rite, and, according to his oath, creates no obstacles to their freedom' (Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 135; cf. p. 150). On anti-Jewish motifs in West European reports and writings on the Khmelnytsky revolt, see Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, pp. 121–8, 155–6, 187–8, 191–2.

[98] Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy*, pp. 3–62.

perception is reflected in Hanover's chronicle, in which the author notes with evident sympathy for the local peasants that '[s]o wretched and lowly had they become that all classes of people, even the lowliest among them [Jews], became their overlords'.[99]

Study of the Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish sources of the mid-seventeenth century and of the actions of the Cossacks and the insurgent army as a whole leads to the conclusion that neither Khmelnytsky nor his entourage had a 'Jewish program' worked out in any detail. Several reasons may be adduced to explain this. Among them, as students have already noted, is the sporadic nature of Cossack–Jewish contacts (unlike those between peasants and Jews) prior to the uprising and their initially non-antagonistic character. Another reason may be discerned in the fact that prior to the Khmelnytsky Uprising neither the Orthodox nor the Uniate Church had produced any anti-Jewish tracts to systematize its anti-Jewish arguments. As for the attitudes of the masses, to the extent that they can be reconstructed from the scarce information afforded by the written sources, iconography, and analysis of mass behavior, their anti-Jewish sentiment had two main components, social and religious. Those two components were closely interconnected, as were, apparently, the social (leaseholding) and religious (Judaic) elements of the image of the Jew in seventeenth-century Ukraine. The ethnic component does not appear to have been a factor at that time, for Jewish converts were welcome in Cossack ranks.

One of the paradoxes of the Khmelnytsky era that bears directly on the problem under discussion is the disproportion between the scant attention paid to the Jewish question by the leaders of the uprising and the significant losses suffered by the Jewish communities of Ukraine during the years of the insurrection. The attitude expressed in Khmelnytsky's letters is that the Jews should have shared the fate of the Poles, who were the Cossacks' primary enemies. Proportionally, nevertheless, the Jews probably suffered no fewer casualties than the Polish population of Ukraine. Whatever the actual numbers, the events of the summer of 1648 certainly made a far deeper impression on the social memory of the Jewish people than on that of the Poles.

To some extent, this disparity is a mirror image of another disproportion—that between the considerable attention paid to the problem of church union in the Hetman's official documents and the insignificant losses suffered by the Uniates during the years of the insurrection. Among many other things, these two disproportions indicate that the official ideology of the Khmelnytsky Uprising as reflected in the hetman's documents and writings and in élite proclamations was by no means invariably consonant with the attitudes, views, and convictions of the broad masses.

[99] Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, p. 28.

SIX

A Hetman Sent by God

After the military victories won by the Cossacks throughout 1648—victories as unexpected as they were definitive—the rule of the hetman of the Zaporozhian Host suddenly ceased to be purely military and extended to the civil, economic, judicial, and foreign-policy affairs of the entire territory that was now under Cossack control. The authority of the Zaporozhian hetman, to which post Bohdan Khmelnytsky was elected at the beginning of 1648, was no longer limited to the Zaporozhian Host. Zaporizhia found itself on the distant periphery of the land that became known as the territory of the Zaporozhian Host, and indeed it was there, beyond the Dnipro Rapids, that hetman's authority was often challenged covertly, and at times even overtly.

That authority required justification, explanation, and legitimation. There was an urgent need to establish the hetman's legitimacy even among his 'own' Cossacks, as he customarily exercised absolute power during a military campaign, but not in peacetime. Khmelnytsky's authority was even more dubious in the eyes of the Commonwealth, as the rebellious hetman was elected to the office without the knowledge or consent of the king, and then led a bloody uprising against the government. Neighboring rulers and monarchs were no less skeptical, if not decidedly hostile.

Attempts by Khmelnytsky and the Cossack officers to solve the complex question of the legitimacy of the hetman's rule have been analyzed as a historical problem by students of the Khmelnytsky revolt. One of them, Stephen Velychenko, has noted Khmelnytsky's efforts to legitimize his rule by making reference to the 'right of occupation' (*jus occupationis*), a medieval legal norm according to which territory captured in wartime rightfully belonged to the victor.[1] Claims based on the right of occupation did not, however, suffice to unravel the whole tangle of contradictions associated with the need to legitimize the hetman's rule. That right usually applied to kings and princes and to the wars that they waged with one another.

The hetman of the Zaporozhian Host had yet to establish his credentials as a member of the exclusive club of European rulers. In order to do

[1] Velychenko, 'The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas', pp. 199ff.

so, he badly needed additional political and legal concepts to shore up his claims to authority and to the applicability of his right of occupation. These were the goals that Ukrainian intellectuals of the mid-seventeenth century sought to advance with their efforts to legitimize Bohdan Khmelnytsky's rule by sacramentalizing his authority. Such attempts were clearly influenced by two processes then under way in the courts of Europe. The first was the development of the idea of rule by divine right (*jus divinum*), which was steadily gaining ground throughout Europe, from Muscovy in the East to Britain in the West. The second was the impact of confessionalization on European domestic politics and international relations, which resulted in a growing tendency toward the sacralization of the authority exercised by all forms of government.

The concept of rule by divine election was most fully developed in the works of seventeenth-century West European authors. The formation of nation-states and the growth of absolutism helped to give final form to the concept, whose origins may be traced back to the early Middle Ages. Among its essential components were the extraordinary rights pertaining to monarchical rule; the right of a particular monarch to rule on the basis of succession and divine sanction; and the recognition that the king was above the law, meaning that his rule was absolute.[2] The quintessence of the theory of rule by divine right was the assertion that the king's authority was granted (delegated) to him directly by God. Accordingly, the king was considered responsible only to God and not to his subjects (whether aristocrats or representatives of other social orders), who sought to limit his absolute power.[3]

The confessionalization of public life and political theory in early modern Europe brought about a certain 'democratization' of the theory of divine election, leading governments of all forms and rulers of all ranks down to magistrates to employ the formula 'by the grace of God' as an integral part of their titles. These governments and rulers were also regularly mentioned in prayers and religious services conducted in the churches of their realms. In a confessionalized Europe, individual churches became highly dependent on local rulers and readily compensated the political authorities for protection by sacralizing secular power and providing religious legitimacy for it.[4]

How did the idea of the sacralization of the ruler's power come to be applied in Cossack Ukraine? In what ways were its principal tenets

[2] On the concept of rule by divine right, see the classic study by John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, introduction by G. R. Elton (New York, Evanston, and London, 1965); see also Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, pp. 5, 27–60.

[3] Allen, *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 367.

[4] For the impact of confessionalization on political theory and practice in early modern Europe, see Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', pp. 647–8, 655–8.

applied to the rule of the Cossack hetman? Finally, did the Cossack hetmans succeed in this attempt to legitimize their rule in that particular way? In our attempt to answer these questions, we shall begin by examining the nature of the hetman's authority as it took shape before and during the Khmelnytsky Uprising, as well as Cossackdom's general attitude to the various forms of government.

The Cossacks and Monarchism

Cossackdom owed its very genesis to the weakness of royal and grand-princely authority 'in the borderlands', where the protectors of the Cossack order, the Ukrainian princes and magnates, reigned supreme in the sixteenth century. In time, however, the Cossacks turned decisively against their original patrons and came to rely on the support of the king in their struggle against the Ukrainian princely élite. The Cossacks' sympathies for strong royal authority were well known in Warsaw in the first half of the seventeenth century. At first Władysław IV sought to enlist them in his Turkish campaign, whose goal was to strengthen royal power and make it less dependent on the will of the Diet. Later, during the Commonwealth's most difficult ordeal, the Swedish Deluge, Jan Kazimierz hoped to obtain the support of the Cossacks, well aware of their penchant for a strong monarchy.[5]

The notion that the Cossacks had rebelled in 1648 not against the king but against the magnates, the border thanes, and the Polish colonels of the registered Cossack army contributed significantly to legitimizing the uprising in political and legal terms during its initial phase.[6] No less popular was the contention that the uprising was being waged with the permission of Władysław IV, who had supposedly urged the Cossacks to take up the sword in defense of their rights.[7] In the context of this rebel ideology, Bohdan Khmelnytsky's own declarations in the early years of the uprising about the need to establish strong royal authority in the Commonwealth seem perfectly logical.

Khmelnytsky's statement of June 1648 to the nobleman Sobieski lends itself to just such an interpretation: 'But you, Messieurs Poles, do not obey the king and do not take him seriously; everyone keeps his own

[5] Hrushevsky discusses the calculations of Władysław IV and then of Jan Kazimierz and Queen Maria Ludwika in his *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2, pp. 18–21; vol. 10, p. 299.

[6] See especially Khmelnytsky's letter of 2 (12) June 1648 to King Władysław IV: 'We indeed believed that such damages had been inflicted upon us in order to annoy Your Royal Majesty, for we were always told, "And there you have the king, but will the king help you, you so-and-sos"' (*DBKh*, pp. 33, 35).

[7] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2, pp. 144–5.

counsel and you do nothing.'[8] In February 1649, during negotiations at Pereiaslav with the Commonwealth commissioners, the hetman was even more precise in delineating his view of an ideal political order for the Polish–Lithuanian state: 'The king will be a king so that he may punish and cut down the nobles and dukes and princes; so that he may be free, should a prince transgress, to cut off his head; should a Cossack transgress, to do the same to him.'[9] Having become disillusioned with the prospect of attaining a Ukrainian–Polish compromise and establishing strong royal authority in the Commonwealth, at various stages of the uprising Khmelnytsky pinned his hopes on the installation of the Muscovite tsar or the Transylvanian prince as king of Poland with the support of Cossack arms.

The sympathies of Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks for autocratic government were reflected not only in their support for stronger royal power in the Commonwealth but also in the establishment of the hetman's unlimited power over the Cossack Host and the entire population of the territory controlled by the Cossacks. At an officer council called in the autumn of 1649, shortly after the Battle of Zboriv, Khmelnytsky allegedly maintained that in order to extricate themselves from their difficult situation, the Cossacks '. . . themselves will establish an autocratic king in office by force of arms and will subject both themselves and the Poles, the kinglets and the nobility in equal measure to the autocratic rule of the monarch'.[10] The Muscovite envoy in Ukraine, Grigorii Unkovsky, reported in April 1649 that Khmelnytsky 'does not want to be subject to the rule of His Royal Highness and the council, because they do not have one king and council, but they all call themselves king and rule the Zaporozhian Host'.[11]

It was Viacheslav Lypynsky (1882–1931), the founder of the statist school in Ukrainian historiography, who developed a theory concerning the monarchical rule and dynastic aspirations of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Lypynsky's views were supported and further developed in the writings of adherents of the statist school, including Ivan Krypiakevych, the author of a classic study of Khmelnytsky's polity. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, on the other hand, challenged Lypynsky's views on the monarchism of Khmelnytsky and pointed to the hetman's attempts to find a *modus vivendi* for the Hetmanate within the political framework of the Commonwealth, and later of Muscovy. Although the Lypynsky–Hrushevsky controversy is

[8] *DOV*, p. 85. Sobieski testified before the Diet that 'there is a rumor circulating among the Cossack rank and file that the petty nobility will be turned into boyars, the lords alone will be nobles, and the king himself will be the head of all' (ibid., p. 83).

[9] See the commissioners' diary (December 1648–February 1649), written by Wojciech Miaskowski, a member of the embassy, in *VUR*, 2: 117.

[10] Anonymous letter of April 1650 in *DOV*, p. 328.

[11] *VUR*, 2: 167.

far from exhausted, there is little disagreement among scholars that the years of the Khmelnytsky Uprising saw a dramatic concentration of power and authority in the hands of the Cossack hetman.[12] From the first months of the uprising to the last years of Khmelnytsky's hetmancy, the structure of state power developed in that direction.[13]

The evolution of hetman rule in Ukraine during the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky followed the basic pattern of the genesis of royal and princely rule in medieval Europe. The progression from warlord and leader of military expeditions to ruler of conquered territory, whose power was initially limited by the traditions of military democracy but became steadily more absolute over time, was the path followed by Khmelnytsky in establishing his rule. The principal institutions of the Zaporozhian Host that shaped the distinctive features of Khmelnytsky's hetman regime through internecine conflict were the general and officer councils. According to Ivan Krypiakevych, the competence of the general council was very broad:

> It established the Host's whole constitution; it laid down law and order for the Host. It decided on war and peace, conducted negotiations and concluded treaties, dispatched embassies and formulated instructions for them, received foreign emissaries and gave replies to them. The council elected the hetman and the whole officer staff, removing them from office at its own discretion. The council tried the Cossacks and had the right to punish them, even with the death penalty.[14]

In the years of Khmelnytsky's hetmancy, the major prerogatives of the general council were seriously undermined. This was due not only to the Cossack élite's desire to restrict the access of the military rank and file to the actual levers of power but also to the impossibility—by now purely physical—of convoking a general military council. There was certainly no way to convoke such a council in peacetime, but even during a military campaign, the mechanism of the council broke down when faced with a mass of between 100,000 and 300,000 men.

[12] On the Lypynsky–Hrushevsky controversy, see Iaroslav Fedoruk, 'Monarkhizm Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho v otsintsi V"iacheslava Lypyns'koho: krytychna interpretatsiia' in *V"iacheslav Lypyns'kyi. Istoryko-politolohichna spadshchyna i suchasna Ukraïna* (= Studiï, vol. 1), ed. Iaroslav Pelens'kyi (Jaroslaw Pelenski) (Kyiv and Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 228–31. For the development of the theory of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's monarchical rule, see V"iacheslav Lypyns'kyi, *Ukraïna na perelomi, 1657–1659* (Kyiv and Vienna, 1920); Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho'; Ohloblyn, *Dumky pro Khmel'nychchynu*.

[13] The transformation of the hetman's rule into something approaching absolute power did not go unnoticed by careful observers of the Cossack rebellion. One of them, the Volhynian palatine Stanisław Bieniowski, who helped to draft the text of the Treaty of Hadiach, noted that he had become very familiar with this 'peasant monarchy' (*PKK*, vol. 3, no. 62).

[14] Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 68.

The ineffectiveness of the general council became fully apparent as early as the first months of the uprising. After the victories at Zhovti Vody and Korsun in May 1648, the Cossack army assembled for a general council at Bila Tserkva. In view of Zaporozhian traditions, the need to hold such a council was completely clear. Questions of extraordinary importance were on the agenda: taking stock of the victories and then proceeding to formulate plans for the future. There are several extant accounts of the council's deliberations, including a letter from Adam Kysil, whose envoy, the Orthodox monk Petronii Lasko, was then in Khmelnytsky's camp. According to Kysil's figures, there were 70,000 Cossacks at the council, and the question of whether to continue the march westward was discussed for seven hours amid the general din.[15]

Despite the obvious ineffectiveness of the council as a decision-making body (as well as the impossibility of keeping the rebels' plans secret from the Commonwealth forces), general councils continued to be held throughout the summer of 1648,[16] for the spontaneous development of the uprising imposed its own demands on the leadership. The fate of the uprising often depended on the Cossackized peasantry, and the general council was the body through which the insurgent masses exercised their all-powerful will. As the revolt took on ever-more organized forms, the role of the masses in making decisions, and thus the role of their mouthpiece, the general council, inevitably declined and steadily lost its previous importance. As Krypiakevych correctly noted, 'Once Bohdan Khmelnytsky was established in the hetman's office, he tried to convoke the general council as infrequently as possible.'[17] The campaign of 1649 was already undertaken without a general council, nor was one held to discuss the conditions of the Treaty of Zboriv.

The hetman invoked the authority of the general council only at moments of the greatest instability and threat to the Cossack state. Such a situation emerged immediately before and after the Battle of Berestechko (1651), which ended unsuccessfully for the insurgents. In the first half of the year, the hetman ultimately failed to obtain effective military assistance from the Ottoman Empire, and his alliance with the Crimean khan looked rather uncertain (Khmelnytsky's apprehension on that score proved fully justified), hence the Cossack forces had to be mobilized psychologically. That was the obvious purpose of the general council of

[15] See Kysil's letter of July 1648 to the Archbishop of Gniezno, Maciej Łubieński, in *DOV*, pp. 71–2. According to Lasko's own account, the council also listened to presentations by Circassian and Muscovite envoys and decided to send a Cossack mission to Warsaw. See *VUR*, 2: 44–7.

[16] *DOV*, p. 72; Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 68–9.

[17] Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 69.

which the Poles were informed in June 1651 by Ukrainian prisoners. According to them, the rank-and-file Cossacks were compelled to swear their loyalty to Khmelnytsky and assure the hetman that they would not abandon him regardless of where he might lead them. The Berestechko catastrophe once again forced the hetman and the Cossack officers to seek support and confirmation of the legitimacy of their rule from the insurgent masses. In the besieged Cossack camp at Berestechko, with Khmelnytsky absent, the general council attempted to plan an offensive.[18]

After the Berestechko catastrophe Khmelnytsky convoked a general council in Pavoloch, where he 'announced to the plebs that the Poles were not to be expected in Ukraine for another two months',[19] but once the danger had passed, the hetman again abandoned the practice of calling general councils. Even the Council of Pereiaslav (1654), which formally ratified the Ukrainian–Muscovite alliance, was not a general council. According to Krypiakevych's calculations, it was attended by not many more than 200 men.[20] During the years 1649–51, the Commonwealth command would obtain much less useful information from Ukrainian prisoners than it had in 1648: the prisoners said that there had been no council and they did not know where the hetman was preparing to go next. Thus the function of the general council had changed dramatically: instead of developing a specific policy, the council was being called to ratify and legitimize a policy decided by the hetman and his circle, as well as to swear loyalty to him.

The Cossack rank and file repeatedly demanded a return to the practice of convoking the general councils that had prevailed in Zaporizhia and during the first year of the uprising. There were also several attempts to call and conduct such councils, but this was no longer done at the initiative of the hetman or the general officer staff. Instead, the councils were summoned from below, and were known as 'black councils' (*chorni* or *chernets'ki rady*). The deliberations of one such council held in 1653 are known from the words of Colonel Syluian Muzhylovsky, as recorded by the Muscovite envoys Artamon Matveev and Ivan Fomin. The occasion for the council was an unsuccessful military action by the hetman's son Tymish Khmelnytsky on the Ialovytsia River, where 4,000 Cossacks were said to have perished:

And the Cherkasians, it is said, having seen their misfortune—and famine came thereafter—began to come to the otamans and the captains so that they would go

[18] See Grigorii Bogdanov's intelligence report of August 1651 in *VUR*, 3: 108.

[19] See a letter from Crown Grand Hetman Mikołaj Potocki to Crown Chancellor Andrzej Leszczyński, dated 26 July 1651, in *DOV*, pp. 586–7.

[20] Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 71.

with them to Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. And they came very rudely, and said: 'You see your utter misfortune, that you are fleeing from your death and giving your son Tymofii a free hand . . .' And it would appear that if the hetman had said only a slight word to them in anger, I expect that there would have been a great calamity.

Khmelnytsky went to the dissatisfied Cossacks and began to explain the basis of his policy to them—the reasons for his alliance with the Crimea, the state of relations with the Muscovite tsar, and his immediate plans for military action. 'And thus, apparently, the hetman dismissed them, and that is what seems to have given rise to all the trouble', reported the Muscovite envoys.[21] By now the rank-and-file insurgents were no longer demanding that actual power in the Hetmanate be vested in the general council with their participation, but that the hetman and the officers at least consult with them. But the times when the hetman would do so voluntarily, without pressure from below, were now gone.

The general council's loss of one of its most important prerogatives, the exclusive right to elect the hetman, also indicated the decline of its authority. Khmelnytsky himself was elected hetman by the Cossack council in Zaporizhia, and even though the details of the council's composition and deliberations have not been preserved, the fact that the legitimacy of his election was not subsequently contested in the Cossack milieu leads one to conclude that this was indeed a general council and that the election was conducted in the traditional manner. A different situation arose in 1657, after Khmelnytsky's death, in connection with the general council's election of Ivan Vyhovsky as hetman. Khmelnytsky had attempted to decide the issue by having his son Iurii elected as his successor not by the general council but by the officer council, which met in April 1657. The council at which Vyhovsky was elected *de facto* regent for Iurii Khmelnytsky took place only after Bohdan Khmelnytsky's funeral, and it was not a general council. The author of the Eyewitness Chronicle later complained that only 'deceitful' individuals had been admitted to the council, after which the gates of the Khmelnytsky estate, where the council took place, were closed.[22]

The council of Korsun, which was convened in October 1657 and elected Vyhovsky 'full' hetman, was quite clearly under the control of the officers.[23] The council conducted at the beginning of 1658 by the tsar's envoy, Bogdan Khitrovo, which ratified Vyhovsky's powers as hetman,

[21] *VUR*, 3: 300–1.

[22] 'And so, ostensibly having convened a council, they gathered a portion of the Cossacks in Khmelnytsky's courtyard, but mostly those deceitful people, favorably disposed toward those who aspired to that office of hetman, and then closed the courtyard, letting no one in' (*Litopys Samovydtsia*, p. 75).

[23] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 60–3.

was not a general council either. Present at the council were the officers, the newly elected Metropolitan Dionysii Balaban, and the higher clergy, but both the author of the Eyewitness Chronicle and the embassy sent to Moscow in 1658 by Colonel Martyn Pushkar of Poltava complained that it was not a full council: it was composed only of Vyhovsky's supporters.[24] Clearly, both Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky attempted to supplant the Zaporozhian tradition of electing the hetman at a general council with the tradition of the registered Cossack army, whose hetmans were elected by the colonels.[25]

The transition from forms of military democracy, of which the general council was an important instance until the Cossack élite established its rule through the supremacy of the officer council, paralleled the expansion of the governmental functions of all Cossack institutions from the Zaporozhian Host as such to the entire territory of Ukraine that came under its control. The officer council, whose convocation was practised in Zaporizhia and especially in the settled area long before the uprising, was transformed in the course of Khmelnytsky's hetmancy into an administrative body that shunted the general council to the periphery of power, ultimately easing the transition of the fullness of that power into the hands of the hetman. It may be assumed that the officer councils, which almost always took place at the hetman's residence, were more or less routine in character. The hetman, however, considered it very important to enlist support from particular regions of the Hetmanate, represented exclusively by the colonels who exercised administrative and judicial power at the local level. Ivan Krypiakevych, who enumerates most of the officer councils known to have been held during the uprising, notes that the colonels were the decisive participants in them. The general officer staff also took part, and the lowest-ranking officers admitted to participation in the councils were captains.[26]

At least in the early years of the uprising, when there was a *de facto* transition of power from the general council to the officer élite, Khmelnytsky was highly dependent on the latter's support. In February 1649 he told the Commonwealth commissioners in Pereiaslav that he could not make independent decisions concerning relations with the Commonwealth: 'the colonels and officers are far away; without them I cannot and dare

[24] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 180–1. In speaking of the Pereiaslav council, the author of the Eyewitness Chronicle notes: 'The colonels and captains convened entirely alone with the other officers, apart from the rank and file, and Vyhovsky so flattered the [Muscovite] boyar with words and pleased him with gifts that he persuaded him to confirm him in the hetmancy at Pereiaslav, even though the Host did not permit it' (*Litopys Samovydtsia*, p. 77).

[25] For Starowolski's and Beauplan's accounts of the election/confirmation of Cossack hetmans by the colonels, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 229–30, 234–5.

[26] Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 72.

not do anything—my life is at stake'.[27] That statement would appear to have been not only a diplomatic maneuver on the part of the hetman, but also a description of the actual state of affairs. The conditions of all the more important treaties, including those of Zboriv, Berestechko, and Pereiaslav, were discussed at the officer councils, which also made decisions on undertaking new military campaigns.

Khmelnytsky's skill in managing the officer council is fully apparent in the extant Latin paraphrase of his speech at the officer council that he convoked after the conclusion of the Treaty of Zboriv. It would appear from the document that his speech was a lengthy one. Toward the end, he called for a general discussion:

> My brothers, what do you think of this complex matter? If that which I propose seems right to you, we will act accordingly; if you have other and more acceptable proposals, speak. What I have done, I have done not for myself, but for you, for your children and wives, for Cossack liberty and religion. Expect more. God will help us. I am your brother and your blood. I am prepared to live for you and to die with you.[28]

This source says nothing about the actual course of the discussion: 'The Cossacks listened to him with approval and entrusted the management of everything to his wisdom and fortune, promising unanimously to be prepared for war in order to win felicity for themselves.'[29] Clearly, the council's functions amounted to hearing out the hetman's speech and conferring official approval on the course that he had decided beforehand.

As early as the summer of 1651, the first reports appeared to the effect that Khmelnytsky was ignoring advice not only from the rank and file, but from the officers as well. Cossacks captured by Commonwealth forces at Pochaiv toward the end of May 1651 said that 'Khmelnytsky never took counsel either with the officers or with the rank and file. And so he himself rules together with Vyhovsky.'[30] Nevertheless, the unsuccessful conclusion of the Berestechko campaign soon forced Khmelnytsky to appeal for support to the officer council and even to general councils with the participation of the rank and file.[31] The consolidation of the hetman's

[27] See the commissioners' diary in *VUR*, 2: 106.

[28] Anonymous letter of April 1650 in *DOV*, p. 331.

[29] Ibid. The reaction of those assembled is reminiscent of the reaction of the rank-and-file Cossacks who held a black council in 1653 and demanded that Khmelnytsky appear before them. Cf. Matveev's and Fomin's ambassadorial report of June–July 1652 in *VUR*, 3: 300–1.

[30] See a Polish report of June 1651 on the interrogation of the captured Cossacks in *DOV*, p. 430. A report dated June 1651 from a Polish agent in the Cossack camp also testifies to Vyhovsky's special role at the hetman's side: 'Vyhovsky is in charge of absolutely everything and dispatches envoys himself, without Khmelnytsky. . . . He counsels and decides even on questions of war' (ibid., p. 444, Polish intelligence report of 6 June 1651).

[31] On the councils of the summer of 1651, see a Polish report on the interrogation of the captured Cossack Hryhorii in *DOV*, p. 447.

power was thus temporarily postponed, but fully resumed after the Pereiaslav Agreement. After 1654, reports of the convocation of officer councils become steadily less frequent, and after the hetman's death the officers begin to state openly that the old Khmelnytsky had not held councils. Such statements pertain both to officer councils and to general ones.

Pavlo Teteria, who was on a mission to Moscow just as news arrived of Khmelnytsky's death, urged Muscovite diplomats not to send an army to Ukraine or convoke a council for the election of a new hetman, since Iurii had already been elected to that post and might be advised 'that he, the son of the hetman, [not] convoke a council so that his power might not be restricted, just as his father did not convoke councils, but managed everything himself: whatever he decided, the whole army would obey'.[32] Another statement made by Ivan Vyhovsky at an officer council in Korsun in October 1657, on the day following the ratification of his hetmancy, shows that in the last years of his rule, the old Khmelnytsky ceased to convoke even officer councils. Attempting to win over the officers, Vyhovsky declared that there had been no councils under Khmelnytsky, but he, Vyhovsky, would do nothing without the council.[33] It may be assumed that the officers insisted on this and that it was one of the conditions of Vyhovsky's election as hetman.

Even before the Khmelnytsky Uprising, there were well-documented instances of hetmans acting contrary to the decisions of general and officer councils, but it was only in the years of Khmelnytsky's hetmancy that a clear tendency became apparent to relegate first the general and then the officer council to the periphery of power, while concentrating not only executive but also judicial power in the hands of the hetman himself. Judicial power, which in the Zaporozhian tradition was a prerogative of the general council, found its way into the hetman's hands during the uprising even more quickly than did the policy-making functions of the general council. In that case, the officer council did not function as an intermediate link in the transmission of power, and with the decline of the general council as the supreme judicial body, the hetman himself became the supreme judge. He delegated judicial powers to the lower courts, and general judges became his *de facto* representatives.[34]

[32] *Akty IuZR*, vol. 11 (1879): 764. Representatives of the Commonwealth camp attempted to exploit the supremacy of the hetman over the colonels in order to provoke conflicts among the Cossacks. In a letter written in March 1654 by a supporter of the Polish orientation, the nobleman Pavlo Olekshych, to Ivan Bohun, the latter was offered the hetmancy if he would go over to the king's side, and Olekshych noted: 'You see for yourself what has already happened: Khmelnytsky, having been your comrade, has now become your master . . .' (*Akty IuZR*, vol. 10 [1878]: 556).

[33] See a statement by the Muscovite burgher Nikolai Iudin in *Akty IuZR*, vol. 4 (1863): 43.

[34] Kryp"iakevych, 'Studii nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 147 (1927): 76–7.

The growth of the hetman's role in exercising supreme judicial power meant that the office of general judge was clearly underdeveloped in the Cossack state. In April 1649, a certain Matiash is mentioned as holding the office of general judge, but not until January 1654 do we encounter the first clear evidence of the existence of that office, which was then held by Khmelnytsky's trusted associate, Samiilo Bohdanovych-Zarudny.[35] Nor was the office of regimental judge securely established during the years of the Khmelnytsky Uprising. Thus judicial power was a function of the executive during this period—a branch that in turn was under the control of the hetman.[36] The hetman's exercise of judicial as well as executive power was considered an important and natural aspect of Khmelnytsky's authority not only in Ukraine but also in neighboring lands, most notably in Muscovy. The brothers Grigorii and Stepan Pushkin, the Muscovite envoys in Warsaw in 1650, responding to rumors of rebellion among the Cossacks, recorded the following information in the reports of their embassy, based on conversations with Cossack envoys in Warsaw:

> And their hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, is now said to be living in Chyhyryn; he rules them, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and judges them and administers punishment (settles disputes) among them; and it is said that there is no dissension of any kind among the Zaporozhian Cossacks.[37]

The hetman, as a rule, had no difficulty in meting out punishment not only to rank-and-file Cossacks but also to colonels and general staff officers. There is the well-known episode in which he ordered Colonel Maksym Kryvonis to be chained to a cannon during the summer campaign of 1648. Shortly before his death, Khmelnytsky had General Chancellor Ivan Vyhovsky chained to the ground, suspecting him of engaging in intrigues with the goal of taking over the hetmancy.[38] Only in special cases involving the use of the ultimate sanction—capital punishment—against colonels did Khmelnytsky seek the concurrence of the officer council. The execution of colonels Matvii Hladky and Lukian Mozyria, which took place in 1652, was clearly approved by the officer council. According to the Muscovite envoys Matveev and Fomin, in 1653 the officer council had sentenced Colonel Danylo Vyhovsky, the brother of Ivan Vyhovsky, to death because of his conflict with Colonel Pavlo Teteria, but this sentence was commuted by the hetman himself at the request of the

[35] Kryp"iakevych, 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 147, pp. 77–8.

[36] Ibid., p. 78. On jurisprudence in the Hetmanate, see Iaroslav Padokh, *Sudy i sudovyi protses staroï Ukraïny. Narys istoriï* (New York *et al.*, 1990), pp. 25–37, 73–83.

[37] See Pushkin's ambassadorial report (March–November 1650) in *VUR*, 2: 342.

[38] On the Kryvonis episode, see Adam Kysil's letter of 11 August 1648 to Crown Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński in *DOV*, pp. 97–8. For the chaining of Vyhovsky on Khmelnytsky's orders, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 1472.

general chancellor.[39] The hetman, apparently, could not sentence colonels to death, but could grant them their lives.

The last years of Khmelnytsky's hetmancy became a period in which he could return to the practice initially noted in sources dating from the first half of 1651—limiting the prerogatives of the officer council and making the most important decisions, including the imposition of capital punishment, independently. In the last months of his administration, Khmelnytsky apparently sought to throw off this final limitation on his power with respect to the colonels. He ordered the execution of Colonel Antin Zhdanovych, who commanded the Cossack corps dispatched by Khmelnytsky against Poland, but proved incompetent and failed to carry out the task entrusted to him. The hetman died before Zhdanovych's return to Chyhyryn, and his sentence was not carried out. It is uncertain whether the execution would have taken place if Khmelnytsky had lived a while longer.[40]

Khmelnytsky's orientation toward the establishment of some form of authoritarian rule was not just a reflection of his own particular views, but developed in the context of a general trend of political thought that had many supporters in Commonwealth society of the time.[41] As one may judge on the basis of rumors circulating among the Cossack rank and file, sympathy for absolute forms of government was shared by the Cossack milieu in general. Khmelnytsky's policy of strengthening his own power, making it hereditary, and establishing the hetmancy within the Khmelnytsky family also found support above all among the rank-and-file Cossacks. The behavior of the Cossack masses and the lower officer ranks—captains at the Chyhyryn election council after the funeral of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, as described by the author of the Eyewitness Chronicle—shows that it was this social stratum that supported the candidacy of Iurii Khmelnytsky for the office of hetman, or, in practical terms, the idea of creating a dynasty of Khmelnytsky hetmans.[42]

The forms of military democracy were of little use to Khmelnytsky in his capacity as state-builder, especially as the period of the uprising's spontaneous development and the 'warlordism' associated with it had

[39] See the ambassadorial report of June–July 1653 by Matveev and Fomin in *VUR*, 3: 301. Significantly, Khmelnytsky's wife, Helena Czaplińska, having been accused by his son Tymish of marital infidelity and embezzlement of the hetman's treasury, was executed with the hetman's consent. The execution is not known to have aroused protest from any quarter (*DOV*, p. 453).

[40] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 10.

[41] Early in 1648, the Polish Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki complained about the ineffectiveness of the Commonwealth political system as compared with that of the Ottoman Empire: 'The Turkish sultan does not play at discourses; as he decides, so it is done, owing to his absolute power . . .' (*DOV*, p. 25). The diversity of views on the subsequent fate of the Polish monarchy became particularly apparent with the death of Władysław IV in May 1648 and the ensuing interregnum. See, e.g., a letter from Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński pertaining to the king's election, ibid., pp. 50–2.

[42] *Litopys Samovydtsia*, pp. 75–6.

passed, and both military and civil affairs had begun to assume more stable, duly constituted, forms. On the other hand, the indivisibility of military command and the unlimited authority of the hetman on campaign contributed to establishing the hetman's authoritarian rule in the new Cossack state. In that sense, the Zaporozhian Host embarked on permanent campaign in 1648. Having obtained ratification of his powers as hetman from the general council at the very beginning of the uprising and having appealed to the Cossack masses for support only at the most critical moments in the course of the revolt, Khmelnytsky concentrated power first in the hands of the officer council, and then in his own. The growth of the hetman's power in Ukraine in the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky appears quite natural and even logically necessary if one considers the environment in which Cossack statehood took shape: the Commonwealth, Muscovy, the Crimea, and the Ottoman Empire all had a monarchic form of government. The hetman regime in Ukraine clearly borrowed from the experience of the Commonwealth form of government, especially when it came to the institution of an elective ruler, but also tried to overcome the perceived shortcomings of the Commonwealth model, with its weak and often ineffective royal authority. In this respect, Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his entourage apparently oriented themselves on the models of Moscow and Istanbul, where the institution of unfettered, absolute monarchical rule had become well established.

Divine Election

'True enough, I am a wretched little man, but God granted that I am the sole ruler and autocrat of Rus'',[43] stated Khmelnytsky in a conversation with the Commonwealth commissioners in February 1649. This statement, which stressed Khmelnytsky's understanding of his own virtually unlimited authority as proceeding directly from God, was frequently repeated by the hetman in various forms during his meetings with foreign envoys. Often, as in Khmelnytsky's negotiations with the commissioners at Pereiaslav, it was associated with the idea of rule by right of conquest, which found expression in the hetman's well-known dictum that God had given him the right to rule certain territories by means of the sword.

Khmelnytsky's belief in the divine origin of his authority was clearly shared and reinforced by his entourage and ideologists of the revolt. The first traces of such a belief in the rebel milieu are to be found in Jewish and Polish sources. In describing Khmelnytsky's visit to his native Chyhyryn

[43] See the commissioners' diary in *VUR*, 2: 108.

after his first victories over Polish forces in May 1648, Nathan Hanover depicts the following scene, which reflects the messianic treatment of Khmelnytsky by his adherents:

> All the people of the city came out to welcome him with timbrels and dancing and with great rejoicing. They blessed him and hailed him as prince and leader over them and their children after them. And they said to him: 'You are a prince of God and our liberator. You have redeemed us from the Polish nobles, who oppressed us with hard labor.'[44]

Another contemporary, Wojciech Miaskowski, a Commonwealth emissary to Khmelnytsky in early 1649, noted in his diary a very similar scene of the welcome given to Khmelnytsky by the students of the Kyivan College following the victories of 1648: 'The whole people, all the commoners came out of the city to greet him, and the Academy welcomed him with orations and exclamations as Moses, deliverer, savior, liberator of the nation from Polish bondage, auspiciously named Bohdan, the God-given one.'[45] The comparison of eminent Ukrainian figures with Moses was nothing new to the students and teachers of the Kyiv Brotherhood School. As early as 1633, they referred to Metropolitan Petro Mohyla as Moses in a panegyric written in his honor.[46] The view of Khmelnytsky as a 'liberator' is also attested by notes made by the Muscovite envoy Grigorii Unkovsky on the basis of his conversations with Ukrainians in the spring of 1649: 'And people of every rank in the Zaporozhian Host say: "The Lord God has now given us a defender of the Christian faith and a liberator from the accursed religion, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky . . ." '.[47] More important in the instance recorded by Miaskowski is the fact that the comparison of Khmelnytsky with Moses was reinforced by the treatment of the name Bohdan as meaning 'God-given'. The emphasis on this semantic significance of the hetman's name, first encountered in the account of the students welcoming Khmelnytsky to Kyiv, soon became the basis on which Ukrainian Orthodox intellectuals of the mid-seventeenth century began to develop the concept of the divine origins of Khmelnytsky's authority.

[44] Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, p. 46.

[45] 'Effusus populus, tota plebs witała go w polu i Akademia oracjami, aklamacjami, tanquam Mojsem, servatorem, salvatorem, liberatorem populi de servitute Lechiaca, et bono omine Bogdan, od Boga dany, nazwany' (*VUR*, 2: 109). Although it is not entirely impossible that Hanover based his description of Khmelnytsky's welcome in Chyhyryn on oral accounts of Khmelnytsky's entrance into Kyiv in December 1648, the nature of the recorded information corroborates the assumption that the view of Khmelnytsky as redeemer of his nation was quite popular among the insurgents.

[46] 'We render praise to the thunder-ruling Lord, | For He has given us Moses in the most recent years, | And he, with the Eastern mother [church], will give us steps of life [i.e., new life].' *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna). Antolohiia*, comp. V. V. Iaremenko (Kyiv, 1988), p. 258.

[47] *VUR*, 2: 160.

The secretaries of the hetman's chancery translated Khmelnytsky's first name into Latin as Theodatus.[48] This translation conveys the semantic elements of the name Bohdan and is rendered in Ukrainian as Fedot/Teodot, and as Theodotos in the Greek tradition. In Khmelnytsky's case, however, the name Bohdan functioned primarily as a popular appellation, not an ecclesiastical one, given that on formal occasions the hetman was always called Zinovii, or Zinovii Bohdan.[49] It is entirely possible that, as Wespazjan Kochowski asserts, the name given to Khmelnytsky at his christening (and in that sense his first name) was Zinovii. It might also be assumed that because of the unpopularity of this name and possible reservations pertaining to the name of a martyr, the hetman was usually known by his second name, Bohdan.[50] This was the name that served as the basis for the legitimation of Khmelnytsky's newly acquired powers.

The first extant monument of Ukrainian political thought in which the idea of Khmelnytsky's divine election is advanced in this manner is a set of verses appended to the Cossack register of 1649.[51] There is very little doubt as to the time of the verses' composition—the second half of 1649, that is, the period in which the Cossack register was drawn up. The place of composition was evidently the chancery of General Chancellor Ivan Vyhovsky, where the document must have been put into final form. Vyhovsky's participation in the composition is attested by the fact that the verses celebrate not only Khmelnytsky but Vyhovsky as well, while those

[48] See, e.g., a copy of Khmelnytsky's proclamation of 18 (28) April 1657 on the free passage of envoys from the Austrian emperor Ferdinand (*DBKh*, p. 575).

[49] See letters from the patriarch of Constantinople to Sylvestr Kosov and to Joasaph, the metropolitan of Corinth (*DOV*, pp. 383–6), and a letter from the metropolitan of Macedonia to the tsar (*VUR*, 3: 232). A letter from Colonel Prokip Shumeiko is cited in *VUR*, 2: 381–2. Excerpts from the diary of Paul of Aleppo, who also referred to Khmelnytsky as 'Zinovii', are cited in Pavlo Khalebs'kyi, 'Z podorozhnikh zapysok'. Cf. *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku*.

[50] The early eighteenth-century Ukrainian chronicler Hryhorii Hrabianka accepted the statement of Wespazjan Kochowski that Khmelnytsky's first name was Zinovii, and that he was only called Bohdan later. See *Hryhorij Hrabjanka's 'The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj'*, introduction by Yuri Lutsenko (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), p. 313. The name Zinovii was also used as Khmelnytsky's first name by Samiilo Velychko. See his *Litopys*, trans. Valerii Shevchuk (Kyiv, 1991), pp. 33ff.

[51] The verses are known in two copies, one in Latin transcription, the other in Cyrillic. See the publication in Cyrillic transcription of the Latin-alphabet copy in *Ukraïnska poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, comp. V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma (Kyiv, 1992), pp. 101–4. The second, Cyrillic, copy is cited by Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the appendixes to his *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 1523–6.

The first copy is a constituent part of the register. The provenance of the second copy, translated by scribes of the Muscovite Ambassadorial Office, testifies to the broad circulation of the verses among the mid-seventeenth-century Ukrainian élite. The verses made their way to Moscow together with the Pushkin embassy: in July 1650 the envoys became acquainted with the Vilnius merchant Hnat Lyskevych, from whom they apparently obtained their copy. Lyskevych also informed the envoys that these verses were being printed in Vilnius. See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, pp. 218–19.

holding other offices, no less important than that of chancellor, are not mentioned.[52]

The author of the verses interprets the meaning of Khmelnytsky's name, as well as the depiction of the cross on Khmelnytsky's coat of arms, as clear signs of the divine origin of his authority:

> Rightly does a cross rise in the coat of arms of the Khmelnytskys—
> In his name 'Bohdan' he has the name of God.[53]

The idea of the divine origin of Khmelnytsky's authority is also established in the text under discussion by a comparison of Khmelnytsky with King Jan Kazimierz:

> Bohdan Khmelnytsky recognizes King Jan;
> King Kazimierz considers Bohdan to be hetman.
> The king is God's anointed one, and Bohdan is given
> By God, hence named Bohdan [the God-given one][54]

In the first two lines, as we see, Khmelnytsky's recognition of the king's authority is dependent on a certain condition: the hetman recognizes the authority of Jan Kazimierz (whose candidacy he supported in 1648) provided that the latter recognize Khmelnytsky's authority as hetman. The attempt to place the hetman on a par with the king becomes even more obvious in the following two lines, where the explication of Khmelnytsky's name as 'God-given' (in the author's view, the name merely corroborates the fact) makes it possible to compare him with the king, who has been anointed by God.

Between the lines of this extract is the idea of the division of authority between Jan Kazimierz and Bohdan Khmelnytsky; the conferment of an equal measure of power upon them by God. The author states that Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Jan Kazimierz were sent by God to take the place of the late King Władysław IV:

[52] Given the order in which the officers are listed in the register of 1649, Ivan Krypiakevych maintained that the office of general chancellor was of secondary importance at the time: the hetman himself was mentioned first in the register, followed by his son Tymish, the hetman apparent; then came the general quartermaster (at that time Ivan Cherniata, who in fact compiled the register together with the colonels), the aides-de-camp, and finally the chancellor. The significance of the latter subsequently increased: in documents pertaining to the Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654), the office of general chancellor was given immediately after that of hetman ('Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 74–5).

The growth of Vyhovsky's authority and influence at the hetman's court reflected not only Vyhovsky's personal capacity to transform the rather second-rate function of chancellor of the Host into the key general staff office but also the increasingly important role of secretaries and state bureaucrats at the courts of European rulers. For a discussion of this trend, see Salvatore S. Nigro, 'The Secretary' in *Baroque Personae*, ed. Rosario Villari, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago and London, 1995), pp. 82–99.

[53] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, p. 103.

[54] Ibid., p. 101. In Hrushevsky's copy (*Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 1524), the last two lines are cited as follows: 'The anointed one is God's king, and Bohdan is given.'

In place of the glory of Władysław God permitted
None other, unless God could give Bohdan.
In exchange for one God rewards twice
When he gives Hetman Bohdan [and] King Jan.[55]

This 'duumvirate' (or, more precisely, the idea of it) is even more clearly expressed elsewhere:

Under Władysław the laws in Rus' were violated;
Under Bohdan and Jan they have been restored once again . . .
While King Kazimierz is master in Poland,
In Rus' the master is Hetman Khmelnytsky Bohdan.[56]

The hetman's divine election to power is thus substantiated in connection with the divine right of kingship and to some extent as an antithesis of the king's right. The very idea of the hetman's right emerges in the first instance as an external reaction, a way of establishing power relations *vis-à-vis* the king, and only afterwards as a means of entrenching and legitimizing that right within the Cossack milieu.

The concept of Khmelnytsky's divine election to the hetmancy, based primarily on the semantics of his name and his tremendous success on the battlefield, became strongly established in the Ukrainian intellectual tradition.[57] Besides the references in the diary of the Commonwealth embassy of late 1648 and early 1649 to the welcome given Khmelnytsky by the students of the Kyiv Mohyla College and the verses from Ivan Vyhovsky's chancery, the idea of the divine origin of Khmelnytsky's rule was reflected in another contemporary source, the *Song of Lord Mikołaj Potocki, Crown Hetman . . .*, included in the chronicle of Ioakym Ierlych:

God appointed him and presented him to the Host in order
to command it,
And to keep them firmly in submission out of those proud hands.
Ordain, O God, for the good of us all, that by the mace
That Host may abide gloriously, for the whole world to see,
with him at its head.[58]

[55] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, p. 101. In Hrushevsky's copy: 'For one God grants a twofold reward | When he presents Hetman Bohdan to King Jan.' The first copy appears to reflect the author's original intention more precisely, since it would be difficult to assume that the author ventured to represent Khmelnytsky as being twice as worthy as the late Władysław.

[56] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, p. 102.

[57] It managed to coexist with the tendency of Ukrainian bookmen to stress the semantic link between the names of Russian tsars and the name of God in their writings. In the 1670s, Lazar Baranovych and Ivan Armashenko interpreted the names of the tsars (Aleksei—man of God; Fedor—gift of God) in a manner similar to that of Khmelnytsky's mid-century panegyrists. See, e.g., Baranovych's 'Plach o prestavlenii velikago gosudaria Alekseia Mikhailovicha': 'As Fedor, the Gift of God, has been given to us by God, he is foreordained as tsar by his father' (*Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, p. 224).

[58] 'Pisn' o panu Mykolaiu Potots'kim, het'mani koronnim, a o Khmel'nyts'kim r[oku] P[ans'koho] 1648' in *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, p. 100.

Here the stress is not so much on Khmelnytsky's role as liberator (as in the students' greetings) or on the parity of his power with that of the king (as in the verses from Vyhovsky's chancery) as on the divine origin of his authority over the Host—a motif subsequently lost to the view of those Ukrainian intellectuals who wrote about Khmelnytsky and his era. As the posthumous cult of Khmelnytsky began to take shape in the panegyrics and other eighteenth-century works of literature devoted to him, the treatment of the hetman as a God-given leader was revived, but under very different circumstances and to an entirely different purpose.[59]

The idea of the divine origin of the hetman's authority, which found expression in poetry, was also employed in official Cossack correspondence, with the phrase 'by the grace of God' following the hetman's titulature. As early as July 1648, in a letter to the Muscovite voevoda Semen Bolkhovsky, the hetman was already styling himself 'Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman by the grace of God, with the Zaporozhian Host'.[60] The formula 'by the grace of God' also appears regularly in letters from the representatives of the Cossack administration to the tsar's voevodas from 1648 to 1654, corresponding to the analogous element of the tsar's official titulature. This feature is quite apparent in a letter of April 1651 from Captain Sakhno Veichyk of Hlukhiv to Timofei Shcherbatov, voevoda of Sevsk. Veichyk models his title for Khmelnytsky on that of the tsar: instead of the words 'by the grace of God the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Aleksei Mikhailovich, Autocrat of all

[59] It may be asserted with some confidence that the glorification of Khmelnytsky, which, judging by the number of panegyrics devoted to him, developed in full measure in the eighteenth century, continued the traditions of the Kyivan clerical circles and not those of the Cossack secretaries. In other words, it was the divine origin of Khmelnytsky's rule as liberator from Polish enslavement (the Moses motif) that received emphasis, while there was absolutely no attempt to develop the idea of the hetman's equality of status with the divinely appointed Polish king, let alone the Russian tsar.

In the eyes of many Ukrainian autonomists of the eighteenth century, divine rule was delegated to Khmelnytsky for one purpose alone—that of liberation from Polish rule. This treatment is characteristic of the panegyrics to Khmelnytsky written at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy in the 1710s and 1720s. See, e.g., 'Plach Maloï Rosiï' in a manuscript of 1719–20:

> And it would already have come to pass
> That our name would have perished
> If Bohdan, the chosen man,
> Had not been given to us by God.
>
> (*Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, p. 290)

See also the following verses from Hnat Buzanovsky's 'Congeries praeceptorum rhetoricorum' (1729):

> Our avenger and chief and hero Bohdan, he has been sent to us by God,
> He drove the proud lords beyond the borders of Rus'.
>
> (*Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.*, p. 50).

[60] *DBKh*, p. 64.

Rus'', he writes, 'by the grace of God our Great Sovereign Lord Bohda[n] Khmelnytsky, Lord Hetman of the whole Zaporozhian Host'. The captain also objects to the voevoda's continuing practice of addressing himself in various matters to 'the starostas and to the vice-starostas who fled across the Vistula three years ago now. And you do not write to our sovereign, Lord Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the hetman of the whole Zaporozhian Host.'[61]

The idea of the equally divine origin of the authority of both king and hetman is also reflected in their titulature as it appears in the correspondence of the hetman's administration of the period. In 1650 it was given as follows: 'By the grace of God the Most Noble Jan Kazimierz, the Polish King . . . and Bohdan Khmelnytsky, ordained by the same grace of God at the head of His Royal Majesty's Great Zaporozhian Host.' The two titles are cited similarly in a letter of 30 December 1652 from Colonel Martyn Pushkar of Poltava: 'By the grace of God the Great Sovereign Jan Kazimierz, the Polish King . . . and from Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, ordained by the same grace of God.' Both letters were addressed to Muscovite border voevodas.[62]

If one examines the chronology of the Cossack secretaries' use of the formula 'by the grace of God', it becomes strikingly apparent that letters applying it to the hetman correspond to periods of the greatest success of the uprising. This applies to Khmelnytsky's letter of July 1648 to Voevoda Semen Bolkhovsky, as well as to a letter of July 1649 from Colonel Fedir Korobka of Chyhyryn to Voevoda Fedor Arseniev, both of which employ the formula 'by the grace of God'.[63] It may also be assumed that in the spring and summer of 1651, that is, before the Battle of Berestechko, the general chancery attempted to introduce the formula 'by the grace of God' as a regular part of the hetman's title. Evidence supporting this assumption is to be found in the above-mentioned letter by Veichyk, as well as in missives from two other Cossack officials, Mykhailo Ratchenko and Petro Iakovenko. All were sent between April and June 1651 and used practically the same title with reference to Khmelnytsky: 'By the grace of God the Great Sovereign Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host.'[64]

[61] See *VUR*, 3: 25–6. In some letters from Cossack colonels and captains to Muscovite border voevodas, Khmelnytsky is even called 'by the grace of God Grand Hetman'. See letters from Bohdan Khmelnytsky and representatives of the hetman's administration employing the formula 'by the grace of God' (*VUR*, 2: 66, 219; 3: 85, 88).

[62] See Ohloblyn, *Dumky pro Khmel'nychchynu*, p. 64.

[63] See *DBKh*, p. 64; *VUR*, 2: 219.

[64] As noted above, Veichyk somewhat altered it on the model of the tsar's title. The acting colonel of Poltava, Petro Iakovenko, omitted the word 'sovereign', obviously by accident: instead of 'Great Sovereign', what came out was 'great Bohdan Khmelnytsky'. See *VUR*, 3: 25–6, 85, 88.

For a time, the Battle of Berestechko put an end to the use of the formula 'by the grace of God' in the hetman's title. Khmelnytsky once again found himself obliged to recognize the official authority of the king over him. But once that authority came under question as a result of Cossack preparations for the Pereiaslav Agreement, there was a new attempt to employ the formula: when meeting the official Muscovite embassy led by the boyar Vasilii Buturlin, Colonel Pavlo Teteria of Pereiaslav spoke once again of 'Hetman Zenovii Khmelnytsky, given to us by God'.[65] Pereiaslav somewhat changed the status if not the extent of the hetman's authority, and complicated (without entirely eliminating) the hetman's prospects of entering the international arena as an independent ruler. Nevertheless, when relations with Muscovy became strained in the last year of Khmelnytsky's life, the old pattern reasserted itself. In a letter of June 1657 written in Latin to the hospodar of Wallachia, the hetman's title again includes the formula 'by the grace of God': 'Clementia Divina Generalis Exercituum Zaporoviensium'.[66] In general, though, the hetman's chancery did not venture to add 'by the grace of God' as a constant element of the hetman's title.[67]

The Consecration of the Hetman

According to Fritz Kern, one of the most important components of the idea of the divine right of European rulers was the requirement that they be consecrated by the church hierarchy.[68] Bohdan Khmelnytsky also confronted the problem of consecration and ecclesiastical blessing, apparently finding it difficult to resolve for a number of reasons, including his often strained relations with the primate of the church of Rus', the metropolitan of Kyiv, Sylvestr Kosov. The hetman's administration came up with its own solution by turning to the Eastern hierarchs, a device that had helped the Zaporozhian Host restore the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church in 1620. Khmelnytsky's administration once again took advantage of the geographic position of the Ukrainian lands on the route from the East to Muscovy, where the hierarchs traveled to seek alms, and obtained from the Eastern hierarchy the support that the hetman lacked at home.

As noted earlier, an important factor in securing religious legitimacy

[65] *VUR*, 3: 454. [66] *DBKh*, p. 591.

[67] For titles ascribed to Khmelnytsky in satirical/falsified letters of the period, see *DBKh*, pp. 634–5 (circular letter [*universal*] of 10 April 1653, allegedly issued by Khmelnytsky), and Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 113, p. 83 (a title taken from a letter allegedly written to Khmelnytsky by Oliver Cromwell).

[68] Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, pp. 5, 27–60.

for Khmelnytsky's rule as hetman was the role played by Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem, who was in Ukraine in late 1648 and early 1649. Heading a large retinue of ecclesiastics that included Metropolitan Kosov, the patriarch met the hetman as he made his triumphal entrance into Kyiv at the end of 1648. Paisios's presence in Kyiv at that time was no accident, and was orchestrated by the hetman himself. While encamped at Pyliavtsi, Khmelnytsky learned of Paisios's desire to travel to Muscovy via Ukraine, apparently from letters written by the patriarch himself and by Vasile Lupu, hospodar of Moldavia. Khmelnytsky dispatched Colonel Syluian Muzhylovsky from Pyliavtsi to meet the patriarch at the Ukrainian–Moldavian border. Muzhylovsky escorted his distinguished guest to Vinnytsia, left him there, and returned to the hetman for further instructions. Khmelnytsky ordered him to take the patriarch to Kyiv and await his own arrival there.[69]

The meeting in Kyiv justified the hetman's expectations, if it did not exceed them. The patriarch blessed his war with the Commonwealth, thereby providing the long-awaited religious legitimation of the uprising, gave public absolution for all past and future sins, and married Khmelnytsky to Helena Czaplińska *in absentia*. Even more importantly for this study, Paisios compared Khmelnytsky with the emperor Constantine, protector of Christianity, and called the hetman 'Prince of Rus''. Rumors also circulated, and were noted particularly by a Cracow city official, Marcin Goliński, to the effect that the patriarch (here identified as the patriarch of Alexandria) had brought a miter to crown Khmelnytsky as ruler of the Princedom of Rus'.[70] In conversation with Commonwealth commissioners in 1649, the hetman called Paisios a holy patriarch, saying

[69] For Muscovite documents dealing with Patriarch Paisios's journey to Muscovy, see *VUR*, 2: 85, 92, 125, 129. Cf. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, p. 123. Hrushevsky assumes that the Moldavian hospodar had entrusted Paisios with certain diplomatic commissions to the hetman that aroused Khmelnytsky's interest, hence he wanted to discuss them with the patriarch in Kyiv. This hypothesis arouses a number of reservations. In the first place, there is no information about the hospodar's commissions; secondly, if indeed Paisios had serious diplomatic proposals that interested the hetman, Khmelnytsky would not have postponed a meeting with him indefinitely, but would have met with him earlier, during his march from Lviv. It would appear that the timing of the meeting and the choice of Kyiv as its venue were not accidental, and were dictated not so much by considerations of a diplomatic nature as by plans to obtain the support that the hetman required from the senior Orthodox hierarchy.

[70] See the diary of the Commonwealth commissioners in *VUR*, 2: 118–20; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, pp. 125–6. On the basis of rumors collected in Warsaw, the Muscovite courier Grigorii Kunakov informed the tsar's court that 'it is said that the patriarch of Jerusalem was in Kyiv and consecrated him, Bohdan, and gave him his blessing to purify the pious Christian faith in the king's realm and to destroy the Union. And the patriarch has ordained that once Bohdan Khmelnytsky obtains accommodation for the Greek faith, he should make peace with the Poles as best he can, so that there will be no further oppression of the true faith by the Poles and by the Uniates in the future' (Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 36; cf. *Akty IuZR*, vol. 3 [1861]: 278–307).

that the latter had instructed him to 'exterminate the Poles', and asked his interlocutors, 'How should I not heed him, such a great superior, our head and welcome guest?'[71]

The diary of the Commonwealth commissioners of 1649 also preserves the interesting observation that Paisios titled the hetman *illustrissimus princeps*.[72] This reference is of considerable interest in defining the level of Khmelnytsky's authority as understood and sanctioned by the Eastern patriarch. In Ukrainian usage of the day, *illustrissimus* meant *iasnovel'mozhnyi* ('most illustrious'). It may be assumed that in conferring the title *illustrissimus princeps* on Khmelnytsky, Patriarch Paisios was placing him on the same level as the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia—dependent rulers of polities under the protectorate of a larger state. That was the term Khmelnytsky used when addressing the Moldavian and Wallachian hospodars in Polish and Latin; moreover, the term *princeps* was employed as an analogue to 'hospodar'.[73] It is noteworthy that the title 'most illustrious' was also used by secretaries of the hetman's chancery in addressing higher Commonwealth dignitaries—the Crown hetman, chancellor, or quartermaster. The hetman's letters to the Kyivan palatine, Adam Kysil, also addressed him as 'most illustrious'.[74]

There are certain indications that Khmelnytsky himself accepted and even used the title *illustrissimus* in documents drafted in Latin. Thus, in a letter to the Transylvanian princes György and Zsigmond Rákóczi written in February 1649, shortly after Khmelnytsky's entrance into Kyiv and his meeting with the patriarch, the hetman styles himself *illustrissimus campiductor*.[75] He is similarly titled in an instruction to Cossack envoys dispatched to György Rákóczi in July 1656.[76] Although the term *campiductor* corresponded to 'field hetman' or 'hetman', Khmelnytsky sometimes used *dux* ('prince') as an equivalent of 'hetman'. There are two notable instances of this usage in documents signed by the hetman not long before his death—in a letter of April 1657 to Emperor Ferdinand III Habsburg and in a proclamation to the Cossack Host on the free passage of imperial envoys.[77]

The patriarch of Constantinople also used the title *illustrissimus* with reference to Khmelnytsky. In a letter to Kosov of February 1651, he calls the hetman 'the most pious and most illustrious and most Orthodox General of the most prosperous and divinely protected great Zaporozhian Host, Lord Zinovii Khmelnytsky, our beloved and desired

[71] *VUR*, 2: 109. [72] Ibid. [73] *DBKh*, pp. 289–90, 484–5, 591–2.

[74] The Lithuanian field hetman, Janusz Radziwiłł, and the palatine of Rus', Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, who were scions of princely lines, were titled 'eminent' (*illustris*, *iasnoosvichenyi*), in keeping with Commonwealth practice of the time. Cf. *DBKh*, nos. 44, 64, 120, 133, 158, 159.

[75] *DBKh*, pp. 99–101. [76] Ibid., pp. 524–6.

[77] Ibid., pp. 574–5, 577–8. Cf. a letter of March 1652 to Adam Kysil (ibid., pp. 256–8).

son . . . in spirit'.[78] In this context, the word *illustrissimus* should be translated as 'most illustrious', but in another letter from the patriarch of Constantinople, which has been preserved only in a Polish copy, Khmelnytsky is titled 'most eminent' (*najjaśniejszy*),[79] which would be *serenissimus* in reverse translation from Polish into Latin—a title applied to independent rulers.

The titulature of Khmelnytsky's documents shows that the term *serenissimus* was employed by the hetman's chancery in addressing independent rulers—the Polish and Swedish kings, as well as semi-independent ones—the elector of Brandenburg and the prince of Transylvania.[80] The Austrian emperor—the 'king of kings'—was titled *augustissimus* in Khmelnytsky's letters.[81] In this three-step hierarchy of early modern Europe, which was reflected in contemporary titulature and accepted by the Cossack administration, the hetman was accorded a place in the lowest rank, among the dependent rulers, making him the equal of the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia. This was the status recognized by the Eastern patriarchs, and this was the way in which Khmelnytsky was perceived by Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo. The archdeacon held up Khmelnytsky's modesty as an example to the hospodars, adding that even one of the hetman's colonels wielded as much power as they did.[82] Khmelnytsky's considerably greater power was thereby emphasized, but the scale of comparison remained the same: hetman/hospodar.

Compared with the actual extent of Khmelnytsky's rule, the title accorded him by the patriarchs, as well as their definition of his place in the hierarchy of European rulers, may appear insignificant, but their use of that title should still be considered a major political achievement of the hetman's administration. Indeed, a struggle still lay ahead for general recognition of the title. The course of Khmelnytsky's diplomacy shows that for the hetman himself, the recognition of his place among the East European rulers (even in the first and lowest rank) was by no means unimportant. His policy toward Moldavia gives clear evidence of an effort to become more strongly identified with the family of rulers who ranked as *illustrissimi*.

[78] *DOV*, p. 384. [79] Ibid., p. 385.

[80] *DBKh*, nos. 206, 416, 457 *et al.* Significantly, the Polish king titled Rákóczi *illustrissimus princeps*, thereby emphasizing the dependent nature of his authority (ibid., p. 704).

[81] *DBKh*, no. 443.

[82] See the Ukrainian translation of excerpts from the diary of Paul of Aleppo in Pavlo Khalebs'kyi, 'Z podorozhnikh zapysok', p. 46: 'Where are your eyes, hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia? Where is your exaltation and pride? Each of you is lesser than any of the colonels subject to him. . . . And as for the seating order at table, he sat lower, placing our patriarch at the head according to the precedence due him at gatherings. Not like the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, who sat at the head themselves, seating the patriarch below them'. (Cf. *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku*, p. 42).

Overall, it appears that no coherent tradition established itself in the usage of Khmelnytsky's titles. Both his own subjects and correspondents from abroad might title him 'most illustrious' or simply 'noble'. As a rule, the former title was more often used in letters from European countries whose rulers did not claim authority over the Hetmanate (i.e. letters that did not come from the Commonwealth or Muscovy). These tendencies also continued after Khmelnytsky's death, during the hetmancy of Ivan Vyhovsky. The most important consideration here was that the title no longer pertained to Khmelnytsky personally, but to the office of hetman. Thus, Prince Stepan Sviatopolk Chetvertynsky, in addressing Vyhovsky with a request for his intervention in 1658, titled both him and Khmelnytsky 'most illustrious hetmans'. The same title was used in a letter to Vyhovsky by Charles X of Sweden. Once again, however, as in Khmelnytsky's time, no particular rule was established. In the treaty between the Hetmanate and Sweden drafted by Iurii Nemyrych, he refers both to himself and to the Swedish envoy as 'most illustrious', while in the Treaty of Hadiach, Vyhovsky and the Commonwealth representative at the negotiations, the Volhynian palatine Stanisław Beniowski, are styled 'noble'.[83] To be sure, the times of Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky saw the beginnings of a tendency to apply the title *illustrissimus* to the hetman, but that was only a tendency, and subsequent developments did not give it scope to become a widely accepted practice or, in time, a tradition.

The question of whether Patriarch Paisios carried out a formal consecration of the hetman remains open. The rumors that he brought a miter for that purpose are not corroborated by evidence of an official 'crowning' of Khmelnytsky as hetman. The diary of the Commonwealth commissioners, to which frequent reference has already been made, speaks of a solemn ceremony in a church (possibly St Sophia's) on the hetman's name day. Khmelnytsky

> stood in first place, where all gave their blessings to him, and some even kissed his feet. The patriarch, that blackguard, served matins and bade him take communion. At first Khmelnytsky did not wish to do so, for he was still light-headed from hops and had not yet made his confession, but he [the patriarch] gave him public absolution of all his present and future sins without confession and exhorted him: 'Go, then, go to holy communion and take the Eucharist.' . . . Immediately afterwards they fired all the cannon in triumph that our savior, the great sovereign, the hetman was taking communion.[84]

The diarist who recorded this scene, obviously from an oral account, reflects an important nuance in the attitude of the Kyivan populace toward Khmelnytsky: the hetman is styled 'great sovereign', but the scene

[83] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 66–7, 280–1, 334.
[84] *VUR*, 2: 110, 118.

described in the diary bears little resemblance to an official consecration, if such a consecration (whether secret or public) indeed took place during Khmelnytsky's sojourn in Kyiv. Instead, Stephen Velychenko considers that a ceremony resembling consecration was conducted on 8 (18) November 1650 and refers to a report of the Muscovite monk Arsenii Sukhanov, who, apart from his other duties, served as liaison between Patriarch Paisios and the Muscovite government.[85]

The ceremony witnessed by Sukhanov in Chyhyryn on 8 November 1650 was a liturgy served in the hetman's court chapel by metropolitans Joasaph of Corinth and Gabriel of Nazareth. According to Sukhanov's report

> the hetman stood at matins with his son in the right choir stall. Following the prayer from the pulpit, both metropolitans came away from the altar through the royal doors and spread a carpet before the royal doors, and summoned the hetman and his son to them, and bade them both kneel on the carpet, while the metropolitans placed their omophorions on their heads, and first the metropolitan of Corinth read a prayer in Greek, then the metropolitan of Nazareth read two prayers in Ruthenian from the Kyivan euchologion; in the ritual expression of wishes for long life and in the litany they called the hetman sovereign and hetman of Great Russia. After matins the hetman went home from church, and bade the metropolitans and all of us go after him.[86]

Despite its solemn character and the participation of two metropolitans, the ceremony described in Sukhanov's report does not appear to have been a consecration. The hetman's routine behavior following the church service, the placing of omophorions simultaneously on the heads of Khmelnytsky and his son (Tymish is most probably meant here), and the lack of any mention of specific ceremonial elements of Khmelnytsky's 'crowning' as hetman all support the conclusion that what took place on 8 (18) November 1650 was not the consecration of the hetman but an ordinary church service in his domestic chapel. Certain elements of that service (the placing of the omophorions, the titling of Khmelnytsky as 'sovereign and hetman of Great Russia') permit the assumption that the actual consecration took place earlier. Perhaps it was held during Paisios's sojourn in Kyiv, or was subsequently performed by Metropolitan Joasaph of Corinth.

Some idea of how a ceremony of Khmelnytsky's consecration was (or could have been) conducted may be gained from a description of the ceremonial consecration of Ivan Vyhovsky as hetman, described by the voevoda Andrei Buturlin in his reports to the tsar. Following the council of Korsun, at which it was decided to elect Vyhovsky not merely regent for

[85] See Velychenko, 'The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas', p. 186.
[86] *VUR*, 2: 187.

Iurii Khmelnytsky but hetman in his own right, the new hetman came to Kyiv. The locum tenens of the metropolitan throne, Lazar Baranovych, celebrated a solemn prayer service at the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery in the presence of the tsar's voevoda, and after the service he sprinkled holy water on the insignia of the hetman's office—the mace, sword, and standard.[87] There was no pre-arranged ceremony for Vyhovsky when he came to Kyiv, as there had been, for example, when Khmelnytsky made his formal entrance into the city at the end of 1648. Vyhovsky arrived not by prior arrangement but in order to attend his sister's funeral, and by that time circumstances were very different: the hetman was greeted not by the patriarch of Jerusalem but by a Muscovite voevoda. That is to say, conditions had changed fundamentally since the initial successes of the war, and did not favor the hetman's independent rule. The salient aspect of the episode is that support for the hetman's office on the part of church dignitaries, which Khmelnytsky had managed to win, gave rise to a certain tradition that did not vanish with the death of the great hetman.

The mentioning of Khmelnytsky's name in church services, which reproduced another important aspect of the sacralization of the power of local rulers in a confessionalized Europe, evidently began immediately after the first victories of 1648.[88] In 1654, however, Paul of Aleppo recorded the ecclesiastical practice of mentioning not only Khmelnytsky's name but also that of the tsar. Referring to the service in the Church of the Dormition at the Kyivan Cave Monastery, he wrote: 'Then the deacon went out to the round pulpit in the center of the church and proclaimed: "We pray also for our Father and Lord, Patriarch Makarios of Antioch, for Archimandrite Iosyf, Hetman Zinovii, and the God-protected Tsar Aleksei." '[89] In view of Muscovy's growing influence in Ukraine and the particular form of dual power that developed in the Muscovite state under the rule of Aleksei Mikhailovich and his aggressive patriarch, Nikon, both Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky sought the support and blessing of the patriarch of Moscow.

It may be assumed that Khmelnytsky himself was the source of the semi-official proposal (not reflected in any of the official documents of the hetman's chancery) delivered to Moscow by Fedir Korobka's Cossack embassy that Patriarch Nikon visit Kyiv. The patriarch was to arrive for the consecration of the new metropolitan (Kosov's successor) and of Iurii Khmelnytsky as hetman. The patriarch's blessing would mean the

[87] See *Akty IuZR*, vol. 4 (1863): 45.

[88] As the Orthodox monk Petronii Lasko reported in June 1649, 'in those lands and churches there is no king; nothing is heard of any authority except that of the hetman and the Zaporozhian Host' (*DOV*, p. 231).

[89] Cited in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 991. Cf. *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku*, pp. 36, 51–2.

recognition of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's dynastic aspirations by both the spiritual and secular authorities of the Muscovite state, whose protectorate had been accepted by Cossack Ukraine.[90] Significantly enough, the proposal delivered by Korobka made no mention of the patriarch's participation in the election of the metropolitan or of the new hetman.[91] Clearly, it was only a matter of providing additional legitimacy for the idea of keeping the hetmancy in the Khmelnytsky family.

Ivan Vyhovsky also sought the 'blessing' of the Moscow patriarch. Once installed as hetman, Vyhovsky is known to have had a conversation with a Muscovite voevoda in which he proposed—again, unofficially—that the tsar and the patriarch visit Kyiv: 'And I will request that they, the sovereigns, come to their ancestral realm, the city of Kyiv, to the joy and approbation of the whole Zaporozhian Host as well as the clergy, and it will be good for all of them to see their sovereign eyes.'[92] If such a visit had occurred at that point, it would have been in Vyhovsky's interest, adding legitimacy to his rule and stability to his family's status. True, there are no grounds to suppose that on Vyhovsky's part such a proposal was anything more than a simple attempt to win Moscow's sympathy in his struggle with the internal opposition. More importantly, both precedents, Khmelnytsky's embassy and Vyhovsky's invitation, showed that the idea of having the hetman's authority confirmed by the patriarch of Moscow had acquired a certain currency in post-Pereiaslav Ukraine.

At various stages of the uprising, the problem of obtaining ecclesiastical sanction for the achievements of the great uprising of 1648 and the secular rule of the hetman that resulted from it was resolved in different ways, and recognition was obtained from a variety of ecclesiastical institutions. The decisive moment came when the support of the Eastern patriarchs was secured, most notably that of Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem. Dependent on the material largesse of Orthodox rulers, constantly in search of alms from Moscow, the Eastern patriarchs and lesser church dignitaries readily granted the legitimacy required by Khmelnytsky, blessing the war with the Catholic Commonwealth and abetting the hetman's efforts to

[90] Since the hetman's official letter to the tsar and the instructions to the envoys made no mention of an invitation to the patriarch, one student of the problem, Vitalii Ėingorn, has conjectured that the initiative in making a verbal proposal was taken not by Khmelnytsky, but by Vyhovsky (*Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII veke. Snosheniia malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha* [Moscow, 1899], p. 100). There is hardly any basis for this, since the patriarch's blessing of Iurii Khmelnytsky as hetman did not serve the interests of the former general chancellor, who had his own claims to the hetman's mace.

[91] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 1374–5. For a long time, Moscow was not even informed of Kosov's death.

[92] Cited in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 131.

win over Orthodox Muscovy. The same could hardly be expected of the Ukrainian clergy, and certainly not of the Kyivan metropolitan, Sylvestr Kosov, who vacillated and did not venture to bless the hetman's policies or his authority, partly because of the uncertain prospects of the uprising.

Khmelnytsky's orientation on Moscow, the signing of the Treaty of Pereiaslav, and the strengthening of Muscovite control over the territory of Cossack Ukraine obliged first Khmelnytsky himself (in the case of Iurii's consecration) and then Vyhovsky to seek the blessing of the patriarch of Moscow, which was seen as a way of helping to establish and confirm the legal right of succession to the hetmancy. On the other hand, a breach with Moscow and the renewal of the alliance with the Commonwealth by Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky could be legitimized only by the local Ukrainian clergy, whose hierarchy enjoyed the support of Cossackdom and already belonged to the upper stratum of Khmelnytsky's new polity, the Hetmanate. Neither the Muscovite clergy nor the Eastern hierarchs, whose services Khmelnytsky had enlisted earlier, lent themselves to such a role. Thus Vyhovsky was supported by the new Kyivan metropolitan, Dionysii Balaban, who was elected to the metropolitan see with the hetman's support.

In considering the extent of ecclesiastical recognition of the hetman's authority in Ukraine during the years of Khmelnytsky's rule and Vyhovsky's subsequent hetmancy, it should be noted that such recognition was never absolute or unconditional. The relatively brief period of unqualified success enjoyed by the insurgents did not suffice to give rise to a tradition: no established procedure evolved for the consecration of the hetman. The title conferred on Khmelnytsky by Patriarch Paisios also failed to obtain broad, let alone exclusive, currency. Nevertheless, when assessing the efforts to obtain ecclesiastical recognition and sanction of the hetman's authority, one should take into account not only the limited degree of success actually attained (as compared with the extent of the hetman's *de facto* control over territory and population) but also the significance of that success.

SEVEN

Hetmans and Metropolitans

Relations between the Cossack élite and the Orthodox hierarchy had become important to Cossackdom in the times of Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny and Iov Boretsky, but never before the Khmelnytsky Uprising had they focused so clearly and directly on dealings between two individuals, the hetman and the metropolitan. The reasons for this may be sought on a variety of levels. First of all, the status of both the hetman and the metropolitan at mid-century was no longer what it had been in the 1620s. At that time, hetmans came and went much more frequently, and their policies often depended on the fickle will of the Cossack general council. Metropolitans, too, did not wield undivided authority over the church, and were not in a position to represent all ecclesiastical interests in dealings with the Cossacks. This situation changed considerably as the Khmelnytsky Uprising broke out and gathered strength. On the one hand, Khmelnytsky managed to consolidate almost unlimited authority over his army and the territory that it took over; on the other, Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov inherited firm control over the church and exceptional authority throughout Ruthenian society from his predecessor on the metropolitan throne, Petro Mohyla.

Another important change in relations between the hetman and the metropolitan during the Khmelnytsky era became apparent as those relations expanded to include a complex of problems associated with the growth of the Cossack polity and the rule of the hetman as a sovereign enjoying *de facto* independence. As Khmelnytsky took it upon himself to establish the parameters of Orthodox–Uniate relations in negotiations with the Commonwealth, there was no avoiding a direct clash between the interests of the hetman and the metropolitan.

Cossackdom's encounter with the Kyivan hierarchy during the years of Khmelnytsky's rule was also a meeting of two forces representing distinct cultural and political traditions. The metropolitanate was imbued with the nobiliary spirit of Old Rus', while the hetman's administration, for all the representatives of the Ruthenian nobility in its service, oriented itself mainly on the Cossack, peasant, and burgher masses, which were far removed from aristocratic political and cultural influences. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Cossacks, while keeping the slogan of the

defense of the 'Greek' religion as part of their mental furniture, had in fact become almost as alienated from the representatives of the Old Rus' tradition as they had been in the late sixteenth century. For a whole host of reasons, prior to the Khmelnytsky Uprising the alliance of the Kyivan hierarchy with the Cossack élite proved relatively short-lived, failing to consolidate a link between Cossackdom and the Old Rus' tradition in politics and culture.

This chapter examines three facets of mid-seventeenth-century relations between Cossackdom on the one hand and ecclesiastical authority and tradition on the other. The first section considers the role of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla in transforming the metropolitanate into a center of spiritual authority independent of the Cossacks. The second is concerned with the clash of interests between hetman and metropolitan in the Khmelnytsky era, from which the hetman emerged triumphant; while the third discusses the rivalry between the old princely and metropolitan capital of Kyiv and the new Cossack headquarters at Chyhyryn, which competed for primacy in Cossack Ukraine. The goal of this analysis is not only to reconstruct the intricate relations between the hetmans and metropolitans of Cossack Ukraine but also to give a fuller representation of the divergent cultural and political trends embodied in the rivalry between church and state.

The Legacy of Petro Mohyla

Ever since the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy by Patriarch Theophanes in the autumn of 1620, Cossackdom had proved itself an influential element in the political tandem that it constituted with the Orthodox hierarchs. The latter were consecrated without benefit of formal election by the nobility and without being presented for office by the king, making them directly dependent on the will of Cossackdom, which had lent them its support. Metropolitan Iov Boretsky could generally count on Cossack assistance, but he was often also subjected to the unceremonious interference of Cossack leaders in church affairs, as was the case with the synodal condemnation of Meletii Smotrytsky and the Cossack sabotage of the joint Orthodox–Uniate synod of 1629. In neither case did Boretsky venture to oppose the demands and insistent pressure of the Cossacks, and to the end of his life he remained faithful to the burdensome alliance between his church and the militant steppe brotherhood.

A clear indication of the importance of the Cossack role in the Orthodox Church was given by the events associated with the death of Iov Boretsky in the spring of 1631 and the election of his successor. The significance of the Cossack factor in that election was directly indicated in a

letter to the palatine of Kyiv, Janusz Tyszkiewicz, from none other than King Zygmunt III. The king warned his correspondent against 'some obstreperous man and rebel . . . installed in that post by the Cossacks who would then rouse them to revolt and incite them against the Catholics and Uniates'. Zygmunt instructed the palatine 'to persuade the Cossacks not to install a metropolitan without our assent and presentation, since the right of presenting him belongs to us according to our royal prerogative and the laws of the Crown'. The king proposed the candidacy of Herman Tyshkevych for the office of metropolitan, but warned the palatine to proceed carefully, not to annoy the Cossacks, to avoid bloodshed, and not to provoke Cossack disturbances throughout Ukraine.[1] Thus, in the eyes of the king, his patronage of the church and right of presenting appointees was directly threatened by the Cossacks.

As might have been expected, success in the election went to the candidate favored by the Cossacks, Isaia Kopynsky, who was opposed by Petro Mohyla and his supporters. In December 1631, a Cossack detachment headed by Colonel Demian Harbuz forcibly expelled one of Mohyla's supporters, Filotei Kyzarevych, from St Michael's Monastery, the seat of the Orthodox metropolitanate at the time, and brought in Kopynsky. According to rumors then circulating among the Orthodox clergy, the Cossacks had 'installed' Kopynsky on the metropolitan throne, since he stood for the Orthodox faith, and they had prevented Mohyla's election because he had allegedly 'submitted to the Poles and made common cause with them against the Cossacks'.[2] This turn of events was exactly what the king had warned against: the Cossacks had installed their 'obstreperous' candidate, completely ignoring the king's wishes. The rift between Cossackdom and the Orthodox hierarchy, which had begun to broaden during the last years of Boretsky's metropolitancy, was thus healed. Nevertheless, the church continued to harbor strong opposition to Cossack hegemony. The opposition forces were only awaiting a timely opportunity to reverse the metropolitanate's policy and make it as independent of Cossack influence as possible. Such an opportunity arrived with the death of Zygmunt III and the election of his successor, Władysław IV.

As discussed earlier, in 1633, Cossack resolve helped to bring about the Coronation Diet's ratification of the royal diploma reaffirming the 'Measures for the Accommodation of Citizens of the Greek Faith', which

[1] For the text of the letter from Zygmunt III, see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 399–400.

[2] Hrushevsky considered that by placing Mohyla in charge of St Michael's Monastery and of his own property, Boretsky was paving the way for him to become metropolitan (*Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 133–4; cf. Boretsky's will, dated 11 March 1631, in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 395–9).

legalized the Orthodox church structure on Commonwealth territory. The new king and the Diet as a whole could not ignore the demands of the Cossack Host, whose armed might was required to wage the recently declared war against Muscovy. Yet the principal role in legalizing the Orthodox hierarchy was played not by the Cossacks, who were not allowed to participate in the king's election, but by the Orthodox nobility, which obtained the 'accommodation of the Ruthenian nation' from the king and Diet on terms that consolidated its control over church affairs. Władysław effectively removed the Cossack candidate, Metropolitan Isaia Kopynsky, from power, while confirming Petro Mohyla, elected by the Orthodox nobles present at the Diet as the new Orthodox metropolitan. Thus, with the support of the royal administration, the Orthodox nobility initiated an anti-Cossack coup in the church.

It was premature, however, to speak of the triumph of the nobility as long as Kopynsky held the metropolitan throne of Kyiv. For that reason, Mohyla's consecration took place not in Kyiv but in Lviv, regardless of the power base established by the future metropolitan at the Kyivan Cave Monastery. Mohyla's arrival in Kyiv was preceded by his supporters' seizure of St Sophia's Cathedral from the Uniates—an effective show of Mohyla's determination in the struggle with the Uniate Church and of the extent of his power, which was based on the king's recognition and the loyalty of his backers in Kyiv. Characteristically, one of Mohyla's first acts upon entering Kyiv was to arrange the arrest of Kopynsky, who was delivered to the Cave Monastery and forced to sign a declaration renouncing his office of metropolitan. Mohyla effectively took over Kyiv without encountering any serious resistance from the local clergy, but that in itself meant little unless he could enlist the support of the Cossacks.[3]

It is hardly surprising that even after Mohyla's consecration as metropolitan, the Zaporozhian Host continued to support the deposed Kopynsky. This obliged Adam Kysil, the royal emissary to the Cossacks at that time, to apply himself to the task of resolving differences and preventing a possible conflict between the Host and the new Kyivan metropolitan. In the summer of 1633, accompanied by the new metropolitan and Orthodox nobles, Kysil paid a visit to the Cossack camp in the vicinity of Pereiaslav, clearly with the aim of forestalling a Cossack expedition to Kyiv to sort out relations. Kysil managed his task successfully, and in due course the Host acclaimed Mohyla as metropolitan. Mohyla proceeded to celebrate the liturgy in the center of the camp, blessing the Cossack

[3] For an account of Kopynsky's arrest and his removal from office that is favorable to Mohyla, see Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (1997), pp. 88–91. For a selection of documents on Mohyla's takeover of St Sophia's Cathedral and an excerpt from the diary of Ioakym Ierlych on Kopynsky's arrest, see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 530–48, 550–2.

artillery and the Cossacks themselves for the war with Muscovy, while the Cossacks approached to kiss the metropolitan's hand and cross. But the Cossacks' acceptance of Mohyla in his new office was not unconditional. A whole day was spent in negotiations between the two sides, with the result that Mohyla agreed to make certain concessions to Kopynsky, ceding St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery to him in exchange for Kopynsky's promise to refrain from using the metropolitan's title and interfering in the affairs of the metropolitanate in future.[4]

To all intents and purposes, the Cossacks acquiesced in the nobiliary coup within the church. In ideological terms, they had little with which to counter Mohyla and his supporters. The king had ostensibly met the Cossacks halfway in their demands for the 'accommodation of the Greek religion', hence a categorical rejection of the royal nominee to the office of metropolitan would have been unseemly. The very cause of defending the rights of the Orthodox Church had been appropriated by the Cossacks from the nobility, depriving them of any opportunity or, indeed, justification for a conflict with the nobles on religious grounds. Mohyla's decisive actions against the Uniates in Kyiv gave the lie to Cossack charges of clandestine conversion to the Union or of favoring the Uniate cause—accusations that the Cossacks had hurled against Boretsky and Mohyla in 1629, and subsequently against their moderate hetmans Hryhorii Chorny and Ivan Kulaha-Petrazhytsky. Ultimately, then, the Cossacks had to surrender to the Orthodox nobility the 'controlling interest' in the Kyivan metropolitanate.

In Mohyla's time, the metropolitan see of Kyiv not only managed to throw off the tutelage of the Cossacks and their hetman but also took advantage of Orthodox nobiliary support and the king's protection to transform itself into a power largely independent of lay control. Within the church, Mohyla managed to subordinate the stauropigial monasteries and the once semi-autonomous bishops to his metropolitan authority. In that respect, the history of the Kyivan metropolitanate was deeply marked by the Mohylian era. The consolidation of the metropolitan's personal authority in the church could not but have a profound effect on the role that he played in Ruthenian society as a whole.

The metropolitan was clearly intent on claiming the leadership of Ruthenian society and taking on a number of functions pertaining to the representation of the Ruthenian world that had earlier been carried out by the princely stratum. Even the first panegyrics to Mohyla, written and

[4] At first Mohyla halted 2 miles from the camp with his retinue, while Kysil engaged in convincing the Cossacks to proceed to the Smolensk theater of war against Muscovy and took it upon himself to defend Mohyla from the Cossacks in view of the conflict with Kopynsky. See the publication of an excerpt from the account of the nobleman Pawłowski, an envoy from Hetman Koniecpolski to the Cossacks, in Lipiński, ed., *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 195–6.

published while he was still an archimandrite, showed that the young cleric's aspirations exceeded the ecclesiastical sphere. The panegyrists often stressed the fact that Mohyla belonged to the house of the Moldavian hospodars and consistently referred to him as the son of the hospodar.[5] In a verse of 1628 on the Mohyla family's coat of arms, Tarasii Zemka addressed himself to Mohyla directly:

> Most justly did the King of Kings present you
> With the throne of state and the scepter of your father's kingdom,
> For you have all within you that the coat of arms displays,
> And it does not adorn you, but is itself adorned by you.[6]

At different stages of Mohyla's ecclesiastical career, panegyrists represented his political ambitions in a variety of ways. When Mohyla was archimandrite, and relations between the Orthodox hierarchy and the Zaporozhian Host were very close, the authors of panegyrics drew parallels between his authority and that of a hetman, the title used to designate both Commonwealth and Cossack military commanders. The *Hymnal* (1630) composed by the Kyivan printers and dedicated to 'Petro Mohyla, Archimandrite of the Holy Wonder-Working Great Kyivan Cave Monastery, Son of the Hospodar of the Moldavian Lands', expressed the following wish:

> Grant also, O Conqueror of Death, to our lord,
> Son of the hospodar, and now our hetman
> And pastor, that he defeat death in spirit.[7]

Mohyla's accession to the metropolitan throne brought new motifs into the writings of Kyivan panegyrists. Given the new metropolitan's orientation on princely and nobiliary Rus', panegyrics to him no longer included parallels with hetmans. They were supplanted by parallels with

[5] See the dedication to Mohyla in the *Ymnolohia* (1630), where he is styled 'Son of the Hospodar of the Moldavian Lands', in *Ukraïns'ka poeziia: kinets' XVI—pochatok XVII st.*, p. 359. Although Mohyla was depicted in one illustration as wearing archimandrite's vestments, having cast off the attributes of temporal power—the crown, scepter, and ermine mantle—that illustration, like most panegyrics and verses celebrating the Mohyla name, actually stressed his noble descent, by no means relegating it to the background. See a facsimile reproduction of the *Eucharistērion*, with an introduction by Ihor Ševčenko, in *HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 (June 1984). Cf. *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, pp. 174–88, here p. 176; *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, p. 241. On the *Eucharistērion*, see Natalia Pylypiuk, '*Eucharistērion. Albo, Vdjačnost*'. The First Panegyric of the Kiev Mohyla School: Its Content and Historical Context', *HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 (June 1984): 45–70.

[6] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia: kinets' XVI—pochatok XVII st.*, p. 346.

[7] Ibid., p. 364. The comparison of supreme spiritual authority with that of the hetman had become so popular by this time that the authors of the *Ymnolohia* even referred to Christ as hetman. Thus, for example, they called Mohyla 'our chief and pastor, under Christ the Hetman' (ibid., p. 363) and referred to Christ as 'potent Hetman' (ibid., p. 365). In 1621, Iov Boretsky referred to God as hetman in the meaning of 'chief': 'In this holy cause our Hetman is God, who is One in the Trinity' (Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 152).

Kyivan princes, which had been traditional in the literature of Rus'. In Mohyla's case, the parallels were clearly reminiscent of those employed by the Ukrainian bookmen with reference to Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky and signified the continuation of the earlier tradition, even though it was now being applied to a prince of the church, not to a secular dignitary.

It would be difficult to exaggerate Mohyla's role in 'funding' and restoring the historical monuments of Kyiv's princely era. His activity was governed by a well-defined ideological purpose: Mohyla was not simply renovating ancient Kyiv, but the city as it had been in the times of the Baptizer of Rus', Prince Volodymyr. The latter's image took on extraordinary significance in the battle of ideas and polemical writings on the issue of church union in Rus', and Mohyla did everything in his power to 'privatize' the legacy of Prince Volodymyr in the struggle with his Uniate rivals. Having won possession of the churches previously claimed by the Uniates, Mohyla devoted a great deal of effort to their reconstruction in the spirit of the Byzantine tradition, seeking to make them appear as they had in the days of Kyivan Rus'. The churches restored and renovated at Mohyla's initiative included St Sophia's Cathedral, the Church of the Three Saints, and St Michael's Church at the Vydubychi Monastery. The murals of the Church of the Holy Savior at Berestovo, which contained the crypt of the princes of the Monomakh line and Iurii Dolgorukii, were also restored.[8]

Mohyla's major project in this sphere was the restoration of the Cathedral of St Sophia, which the metropolitan turned into the shrine of his revived cult of St Volodymyr. His role in reclaiming and later rebuilding St Sophia was characterized in one of the panegyrics as follows:

> At Sophia ruins awaited you,
> It was through your hands that they were to rise again,
> Therefore enter your capital with felicity,
> Live piously.[9]

The cathedral was built in the times of Iaroslav the Wise, but that prince was by no means as symbolically important to the church and Ruthenian society as Volodymyr the Great, and for his own purposes Mohyla firmly adopted the view that Iaroslav had only completed the work undertaken by Volodymyr. In the inscription made on the central cupola in 1634, Mohyla ascribed the start of the cathedral's construction to the year 1011 (in fact, construction most probably began in 1037), thereby making it the brainchild of Volodymyr, who died in 1015. Mohyla's 'amendment' of

[8] N. T. Pugacheva, 'Ideino-polemicheskii smysl restavratsionnoi deiatel'nosti Petra Mogily' in *Chelovek i istoriia v srednevekovoi filosofskoi mysli russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, ed. V. S. Gorskii (Kyiv, 1987), pp. 132–9.

[9] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna)*, p. 253.

historical fact continued with the addition of Volodymyr's portrait to the wall paintings, which had originally depicted Iaroslav the Wise holding a model of the cathedral in his hands. Mohyla also dedicated one of the altars of St Sophia's Cathedral to St Volodymyr. He planned to build a crypt there for Volodymyr's remains, which he believed to have been discovered during the excavation of the Church of the Tithes. A separate chapel was built to house the prince's relics, and in 1640 Mohyla appealed to the tsar of Muscovy 'to build a sepulchre for the remains of our forefather', but received no positive reply.[10]

Making reference to the Rus' chronicles, the metropolitan also traced his own lineage back to the times of Prince Volodymyr. The link between the Kyivan prince and baptizer of Rus' and the metropolitan was also implicit in an inscription in the Church of the Redeemer at Berestovo, which was restored at Mohyla's initiative. The inscription noted particularly that the church, 'built by the Grand Prince and Autocrat of All Rus', Volodymyr the Blessed', had been restored by 'Petro Mohyla, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych, and All Rus''. In the opinion of Ihor Ševčenko, the use of Mohyla's name together with that of Volodymyr, as well as the similarity of titulature with reference to rule over all of Rus', testifies to Mohyla's view of himself as inheritor and continuator of Volodymyr's cause.[11]

Given that something of a leadership vacuum developed during the transition from the Old Rus' to the Cossack era, Mohyla managed to assume the functions not only of a religious leader but also of head and symbolic representative of all Orthodox Rus'. This role of Mohyla's was challenged only by the leader of the Orthodox nobility, Adam Kysil, who gained prominence in the 1630s and, even more, in the 1640s. Mohyla and Kysil formed a kind of dyarchy at the pinnacle of Ruthenian

[10] See Nadiia Nikitenko, 'Volodymyrs'kyi memorial u Sofiï Kyïvs'kii chasiv Petra Mohyly' in *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, pp. 159–67. Cf. id., *Rus' i Vizantiia v monumental'nom komplekse Sofii Kievskoi* (Kyiv, 1999).

Thanks in no small measure to the efforts of Petro Mohyla, by the mid-seventeenth century the cult of St Volodymyr had become quite popular among the Orthodox. At the Orthodox–Uniate negotiations on the religious issue at the Diet of 1650 in Warsaw, Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov demanded the return of churches and church property from the Uniates 'since their very foundation by St Volodymyr'. In replying to Kosov, a Uniate bishop noted that the Uniate metropolitan 'would derive his faith not from Volodymyr, but from Christ and St Peter, upon whom our church was founded' (Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 1512). The Uniates, for their part, put a good deal of effort into developing and popularizing the cult of Iosafat Kuntsevych, and, as may be judged from the report of the Warsaw discussions of 1650, had iconic representations of him in their churches ('iosafatami pisanymi', ibid., p. 1523).

[11] See Ihor Ševčenko, 'The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla' in his *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., and Naples, 1991), pp. 679–81. The first publication of this article (*HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 [June 1984]: 9–44) included the first publication of the inscription in the Church of the Redeemer at Berestovo (pp. 36–7).

Orthodox society, with Mohyla playing the more prominent role in this tandem as the leader not only of the nobility, but of the nation as a whole.[12] The role that Mohyla took on—that of indisputable leader and defender not only of the church but of Ruthenian society in general—entailed a sharp break with the whole prior tradition of the Ruthenian Church, which had sought and found champions among the princes or within Cossackdom. According to a panegyric published to mark Mohyla's entrance into Kyiv,

> Rus', now at last you have a change of fortune;
> You have the hour of fortune's triumph:
> This is Petro, defender of your rights,
> The coat of arms of Zion . . .
> Do you recall how famous Rus' was before,
> How many patrons it had?
> Now there are few of them; Rus' wants to have you
> In the Sarmatian world.[13]

Some of Mohyla's works give an indication of his personal attitude to the relationship between spiritual and temporal power. At first glance, that attitude seems rather contradictory: Mohyla's publication of a monument of Byzantine political thought, the *Hortatory Chapters* by the deacon Agapetus, may be seen as an indication of his support for the complete subordination of the spiritual power to the temporal, while his introduction to the *Homiliary Gospel* and some parts of his monumental *Euchologion* may be read as arguments for the supremacy of spiritual over temporal power.[14] However, these contradictions in Mohyla's treatment of the problem were more apparent than real, and can be traced to the specific circumstances that confronted him.

Mohyla was obliged to work out the relationship between spiritual and temporal power for himself and his metropolitanate while fending off constant interference from lay patrons and lay elements generally in the internal affairs of the church. Having been nominated to the metropolitanate by the king, Mohyla never questioned the right of the monarch to

[12] One indication of the perception of Mohyla and Kysil as the most eminent Orthodox leaders is to be found in the 1635 edition of the *Kyivan Cave Patericon*, which was embellished with engravings of their coats of arms. See Sylwester Kossów (Syl'vestr Kosov), *Paterikon abo Żywoty SS. Oyców Pieczarskich* (Kyiv, 1635). For excerpts from the *Paterikon*, see *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 448–72.

[13] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, pp. 63–4.

[14] On Mohyla's view of the relationship between spiritual and secular authority in society, see Iakovenko, 'Roztiatyi svit'; id., 'Symvol "Bohokhranymoho hrada" u kyïvs'kii propahandi', pp. 66–9. See also the critique of Iakovenko's judgements in Valeriia Nichyk, *Petro Mohyla v dukhovnii istorïï Ukraïny* (Kyiv, 1997), pp. 119–29. Nichyk seeks to analyze Mohyla's legacy in the context of Ukrainian nation formation. On Mohyla's publication of the work by Agapetus, see Ihor Ševčenko, 'Ljubomudrějšij Kÿr' Agapit Diakon: On a Kiev Edition of a Byzantine *Mirror of Princes*', in his *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture*, pp. 497–557.

nominate the Kyivan metropolitan, but fought incessantly for the right to limit the role of the lay element in the church, whether that element was represented by the rebellious Cossacks, Orthodox nobles, or burghers united in their brotherhoods. As the *Euchologion* compellingly demonstrates, it was here, within the church as an institution and in spiritual matters, that Mohyla insisted on the absolute dominance of the spiritual element over the temporal one.

By establishing his absolute authority over the church, Mohyla became a leader of distinction, articulating the interests and expectations of Orthodox Rus' as a whole. His efforts to maintain control of the levers of spiritual power not only within the church but also in secular society were rather well characterized in a poem written after his death (the poem puns on Mohyla's name, which means 'grave'):

> While he lived, this very hierarch kept all Ruthenians in submission.
> Now the sad grave [*mohyla*] and heaven hold him.
> Mohyla's body is in the grave; his soul soars somewhere in heaven.
> For him, the world both here and there will be too small.[15]

Panegyrists often represented Mohyla as the sole champion of Rus' and its exclusive leader. It is hard to disagree with Mykhailo Hrushevsky's opinion that the panegyrists ascribed to Mohyla a variety of successful actions in defense of Rus' and the Orthodox Church that in fact should have been credited to those who preceded him in the offices of metropolitan and archimandrite of the Kyivan Cave Monastery, as well as to the leaders of the Orthodox nobility, who had brought the protracted battle in the Commonwealth Diet to a successful conclusion.[16] In the present context, however, the major consideration is not so much whether Mohyla deserved the praises that were heaped upon him as the general tendency and the cultural and historical orientation that they represented.

During Mohyla's administration, the paths of the Orthodox hierarchy and Cossackdom clearly diverged. Quite symptomatic in this regard was the conversion of the Cossack hetman Ivan Sulyma to Catholicism before his execution in Warsaw in 1635.[17] The close alliance that had prevailed in the times of Konashevych-Sahaidachny was succeeded by a cooling of relations and mutual suspicion in the times of Mohyla. The Cossack élite,

[15] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna)*, p. 330.

[16] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*, 6: 665.

[17] Sulyma was executed for leading a Cossack detachment in an attack on the Polish fortress of Kodak in 1635. Earlier, as noted in Chapter 1, Sulyma had distinguished himself by seizing a Turkish galley on the Mediterranean and delivering his captives to Pope Paul V. The pope rewarded the hero with a gold medal, which Sulyma, on converting to Catholicism before his execution, asked to be placed in his coffin. See Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, 1: 493–5.

to which the Kyiv metropolitanate owed the restoration of its hierarchy in 1620, was decidedly annoyed by the generally anti-Cossack course of the Orthodox hierarchy's policy while Petro Mohyla served as metropolitan.

Mohyla's hierarchy clearly did not support the Zaporozhians' rebellious ardor, and the use of religious slogans by the Cossacks during the revolt of 1637–8 indicated not a *rapprochement* but an estrangement between Cossackdom and the Mohylian church. In 1636, at Kysil's behest, Mohyla sought to prevent a Cossack revolt, calling on the Zaporozhians to keep the peace for the good of the church. When the victorious Mikołaj Potocki entered Kyiv after bloody reprisals against the rebels in Pereiaslav, Orthodox schools welcomed him with verses, and the metropolitan paid him a personal visit.[18] Later, Orthodox church leaders sang the praises of Prince Illia Chetvertynsky, who helped to put down the 'Cossack rebellion'. The *Teratourgēma* (1638) of Atanasii Kalnofoisky was dedicated to him, and his exploits in suppressing the Cossacks were mentioned in the oration delivered at his funeral by Klymentii Starushych (1641).[19] Not only did Mohyla's hierarchy enjoy the support of the king, which allowed it to dispense with Cossack protection, but it was a supporter of royal policy toward the Cossacks. Its social base was not Zaporizhia but the Orthodox nobility of Volhynia and central Ukraine.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Sylvestr Kosov

Not surprisingly, when the Khmelnytsky Uprising broke out, relations between the Cossack officers and the Orthodox hierarchy were far from ideal. Although the old alliance between Cossackdom and the part of the Orthodox nobility was revived in the course of the revolt, relations between the hetman's administration and the metropolitanate remained uneasy and full of tension. The attitude of the Cossack leaders to the Orthodox clergy—mistrustful, to say the least—found expression in the words of the Cossack colonel Fedir Veshniak spoken to the Commonwealth commissioners in January 1649: '. . . both your priests and our priests are whoresons all!'[20]

The difficulty facing church leaders at the start of the uprising was, first and foremost, that on the one hand the Khmelnytsky regime had endowed Orthodoxy with unprecedented prestige, effectively making it the

[18] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 233–4, 279.

[19] For a description of these publications, see Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam"iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, vol. 1, nos. 266, 289. For a biography of Illia Chetvertynsky, see Władysław Tomkiewicz, 'Czetwertyński-Światopełk Eliasz' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4 (1938): 361.

[20] '. . . i nasi [apparent misprint for 'wasi'] xięża, i nasi popi, wszyscy z kurwy synowie!' (*Jakuba Michałowskiego . . . księga pamiętnicza*, p. 373). Compare the citation of the same remark in *VUR*, 2: 107: 'I wasi księża i nasi popi wszystko tacy synowie'.

dominant religion on the territory of the Hetmanate; while, on the other hand, Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov, the successor to Mohyla on the Kyivan metropolitan throne, and his entourage were rather closely associated with the ruling circles of the Commonwealth and required protection from their own faithful—peasants, burghers, and rank-and-file Cossacks—during the uprising. The hetman's administration could not guarantee such protection, especially during the early stages of the revolt. Moreover, the church hierarchs could not afford to neglect the possibility that Polish rule would be restored in Ukraine if the Cossack forces were defeated.

Kosov's reaction at the start of the uprising gave a good indication of his attitude. As Adam Kysil wrote in a letter of 31 May 1648, 'the most prominent clerical and lay figures of both denominations' departed Kyiv on the eve of Khmelnytsky's rumored entrance into the city.[21] Kosov made his way to the Diet, where negotiations were to continue on establishing a 'universal union' with Rome. These plans for union were derailed by the military victories of the insurgents in the autumn of 1648, while Kosov was forced to seek an alliance with the hetman's administration.[22] Toward the end of the year, Kosov was obliged to join Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem in showing particular deference to Khmelnytsky during his triumphal entrance into Kyiv. The metropolitan found it necessary to acknowledge the importance, and in many instances the leading role within the 'Ruthenian nation', of Cossackdom, whose services Petro Mohyla had declined during his tenure of office. Although the new authorities left the metropolitan's ecclesiastical powers largely untouched, even increasing them as a result of the victories of 1648–9, they severely limited those prerogatives in the political sphere.[23]

Bohdan Khmelnytsky was in many ways a typical representative of the

[21] *VUR*, 2: 25.

[22] According to rumors recorded by the Muscovite courier Grigorii Kunakov, Metropolitan Kosov was a member of the Polish delegation dispatched to Khmelnytsky in the autumn of 1648. After the conclusion of negotiations, he supposedly visited Kyiv and was to proceed from there to the Diet, but 'it is said that when he was on his way the Cherkasians turned him back to Kyiv and assigned a detail of a hundred men to guard him and told him what business was it of his; he should keep to his cell and not involve himself in such matters' (Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 28; cf. *Akty IuZR*, vol. 3 [1861]: 247–50).

[23] Oleksander Ohloblyn, who wrote an article specifically devoted to the relationship between the hetman's and metropolitan's authority during the Khmelnytsky period, treated relations between Khmelnytsky and Kosov in the first years of the uprising as a case of dual power (see his 'Problema derzhavnoï vlady na Ukraïni za Khmel'nychchyny i Pereiaslavs'ka uhoda 1654 roku', *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 2, nos. 3–4 [1965]: 1–16, here 8–9).

Ohloblyn's point of departure was a report by the Muscovite courier Grigorii Kunakov on negotiations between Khmelnytsky and the Commonwealth commissioners at Pereiaslav in February 1649. According to Kunakov, the articles submitted by the hetman to the commissioners included the demand that all estates on the Left Bank of the Dnipro belong to 'the Metropolitan of Kyiv and the Hetman of the whole Zaporozhian Host', and that the king have no authority to

Cossack officers of noble descent, sharing both Cossack and nobiliary attitudes toward religion. The young Bohdan studied in an Orthodox school in Dnipro Ukraine and then continued his education at the Lviv Jesuit college, where one of his teachers was the Revd Andrzej Humel-Mokrski, who later served as an envoy to the hetman.[24] Clearly, a student of Catholic professors who nevertheless remained faithful to Orthodoxy was well acquainted with the religious problems of his homeland from personal experience. During the years of the uprising, the hetman had his own spiritual mentor, or chaplain.[25] While Khmelnytsky showed unquestionable loyalty to Orthodoxy, he also had a pragmatic approach to church–state relations.

Having established his rule over most of Ukraine, Khmelnytsky also sought to take over the royal right of patronage and of distributing 'spiritual bread'. This role of the hetman with respect to the Orthodox Church, which now became dominant on the territory occupied by the insurgents, seemed entirely natural to the new Cossack authorities, but met with strong resistance on the part of the higher Kyivan clergy. Metropolitan Kosov was a living witness and adherent of the Mohylian tradition in Ukrainian ecclesiastical and socio-political life, which sought a *modus vivendi* with the royal authority and regarded the church as the sole national institution—given the absence of a national state apparatus—capable of taking upon itself most of the functions of the latter, with the metropolitan serving as leader of the entire nation in the eyes of the royal administration and of society itself.

The success of the insurgents' campaign of 1648–9 strengthened

declare war on foreign powers without the knowledge of the hetman and metropolitan (see *Akty IuZR*, vol. 3 [1861]: 288–9).

These demands, cited in Kunakov's report, find no corroboration in the commissioners' diary or in other variants of the 'points' presented by Khmelnytsky. In all probability, they were either the product of Kunakov's own interpretation, since he was well acquainted with the principle of dual power in Muscovite political practice, according to which both patriarch and tsar styled themselves 'sovereign', or reflected rumors circulating in the Ruthenian Orthodox clerical milieu, which may have treated any talks with Rus' as negotiations with the metropolitan, especially as the latter did indeed meet with the Commonwealth commissioners. Nor do other documents of the period 1648–54 confirm Ohloblyn's treatment of relations between Khmelnytsky and Kosov as a manifestation of dual power.

[24] Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 1st edn., pp. 67–9.

[25] The 'post' was occupied by a succession of individuals. In November 1648, the Lviv councillor Samuel Kuszewicz wrote to one of his correspondents that during the siege of Lviv Khmelnytsky transmitted a letter to the besieged city through his confessor and brother-in-law Fedir Radkevych (Kushevych, 'Lysty zi L'vova', 4: 119). There is surviving testimony that at approximately the same time members of the Lviv Orthodox brotherhood met with the hetman's personal chaplain, Ivan Hoholovsky (Mykola Kucherniuk, 'Pidpil'nyi front Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho', *Zhovten'* (Lviv), no. 10 [1987]: 139). In a report dated December 1650, the Muscovite envoy in Ukraine, Vasilii Unkovsky, mentioned yet another cleric from Khmelnytsky's circle: 'A sable was given to a priest of the Church of the Redeemer, Levontii, the hetman's spiritual mentor' (*VUR*, 2: 442).

Khmelnytsky's position in his undeclared struggle with the metropolitan. Making masterful use of religious demands in the course of the negotiations with the Commonwealth authorities, the hetman managed not only to obtain important concessions from the king but also to make Metropolitan Kosov a participant in the diplomatic maneuvers that he had undertaken. No episode better demonstrates Khmelnytsky's success in imposing his own religious agenda in Ukrainian–Polish relations on the metropolitan, as well as in manipulating the religious demands of the Orthodox hierarchy, than the ratification of the Treaty of Zboriv. The treaty conditions were to be ratified at the Diet that took place in Warsaw from November 1649 to January 1650. Although the Zboriv terms provided that the question of church union would be decided in consultation with Kosov, and that the metropolitan himself would be given a seat in the Senate, the royal administration attempted to prevent Kosov from participating in the Diet. Moreover, the clause of the Treaty of Zboriv concerning the Senate seat was treated as if the metropolitan's denomination—Orthodox or Uniate—were a matter of uncertainty.[26] The Diet became the arena of complex political maneuvers by the Cossack diplomats, whose ultimate goal was the ratification of the treaty.[27] According to the papal nuncio Juan de Torres, the stormiest debate on religious matters took place on 8–9 and 14–15 January 1650. Kosov demanded the return to the Orthodox of churches seized by the Uniates, as well as a seat in the Senate for himself. On the eve of Kosov's departure for the Diet, Khmelnytsky allegedly gave him the following warning: 'You, Reverend Metropolitan, if in those set speeches of ours you do not hold the line against the Poles and, further, if you should take it into your head to change our advice and agree to something new against our will, then you will, of course, find yourself in the Dnipro.'[28] At one point in the Diet proceedings, Kysil, seeking a compromise and supporting the metropolitan's demand for the return of church property to the Orthodox, asked that Kosov's demands be satisfied, referring to those words of Khmelnytsky's. As de Torres wrote to Rome, the Kyivan palatine assured

[26] See, for example, a letter dated 4 September 1649 to the papal nuncio, Juan de Torres, from the Lithuanian vice-chancellor, Lew Sapieha (TsDIA [Kyiv], fond 1230, op. 1, no. 61, ff. 31–2). On the eve of the Diet, the secular and religious authorities of the Commonwealth tried to reassure de Torres and the pope himself, who were worried by the king's promise to meet Cossack religious demands halfway. See a letter dated 11 September 1649 to the pope from the archbishop of Gniezno, Maciej Łubieński (TsDIA [Kyiv], fond 1230, op. 1, no. 61, ff. 33–4; cf. *DOV*, pp. 309–10).

[27] For Khmelnytsky's instructions to the Cossack envoys, see *DBKh*, p. 1951. For a discussion of the religious question at the Diet, see Antoni Mironowicz, *Prawosławie i unia za panowania Jana Kazimierza* (Białystok, 1997), pp. 100–11; Łucja Częścik, *Sejm warszawski w 1649/1650 roku* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdańsk, 1978).

[28] *VUR*, 2: 505; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 1511.

the Diet that if Kosov's claims were denied, the Cossacks would rise again, and Khmelnytsky would have the metropolitan thrown into the river. Kysil's statement aroused no particular sympathy for the metropolitan: the king replied that if Kosov did not settle down, he himself would throw him into the Vistula or have him drawn and quartered.[29]

During the negotiations in Warsaw, Kosov himself frequently cited Khmelnytsky's threat and emphasized that he was powerless to change his position, since he had been sent to the Diet by the Cossacks against his will. According to a supplication to the king prepared by Kysil and signed by Kosov, 'We came here to the Diet according to the will and resolution of Your Royal Majesty, and then we were sent on our way both by the hetman and by the Zaporozhian Host more of necessity than of our own will.'[30] While this tactic certainly made it easier for the metropolitan to conduct negotiations and defend his position, it also indicated the actual state of his relations with the Cossacks. Kosov was, in effect, functioning as Khmelnytsky's envoy and representative in Warsaw, forbidden to deviate from the line established by the hetman. In one of his discussions with the metropolitan, Kysil referred directly to Khmelnytsky's 'order', and Kosov, as an anonymous Orthodox author noted in his report on the negotiations, 'did not question the hetman's order'.[31]

In behind-the-scenes negotiations, Kysil attempted to persuade the Orthodox bishops to accept minor concessions on the part of the king, threatening that if the Cossacks should triumph, the Orthodox hierarchs would become 'servants of their servants'. Failing to persuade Kosov to moderate his position in the negotiations, Kysil finally turned for assistance to the hetman's envoys, who appealed to the metropolitan not to force a suspension of the Diet. For all the importance attached to the religious question, it was only one item on the overall agenda of the Zaporozhian Host, and immediately upon arriving at the Diet, Adam Kysil reported that he had convinced Khmelnytsky to withdraw the demand for abolition of the church union, arguing that if freedom of religion were demanded for one's self, it should not be denied to others.[32]

Clearly, Kosov was forced to show flexibility in moderating the claims of the Orthodox Church and taking the interests of the hetman and the Cossack administration as his point of departure. The Cossacks, having won the ratification of the Treaty of Zboriv, were prepared to make concessions in order to ensure that the Diet session was not dissolved.[33] In the end, the hierarchy decided to settle for a royal privilege, to which Jan

[29] Welykyj, ed., *Litterae nuntiorum*, 7: 108 ff.
[30] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 1517.
[31] The report was published in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 1509–23, here 1515.
[32] Ibid., pp. 1509–23.
[33] Częścik, *Sejm warszawski*, p. 123.

Kazimierz affixed his signature on 20 January, although he dated it 12 January 1650, the last day of the Diet session.[34] The privilege guaranteed the exemption of the Orthodox clergy from service obligations and recognized the right of the Orthodox to the Vitsebsk–Mstsislaŭ eparchy in Belarus, as well as the eparchies of Lutsk, Kholm, and Peremyshl (the latter after the death of the incumbent Uniate bishop) in Ukraine. The monasteries of Zhydychyn and Leshcha were granted to the Orthodox metropolitan.[35] The hetman's imposition of his terms could not, of course, have been gratifying to the metropolitan, but Kosov was in no position to do very much about it.

Kosov's complex behavior at the Diet does not lend itself to simple and straightforward assessment. As may be deduced on the basis of the abovecited report on the Diet negotiations, Kosov was under pressure from his own clergy, which insisted on the fulfillment of the clause of the Zboriv agreement that called for the complete abolition of the Union. Under the influence of Kysil and Khmelnytsky, however, the metropolitan was compelled to agree to a more moderate solution that provided for the transfer to the Orthodox of all the possessions of the Uniate Church. Kosov departed for the Diet with instructions from Khmelnytsky to that effect. Kysil, however, taking account of the mood at the Diet, rightly considered even this demand unrealistic, and urged the metropolitan to agree to the transfer of bishoprics and estates to the Orthodox only upon the death of the incumbents. Kosov opposed such a solution to the utmost, referring to Khmelnytsky's unambiguous instructions. Only after Kysil received the support of the Cossack envoys to the Diet did Kosov find himself obliged to abandon his previous position and agree to Kysil's proposal.

After the conclusion of the Diet and the ratification of the Treaty of Zboriv, Khmelnytsky was prepared to go some way toward accommodating the demands of his metropolitan. As early as March 1650, Khmelnytsky began to revise his religious policy, complaining of the Uniates' unwillingness to abide by the terms of the royal privilege. The instructions to the Cossack embassy that took the register of 40,000 to Warsaw counseled insistence on the abolition of the Union. Clearly, Khmelnytsky considered that it was again time to bring religious demands to the forefront. In the spring of 1650, Klymentii Starushych, a plenipotentiary of

[34] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 1509–23.

[35] On the debate concerning the religious issue at the Diet of 1649–50, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 3, pp. 257–62; vol. 9, pt. 1, pp. 24–30; pt. 2, pp. 1508–23; Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine*, pp. 178–80; Częścik, *Sejm warszawski*. For a list of properties given to the Orthodox after Zboriv and retaken by the Uniates after Berestechko, see BN, Manuscript Division, dział IV, no. 4228, fol. 105: 'Which Bishoprics and Monasteries Were Uniate Immediately before the Cossack War'.

Metropolitan Kosov, and the author of an anti-Cossack panegyric devoted to Prince Illia Chetvertynsky (1641), also made his way to Warsaw. He was provided with detailed instructions for his negotiations with the royal administration in which every case of non-compliance with the points of the royal privilege was clearly indicated.[36] As was to be expected, these efforts on the part of Khmelnytsky and Kosov yielded no tangible results. Equally fruitless were the demands of the Cossack envoys for the abolition of the Union at the Diet held in late 1650. A new war was imminent, and only military victory or defeat would determine the status of the two Ruthenian churches, Orthodox and Uniate.

Kosov was certainly restive under the tutelage of the Cossack hetman. During the uprising he maintained a pro-Polish political orientation and, like Adam Kysil, his close collaborator of the period of 'universal union', favored a Ukrainian–Polish compromise. In the upper echelons of the hetman's officialdom the metropolitan could count on the understanding of officers of noble descent, whose unquestioned leader was General Chancellor Ivan Vyhovsky. While in the camp of the insurgents, Kosov gave consistent support to the king's envoys and other representatives of the royal administration who visited the court of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. As early as August 1648, the Commonwealth commissioners dispatched to Khmelnytsky wrote back to Warsaw, stating that Kosov was alone in calling on the insurgents to make peace.[37] The metropolitan took a similar stand during negotiations at Pereiaslav in February 1649, although he expressed regret that the commission was not empowered to resolve the question of church union.[38]

Throughout those years, Kysil repeatedly availed himself of the metropolitan's services. In August 1650, Kysil turned to Kosov once again on learning of Khmelnytsky's negotiations with an envoy of the Ottoman Empire. Fearing harmful consequences for the Commonwealth, Kysil made a hasty trip to Chyhyryn and sent a messenger to the metropolitan, who was then at Pereiaslav, appealing to him to intervene and prevent the establishment of an alliance with the 'infidels'. Over a three-day period, Kosov exchanged opinions with Kysil on the situation arising from the Ottoman envoy's arrival.[39] Kosov continued to maintain close ties with

[36] For the text of Khmelnytsky's instructions to the Cossack envoys, see *DBKh*, pp. 153–4. The text of Kosov's instructions to Starushych is preserved in the Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 225, ff. 314–314^{v}; no. 240, ff. 318–19; the text of the king's draft 'declaration' on religious matters, prepared by the metropolitan's chancery, is ibid., no. 225, ff. 315–16. Cf. Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 78–85. The mission of Klymentii Starushych is discussed in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, pp. 31–2; Serhii Plokhii, 'Do istorii formuvannia politychnoho sekuliaryzmu na Ukraïni (Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i Syl'vestr Kosov)' in *Sekuliaryzatsiia dukhovnoho zhyttia na Ukraïni v epokhu humanizmu i Reformatsii*, ed. Ievhen Hryniv (Kyiv, 1991), pp. 76–91.

[37] Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 225, f. 162.

[38] Ibid., f. 200.

[39] See Adam Kysil's letter of 13 August 1650 to Jan II Kazimierz in *VUR*, 2: 385–7.

the king and Commonwealth military leaders in late 1650 and early 1651.[40] On hearing from Jan II Kazimierz that Khmelnytsky had 'turned infidel', Kosov dispatched a number of letters spreading this rumor, but the fiction met with very little credence.[41]

Until the military campaign of 1651, which ended in defeat for the insurgents, Kosov did not venture to come out openly against Khmelnytsky's policies. Only in July 1651, as the forces of the Lithuanian field hetman, Janusz Radziwiłł, approached Kyiv, did the metropolitan declare himself in favor of capitulation, which led to a conflict with the hetman. Eventually the Cossack forces had to withdraw from Kyiv, and the Kyivan clergy, led by the metropolitan, came out to meet the city's new (if short-lived) ruler, Janusz Radziwiłł. In the letter that Kosov addressed to Radziwiłł on 24 July, when the Lithuanian commander had already taken Kyiv, he declared his devotion to the Commonwealth and wrote that he and his clergy had spent almost four years in captivity, living in daily terror of the Cossacks and their own faithful.[42] This statement was not based exclusively on political and tactical considerations, and the metropolitan's loyalty did not go unrewarded. It alone accounts for the king's proclamation of 31 August 1651, which extended his protection to the Orthodox clergy.[43] The outcome of the campaign of 1651 could not fail to influence the Orthodox hierarchy's attitude to the hetman's administration. Khmelnytsky's initial loss of Kyiv indicated that it could be quite dangerous for the metropolitan to rely on the Cossacks, especially as Khmelnytsky controlled only a portion of the Kyivan metropolitanate.

Facing a great deal of uncertainty in his relations with Kosov, Khmelnytsky managed to forge a strong alliance with the Eastern hierarchs, primarily in order to legitimize the uprising and the political power obtained as a result of it. Apart from Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem, who played an important role in legitimizing Khmelnytsky's power during the first year of the uprising, there were a number of other Eastern hierarchs whose

[40] See, e.g., copies of Kosov's letter of 12 March 1651 to the Crown vice-chancellor, Hieronim Radziejowski, in which the metropolitan declared himself in favor of peace. He also sent Radziejowski a copy of one of Khmelnytsky's letters and informed him that Khmelnytsky had agreed to receive a commission to negotiate peace terms (Stefanyk Library, 'Ossolineum', no. 189, Notes of Marcin Goliński, pp. 467–8; cf. AGAD, 'Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie', dział 6, no. 36, p. 556).

[41] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, pp. 172–3.

[42] *DOV*, p. 580. This observation in Kosov's letter to Radziwiłł clearly refers to the main theme of the dispute in which the metropolitan was involved during the Diet of 1649–50 in Warsaw. Rejecting Kosov's claims of dependence on the Cossacks, one of the Catholic bishops said to him that sheep ought to obey their shepherd, while he was being ruled by those who should be his subordinates. Kosov replied no less bitingly, alluding to the inability of the Poles to control the uprising, that servants should obey their masters, but that they 'are giving us orders not only as sheep, but as servants to their masters' (see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 1514).

[43] *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 3, vol. 4, p. 603.

services the hetman found useful. One of most prominent was Metropolitan Joasaph of Corinth, whom Khmelnytsky eventually turned into his court metropolitan. Joasaph, who, by his own account, occupied 'the noble altar of the apostle Paul',[44] made his first appearance in Ukraine in the spring of 1649 on his way to Moscow.[45] By the autumn of 1650 he had evidently returned from there, for in November of that year he was already serving the liturgy in the hetman's church at Chyhyryn and performing a special rite over Bohdan and Tymish Khmelnytsky together with the metropolitan of Nazareth. In his letters to the tsar in the spring of 1651, he reported that 'I am staying with the pious hetman and serving holy matins', simultaneously referring to Khmelnytsky as 'my sovereign' and 'my spiritual son'.[46] The post of personal chaplain to the hetman clearly made Joasaph an influential figure in the Chyhyryn milieu. At least, he often figured as the sponsor of other Greeks who found themselves in Khmelnytsky's court. For instance, he promoted Joannes Taphlari's diplomatic career, and in February 1651 the patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenios, appealed to him together with Sylvestr Kosov, requesting that Joasaph assist the mission of Parthenios's representative to Khmelnytsky.[47]

The hetman himself fully exploited Joasaph's presence in Chyhyryn. Rumors then circulating in Ukraine represented Joasaph as the patriarch of Constantinople, who was allegedly in residence at Khmelnytsky's court and serving the liturgy there.[48] Among the insurgents, such rumors naturally added legitimacy not only to the hetman's rule but also to his war with the Commonwealth. The events of the Berestechko campaign shed light on the actual state of the hetman's relations with the hierarch. Although Khmelnytsky was indeed, in Joasaph's words, his spiritual son, he was primarily a 'sovereign'. Requiring the support of spiritual authority in his new military campaign against the Commonwealth,

[44] See his letter of 3 March 1651 to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (*VUR*, 3: 20).

[45] The compilers of the third volume of *VUR* note that Joasaph was in Ukraine in the spring of 1651, on his way to Moscow (3: 577). Clearly, this information must refer to the spring of 1649. There is an extant letter of Khmelnytsky's to the tsar dated 3 May 1649 in which the hetman commends Joasaph and his companions, who were just then on their way through Ukraine to seek alms in Moscow (see *VUR*, 2: 174–5; *DBKh*, no. 59, pp. 116–17).

[46] See the contemporary Muscovite translations of his Greek-language letters of March and May 1651 to the tsar (*VUR*, 3: 19–20, 61). Unlike the metropolitan of Nazareth, Joasaph evidently had a poor command of the Slavic languages. This is attested not only by his letters to the tsar but also by Arsenii Sukhanov's account of the liturgy served by Joasaph at Khmelnytsky's court chapel in November 1650 (*VUR*, 2: 187).

[47] See letters from Parthenios to Kosov and Joasaph dated 18 and 20 February 1651 (*DOV*, pp. 383–6). In May 1651, the Moldavian hospodar Vasile Lupu also appealed to Joasaph to support particular elements of Moldavian policy at the hetman's court. See the text of his letter in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 251n.

[48] See the report of a Polish agent about Khmelnytsky's camp dating from June 1651 (*DOV*, pp. 443–4).

Khmelnytsky insisted, against Joasaph's will, that the metropolitan accompany the army on the march. According to the testimony of the Greek 'Manuilov' and the Serb 'Danilov', who came to Moscow from Khmelnytsky's camp at Zboriv in June 1651,

> the metropolitan of Corinth is said to be in the army with the hetman. And it is said that when the hetman left Chyhyryn, he asked the hetman to leave him in Chyhyryn with his son. And it is said that the hetman did not leave him, and took him along with him for service. And it is said that he, the metropolitan, serves matins, and the hours, and vespers every day.[49]

Before the decisive engagement, both sides, Polish and Ukrainian, attempted to obtain the blessing of the church. Prior to the campaign, the papal nuncio is known to have given Jan II Kazimierz a blessing from the pope, as well as gifts, including a sword to wage war on the 'schismatics'. In the Polish camp at Berestechko, the Uniate bishop of Kholm, Iakiv Susha, served liturgies dedicated to the greater glory of Polish arms.[50] It is known that Khmelnytsky asked Metropolitan Kosov to give his blessing for the war.[51] The metropolitan of Corinth, whom the Cossack rank and file believed to be the patriarch of Constantinople himself—the supreme authority in the Orthodox world—was probably even more suited to the task of symbolizing ecclesiastical support for the Cossack uprising. Joasaph's fate at Berestechko turned out to be a tragic one (his unwillingness to leave Chyhyryn is worth recalling). He perished during the Cossack withdrawal from the Berestechko camp. The event was important enough that news of the demise of the 'archbishop of Corinth and the Peloponnesus' was included in the official account of the Berestechko campaign, and Joasaph's pontifical insignia were presented to the king. In the Latin-language account, intended primarily for the Western and Central European reader, news of this presentation was given together with that of the Poles' seizure of Cossack banners, which had initially been presented to the Zaporozhian Host by the Polish kings.[52]

With the defeat at Berestechko, the period of the uprising's unbroken success came to an end. The hetman's actual power was shaken and considerably limited in territorial extent, and his search for ways of legitimizing his authority receded into the background for a time. Subsequently we no longer encounter Eastern hierarchs as close to Khmelnytsky as Joasaph. Nevertheless, Eastern church dignitaries and even patriarchs

[49] *VUR*, 3: 81.

[50] See the mention of the nuncio's blessing in the Latin-language Polish account of the Zboriv expedition (*DOV*, p. 289). On Susha's presence at Berestechko, see Nazarko, 'Iakiv Susha—iepyskop Kholms'kyi (1610–1687)'.

[51] See a copy of a letter to Łukasz Tretjak from his father, apparently dating from February–March 1651 (AGAD, 'Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie', dział 6, no. 36, p. 499).

[52] *DOV*, pp. 553, 558.

continued to make their way through Ukraine to Moscow. The hetman attempted to exploit their presence in Ukraine both to promote his diplomatic goals in Moscow and, of course, to consolidate his own power.

A letter of Khmelnytsky's dating from February 1653 to the voevoda of Putyvl, Fedor Khilkov, has been preserved: in it, he commends Patriarch Athanasios, 'who is on his way to His Tsarist Majesty on important business, having virtually torn himself out of the jaws of the infidels'.[53] If the further details of Athanasios's sojourn in Ukraine are unavailable, the journey through Ukraine of another patriarch, Makarios of Antioch, is well known thanks to the detailed diary kept by his cousin (possibly his son), Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo. Makarios traveled through Ukraine on his way to Moscow in 1654 and on his return journey in 1656, meeting with the hetman both times. The notes taken by Paul of Aleppo contain interesting material that sheds light on Khmelnytsky's attitude to the Eastern hierarchs and the significance he ascribed to those contacts.

Paul of Aleppo describes Khmelnytsky's first meeting with the patriarch as follows: 'Having seen our patriarch from afar, he dismounted from his horse, and those who were with him did so after him. Approaching the patriarch, he bowed and twice kissed the hem of his garment, then kissed the cross and the right hand of the patriarch, who in turn kissed him on the head.'[54] On the following day, when the patriarch rode from Bohuslav to Kyiv, his path took him through Khmelnytsky's camp. On that occasion, Makarios blessed Khmelnytsky 'for war and victory'. This is how Paul of Aleppo describes the occasion:

> We rode into the midst of the Host and you, reader, might have seen how thousands and hundreds of thousands outdid one another, making haste in droves to kiss the right hand and cross of the patriarch. They threw themselves on the ground, so that the horses [of the patriarchal carriage] halted, and we were annoyed that they were so powerful. But finally we arrived at the tent of Hetman Khmel, who was small and nondescript. The hetman came out to meet the patriarch and bowed to the ground. Then the patriarch read a prayer over him for war and victory, invoking God's blessing on him and the Host. The hetman, holding the patriarch by the arm, led him into his tent.[55]

There is no doubt that, given the piety and respect for the patriarch manifested by the Host, Makarios's blessing of Khmelnytsky before the

[53] *DBKh*, no. 196, p. 282.

[54] Pavlo Khalebs'kyi, 'Z podorozhnikh zapysok', p. 46. Cf. *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku*, p. 42.

[55] Cited in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 988. Cf. *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku*, p. 45.

whole Cossack camp must have been particularly significant for legitimizing the hetman's authority.

By the time of Patriarch Makarios's visit to Ukraine, Khmelnytsky had managed to reach a definite understanding with the local Orthodox hierarchy as well. The change in Metropolitan Kosov's generally negative attitude toward the Cossack hetman and his authority came somewhat unexpectedly and was influenced by developments that in theory, at least, should have been welcome to the Orthodox hierarch. The Pereiaslav council of 1654 and the entrance of Orthodox Muscovy into the war with the Commonwealth abruptly changed the character of church–state relations in Ukraine. Now Khmelnytsky had to win confirmation of his authority over the metropolitan not in competition with the king but with the Muscovite tsar and patriarch. In that situation, the hetman's task was rendered somewhat easier. Given the choice of submitting to the Muscovite authorities and the patriarch of Moscow, Kosov gave clear preference to Khmelnytsky.

Having accepted the tsar's protectorate, Khmelnytsky managed to attract to the side of Cossackdom not only the Muscophile elements of the Ukrainian clergy but also the anti-Muscovite, pro-Polish elements that now required the hetman's protection and intercession. It fell to the hetman to act as intermediary and resolve conflicts between Muscovite voevodas and the Kyivan clergy. This allowed the hetman to assume the right of patronage over the church, previously reserved to the king. The nomination of hegumens, archimandrites, bishops, and, in time, the metropolitan himself became the prerogative of the hetman, thereby securing the Kyivan clergy's blessing for the hetman's authority.

The first misunderstanding between Kosov and representatives of Moscow arose immediately after the council of Pereiaslav. The boyar Vasilii Buturlin, who came to Kyiv on 16 January 1654 and was met by the metropolitan and the clergy as he entered the city, asked Kosov in private conversation why he had not written to the tsar indicating his desire to come under the monarch's high hand. Kosov replied that he had not been apprised of the hetman's relations with the tsar. Later the metropolitan chose to defend his clergymen's subsequent refusal to take an oath of allegiance to the tsar. He explained their attitude by saying that if the Poles were to learn of such an oath, they would exterminate all the Orthodox clergy on their territory. Ultimately the metropolitan's subjects were obliged to swear allegiance to the tsar, but a protest against the oath was entered in the record-books in Polish-controlled Ukraine on the metropolitan's behalf. An even more serious conflict broke out in February 1654. Muscovite voevodas setting out to build a fortress on the metropolitan's lands encountered opposition from Kosov, who went so far as to threaten armed resistance. The metropolitan asserted that

it was Hetman Khmelnytsky who sent messengers to present a petition and submitted to the monarch's high hand together with the whole Zaporozhian Host, while he, the metropolitan, with all his clergy, did not send anyone to petition the tsar and is living on his own with his clergymen, subject to no one's authority.[56]

In theory, Kosov's attitude, which was fundamentally hostile to Muscovy and its representatives in Kyiv, also represented a challenge to Khmelnytsky's authority.[57] Nevertheless, the hetman finally chose not only to ignore Kosov's 'arrogance' but even to protect him from the ire of the voevodas and the tsar. Initially, Kosov's stand was clearly annoying to Khmelnytsky. There were rumors among the Kyivan monks that Vyhovsky had even written to the metropolitan and the archimandrites of the Kyivan monasteries, summoning them to a meeting with Khmelnytsky. Although the church leaders did indeed come to see the hetman, it was not to apologize but to persuade him not to take part in the war between Muscovy and the Commonwealth, to await the unfolding of events and align himself with the victor.[58] In the end, Khmelnytsky appears to have 'thawed' and taken the metropolitan under his protection. Defending Kosov in a letter to Patriarch Nikon, he wrote in particular:

And as Your Great Holiness had taken offense against our Most Reverend Pastor, who was allegedly spoiling the providential unification of holy Russian Orthodoxy and resisting our Grand Sovereign, His Tsarist Majesty, do not believe this by any means, or slanders following on these.[59]

On the one hand, Khmelnytsky grasped Kosov's ambiguous position, given that most of his metropolitanate was subject to the authority of the king; on the other, the hetman was apparently interested in offering his protection to his old foe, thereby turning him into his newest ally. Indeed, the hetman's intervention led Kosov not only to make a concession to the voevodas, agreeing to take another parcel of land in exchange for the designated fortress site, but also to recognize Khmelnytsky's authority to an unprecedented degree. In a letter written to the tsar, Kosov referred to Khmelnytsky as 'the chief and sovereign of our land'.[60] Given a choice between the Muscovite tsar and the Zaporozhian hetman, Kosov clearly opted for the latter. When it came to choosing between the hetman and the king, the matter was more complicated. Not without reason, the

[56] For an account of the episode, see *Akty IuZR*, vol. 10 (1878): 387–96. On Kosov's attitudes toward Muscovy, see also G. F. Karpov, 'Kievskaia mitropoliia i moskovskoe pravitel'stvo vo vremia soedineniia Malorossii s Velikoi Rossiei', *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie* (1871): bk. 8, pp. 172–95; bk. 9, pp. 308–27.

[57] For this interpretation, see Ohloblyn, 'Problema derzhavnoï vlady na Ukraïni', *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 2, nos. 3–4 (1965): 13–14.

[58] See the report of Vicar Rafail of St Michael's Monastery to Muscovite voevodas in Zaborovskii, ed., *Pravoslavnye, katoliki, uniaty*, p. 184.

[59] *DBKh*, p. 353.

[60] *Akty IuZR*, vol. 10 (1878): 709.

Muscovite voevodas suspected Kosov of harboring Polish sympathies, and the hetman himself complained that the metropolitan was dispatching reports there about developments in Kyiv and in Ukraine. The tsar's envoy Artamon Matveev even scolded Khmelnytsky for this, saying, 'And this is not a small matter, for them to live under the high hand of our Grand Sovereign and write all kinds of reports to the Polish king', and asked the hetman to inform the tsar about activities of that sort.[61]

Aside from fleeing to avail himself of the king's protection, Kosov theoretically had another choice—to go over once again to the side of the Lithuanian field hetman, Janusz Radziwiłł, who was making an ever more determined attempt to follow a line independent of Warsaw in Ukrainian affairs. In the autumn of 1654, in his instructions to the envoy whom he sent to negotiate with Khmelnytsky, Radziwiłł particularly stressed his own tolerant attitude to Orthodoxy and that of his Protestant ancestors, and in a letter to the Zaporozhian hetman, he asked that Khmelnytsky second to him the archimandrite and hegumen of St Michael's Monastery in Kyiv, Feodosii Vasylevych, with whom he wanted to discuss 'what in that land pertains to the activities and ornamentation of the church and to the ancient Ruthenian liturgy'.[62] Vasylevych did indeed go to see Radziwiłł and proved useful to him, agitating among the residents of Mahilioŭ in the spring of 1655 to leave the tsar's service and go over to Radziwiłł's side. In the name of Metropolitan Kosov, Vasylevych called on them to end their resistance and wrote of the metropolitan's own plans to move to Belarus:

> For we are poor and cannot conceive of ourselves otherwise than with His Grace the Reverend Metropolitan and all the clergy, recommending that he place his trust in God, to take shelter here in Lithuania in the service of the Prince His Grace the Lord Hetman [Radziwiłł].[63]

The Muscovite authorities accused Kosov of authorizing Vasylevych's activities in Belarus,[64] as well as of spying on Warsaw's behalf and other misdeeds. At the root of the conflict was Kosov's unwillingness to accept the authority and jurisdiction of the patriarch of Moscow. Regarding this issue, pressure was brought to bear on the delegation of Kyivan clergymen dispatched to the tsar's camp at Smolensk in the summer of 1654; pressure was also exerted through the hetman by the tsar's envoys and voevodas. Khmelnytsky gave the appearance of neutrality on the question. On the one hand, in a letter to Nikon he titled the patriarch of Moscow

[61] Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 226.

[62] See extracts from Radziwiłł's instructions and letter in Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 222–3.

[63] See the text of Vasylevych's letter of April 1655 to the residents of Mahilioŭ, ibid., p. 321.

[64] See the text of the tsar's missive to the boyar Vasilii Buturlin (summer 1654), ibid., p. 228.

'our Supreme Pastor', a form of address reserved by the Kyivan clergy exclusively for the patriarch of Constantinople.[65] On the other hand, he offered Moscow an apparent compromise: the current metropolitan was to remain subject to Constantinople, while the jurisdiction of his successor would depend on the will of the tsar.[66] In fact, this was an expression of support for Kosov.

Khmelnytsky clearly valued the new understanding he had achieved with the Orthodox hierarchy and sought to protect his clergy from Muscovite interference, while maintaining his own control over church affairs. After the Pereiaslav Agreement, the metropolitan's administration indicated *de facto* acceptance of the hetman's special privileges concerning appointments to the higher clergy. In June 1655, Khmelnytsky issued a proclamation confirming the election of Feodosii Sofonovych as hegumen of St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery in Kyiv.[67] With that proclamation, the hetman effectively took over a right that had traditionally belonged to the king.[68] When in November 1655 Muscovite voevodas arrested Metropolitan Kosov's trusted associate, the Revd Makarii Krynytsky (who had gone to Lutsk in 1654 and entered protests in the town's record-books against the actions of the Muscovite authorities in Kyiv), it was not only the metropolitan who rose to his defense but also the acting colonel of Kyiv, Vasyl Dvoretsky. The Muscovite representatives were clearly impressed by this show of solidarity on the part of the Ukrainian spiritual and secular authorities. The prospect of the metropolitan's complaining to the hetman and arousing 'some kind of rebellion among the people' obliged the voevodas to release Krynytsky on Kosov's recognizance.[69]

As might have been expected, following Metropolitan Kosov's death in 1657, Khmelnytsky did not wait for the tsar or the Patriarch of Moscow to indicate who should be the next metropolitan and whose jurisdiction he should accept. Khmelnytsky ordained the convocation of a sobor for the election of a new metropolitan, effectively taking over the king's

[65] See *DBKh*, p. 353. Cf. the text of Gizel's petition presented to the tsar at his camp near Smolensk in Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 213.

[66] See Artamon Matveev's report on his conversation with Khmelnytsky (January 1655), ibid., p. 225. Khmelnytsky presented this as his position in his relations with the metropolitan.

[67] *DBKh*, pp. 431–2.

[68] In practice, the king retained the right of patronage *vis-à-vis* the Uniate Church, while the hetman took over the analogous right with regard to the Orthodox, especially on the territory controlled by the Cossacks. This is apparent from a comparison of the privilege of Jan Kazimierz dated September 1657 on the appointment of the administrator of the Uniate metropolitanate, Havryil Kolenda, with Ivan Vyhovsky's proclamation granting a privilege to Lazar Baranovych for the Novhorod-Siverskyi Monastery. See Harasymchuk, comp., *Materiialy do istorii kozachchyny XVII viku*, nos. 8, 9, pp. 27–9.

[69] Cf. documents on this episode in Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 240–7. On Krynytsky's entering a protest in the Lutsk record-books, see ibid., p. 172.

prerogative to nominate metropolitans. It took place in October 1657, after Khmelnytsky's death. This sobor was the first indication of the divisions that began to appear in the church and in society at large after Khmelnytsky's demise. The succession to the office of Kyivan metropolitan was not resolved: the votes were divided between Bishop Dionysii Balaban of Lutsk and Archimandrite Iosyf Tukalsky, both of whose candidacies Vyhovsky supported, and Bishop Arsenii Zhelyborsky of Lviv. Not until December 1657 did the new hetman, Ivan Vyhovsky, manage to turn the course of events in his favor.

The election of Dionysii Balaban and his adherence to Vyhovsky's new course meant that in the contest between the hetman, king, and tsar for the right of patronage over the Kyivan metropolitanate, it was the hetman who emerged victorious. In July 1658 Balaban supported Vyhovsky's decision to break off the alliance with Moscow and find a *modus vivendi* for the newly established Cossack polity within the framework of a reordered Commonwealth.[70]

The Two Capitals

The uneasy relationship between the secular and religious authorities of the Hetmanate at the time of the Khmelnytsky Uprising was also reflected in the rivalry between Kyiv, the seat of the metropolitanate and residence of Sylvestr Kosov, and Chyhyryn, the residence of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the actual capital of the Cossack polity. In large measure, the competition between these two centers of the Cossack state reflected not only the complex power relations between the hetman and the metropolitan but also the presence of 'nobiliary' and 'Cossack' programs within the officer stratum. This was, in effect, a struggle between two concepts of the Cossack polity: the model of the Zaporozhian Host, dear to the hearts of the Cossack rank and file, with its capital in Cossack Chyhyryn; and the notion of a Grand Duchy of Rus', dreamed up by the Ruthenian nobility, with its capital in the princely city of Kyiv.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a rather dramatic shift of the centers of Ukrainian religious and cultural life took place in several stages. At first, Galicia asserted itself through the activity of the Lviv Brotherhood, then Volhynia gained prominence through the activities of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky and his circle, and finally Kyiv took first place with the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy and the emergence of Cossackdom as a major factor in Ukrainian religious

[70] On Balaban, see G. F. Karpov, 'Dionisii Balaban, mitropolit kievskii. Iz istorii otnoshenii kievskoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii k moskovskomu pravitel'stvu 1654–1661 gg.', *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie* (1874): bk. 1, pp. 103–45.

life. Outside Ukrainian territory it was Vilnius that played a prominent role in the cultural and religious life of the Orthodox Rus'.

The onset of the Counter-Reformation in the Commonwealth compelled many Orthodox intellectuals to seek refuge in Kyiv. With the resettlement of intellectuals of the caliber of Iov Boretsky and Zakhariia Kopystensky from Galicia to Kyiv, the center of Ukrainian Orthodox life also shifted to the banks of the Dnipro. Kyiv's geographic location far to the east of the major centers of the Commonwealth, as well as its exposure to Tatar attacks, weakened Polish control over the city.[71] This turned it into an object of Cossack influence, which in turn made it possible to renew the Orthodox hierarchy there and revive Kyiv's importance as the ecclesiastical capital of Rus'. In the eyes of ecclesiastical leaders, Kyiv considerably outshone Lviv in historical and religious terms, given its status as the capital of Prince Volodymyr and the site of the baptism of Rus'.

The memory of Kyiv as the traditional political center of Rus', while never wholly lost in that city, was certainly overshadowed by the day-to-day realities of borderland existence in the former princely capital.[72] The general appearance of Kyiv in the early seventeenth century may be imagined from the description given in Jan Dąbrowski's Latin poem 'Camoenae Borysthenides' (Muses of the Dnipro), written in 1618 to mark the installation of the Roman Catholic bishop Bogusław Boksa Radoszewski:

> Great Kyiv, which was rich in Lydian buildings
> (Mighty walls protected them then), is empty now.
> The great walls are still standing, and three hundred churches.
> Long ago, magnificent gilding gleamed there on the ceiling,
> Concave and grooved ornaments shone, and snow-white columns.
> Of that ancient beauty, little remains today,
> For temples and battlements lie in ruins all around.[73]

The attention devoted to the Kyivan ruins by poets and artists of the day

[71] The anonymous author of a manual of Latin poetics read at the Kyiv Mohyla College in 1647–8 wrote of Kyiv's precarious location:

> See how white with human bones are the hills of Kyiv
> That are constantly being eaten away by the resounding wave of the Dnipro.
> Mars has given the city to the Tatars, and as far as our eye can see
> Only here and there is the earth covered with green.
>
> (*Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia [persha polovyna]*, p. 330)

[72] On the Kyivan heritage in medieval and early modern Rus', see Omeljan Pritsak, 'Kiev and All of Rus': The Fate of a Sacral Idea', *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 279–300; Iakovenko, 'Symvol "Bohokhranymoho hrada" u kyïvs'kii propahandi', pp. 53–6. The revival of the tradition concerning Kyiv's role as a historical capital was due in part to the reading of Polish chronicles, especially that of Maciej Stryjkowski (verses written by Polish and Ukrainian poets alike made reference to Stryjkowski's assertion that Volodymyr had built 300 churches in Kyiv), and in part to the renewal of historical tradition in Ukrainian chronicles.

[73] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna)*, p. 113.

testified not only to the city's desolation in the early seventeenth century but also to the tastes and interests inspired by the European Renaissance. No historical problem was of greater interest to Ruthenian society, divided as it was between the Union and Orthodoxy, than the baptism of Rus'—a motif indissolubly associated with Kyiv. The religious polemics aroused by the issue fostered an interest in Kyiv as the historical center of Ruthenian Christianity, enhancing the city's prestige.

In 'Roxolania', the Polish poet Sebastian Klonowic[74] stressed Kyiv's links with the princely and Christian past:

> Ancient Kyiv, former grand-princely capital,
> How many traces have you preserved of glorious antiquity! . . .
> Know that here in Rus', Kyiv means as much as ancient
> Rome to the early Christians; it has the same importance.
> Kyiv does not lack marvels—it takes constant pride
> In all its wonders; all this it will show to you.
> Deep underground there are great caves, and
> The ancient crypts of princes may be seen in the darkness of
> underground vaults.
> In the deepest caves there repose the uncorrupted remains
> Of the heroes of Rus'.[75]

The consecration of the Orthodox hierarchy in Kyiv in 1620 by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanes, gave rise to the image of Kyiv as a second Jerusalem. In his circular epistle of August 1620, Theophanes exhorted the faithful: '. . . may your memory not relinquish the holy city of Jerusalem'.[76] And that memory did indeed take lasting root in Kyiv, at least in the epistles of Metropolitan Iov Boretsky. It was he who insisted that the restoration of the 'Eastern temple' in Kyiv had been inspired 'by the most blessed city of Jerusalem' and drew a parallel between the two cities: 'the divinely redeemed city of Kyiv, the second, Ruthenian, Jerusalem'.[77] Both in pastoral letters and in a missive to the tsar, he wrote of 'the most holy throne of the Kyivan metropolitanate of Jerusalem' and bestowed 'the grace of Christ's most holy blessing and of the life-accepting Tomb of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem, from the Kyivan metropolitanate . . .'.[78] References to Kyiv as a

[74] For a bibliography of the works of Sebastian Fabian Klonowic (Acernus, *c.*1545–1602), see *Bibliografia literatury polskiej 'Nowy Korbut'*, 2: 321–7. On his activities in the Zamoyski Academy, see Stanisław Lempicki, *Mecenat Wielkiego Kanclerza. Studia o Janie Zamoyskim* (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 123–32.

[75] Sebast'ian Fabian Kl'onovych (Sebastian Fabian Klonowic), *Roksolaniia*, trans. Mykhailo Bilyk (Kyiv, 1987), pp. 70–2. Cf. the recent critical edition: *Roxolania/Roksolania czyli ziemie Czerwonej Rusi*, ed. and trans. Mieczysław Mejor (Wrocław, 1996).

[76] See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, p. 258.

[77] Ibid., p. 263.

[78] In his circular epistle of May 1626, Boretsky mentioned Jerusalem five times, sending blessings from 'the most holy capital of the Kyivan metropolitanate from Jerusalem' and

second Jerusalem are also frequently to be encountered in Atanasii Kalnofoisky's *Teratourgēma*, which was published at the printshop of the Kyivan Cave Monastery in 1638, during Mohyla's incumbency.[79]

The comparison of Kyiv with Jerusalem, which became traditional in Boretsky's day, continued under Mohyla, but in somewhat different form. Mohyla, who was consecrated as metropolitan not by the patriarch of Jerusalem, as in Boretsky's case, but with the consent of the patriarch of Constantinople, was not as interested as his predecessor in representing Kyiv as a second Jerusalem. Accordingly, in his time Kyiv was more often compared with Zion, and the metropolitan himself figured in panegyrics dedicated to him as the creator of a Ruthenian Zion. Perhaps the first use of this topos occurs in a panegyric addressed to Mohyla by students of the Kyiv Brotherhood School and issued by the Cave Monastery printshop in 1633:

> With them [prayers] you troubled the stars of the Creator Himself
> So that he might give us what we desired in our time.
> We wanted a Zion in the Roxolanian land,
> Swaddled of old in sacred customs.[80]

The motif of Zion figures even more prominently in *Glad-Sounding Euphony*, which was presented to Mohyla on 5 July 1633 by the 'typographers' of the Cave Monastery on the occasion of his enthronement as metropolitan.[81] While Mohyla did much to restore Kyiv's luster as the ancestral capital of Rus', his efforts to regain the status of primate city for Kyiv were by no means limited to architecture. The publication by Mohyla's circle of the *Kyivan Cave Patericon*, one of the pre-eminent literary monuments of Old Rus', should also be seen as an attempt to link Kyiv of the princely era with the seat of the seventeenth-century Orthodox metropolitanate.[82]

referring to Kyiv as 'a shrine renewed today from Jerusalem' and 'the true shrine of Jerusalem'. See Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 279–83. Cf. Boretsky's letter to the tsar in *VUR*, 1: 48.

[79] Athanasius Kalnofoyski (Atanasii Kal'nofois'kyi), *Teratourgēma lubo cuda, które były tak w samym świętocudotwornym Monastyru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim* (Kyiv, 1638). Excerpts cited in *Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva* (Kyiv, 1874), pp. 27–48; *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 478–504. On the currency of the idea of the 'second Jerusalem' in Ukraine, see Velychenko, 'The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas', pp. 82–6; Iakovenko, 'Symvol "Bohokhranymoho hrada" u kyïvs'kii propahandi', pp. 71–5.

[80] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna)*, p. 259.

[81] Here, the trope of Kyiv as Zion occurs several times: 'Bellona has already experienced their power | They exerted themselves more than once for Mohyla's Zion'; 'What rejoicing in the Ruthenian Zion | In the Kyivan zone'; 'Petro will give you a worthy defense | And a shield to Zion'; 'Who does not know that you of the Athenian Parnassus | Are the founder, as well as the pastor of the lands of Zion?' See excerpts from the text: 'Evfonia veselobrmiachaa' in *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, pp. 63–5.

[82] The Polish text of the *Patericon* was typeset at the Cave Monastery printshop and issued by Sylvestr Kosov in 1635. In the *Patericon*, Kosov dwells on the continuity of the Kyivan tradition

Khmelnytsky paid full homage to Kyiv's princely and religious tradition during his ceremonial entrance into the city in December 1648. In the first months of the uprising, when there were widespread rumors of the rebels' desire to establish a 'sovereign principality', Kyiv was often mentioned as the capital of that 'principality'. As early as the spring of 1648, Polish letters were already bearing tales of Khmelnytsky's ambition to rule Kyiv and create a princedom of his own. Toward the end of May 1648, after the rebels' first victories, Adam Kysil wrote that Khmelnytsky had proclaimed Kyiv his capital and instructed the city's inhabitants to prepare to meet him.[83] At the beginning of June, the Catholic bishop of Chełm (Kholm) made a point of noting that Khmelnytsky was beginning to style himself prince of Kyiv and Rus'.[84]

As for the territorial extent of the future 'principality', Polish sources generally identified it with the Kyiv palatinate. Depending on current conditions, the fortunes of the uprising, and so on, such sources would add the palatinates of Chernihiv and Bratslav (or Ukraine proper, in Beauplan's terminology), as well as Podilia, Volhynia, and the palatinate of Rus'. Whatever the case, the Kyiv palatinate remained an inalienable part of that hypothetical polity. During negotiations with Commonwealth envoys in Pereiaslav in February 1649, Khmelnytsky himself, while claiming a princedom that extended as far as Lviv, Kholm, and Halych, primarily asserted his right to rule in Kyiv: 'Kyiv is mine; I am lord and palatine of Kyiv'.[85] The tradition of Kyiv's primacy as capital of the palatinate and of Rus' as a whole was associated with the political thought of the Ruthenian nobility, and the origins of that tradition went back to the appanage principality of Kyiv, which was abolished and transformed into a palatinate, providing the basis for regarding Kyiv as the leading political center of the Grand Duchy of Rus'.

In the Khmelnytsky era, the notion of Lviv as capital of Rus' was maintained, if at all, by the residents of Lviv themselves. Lviv's earlier leadership in Ukrainian cultural life was due to three factors: its historical prominence as a princely capital, the presence (albeit with significant interruptions) of the Orthodox episcopal see, and the city's status as capital of the Rus' palatinate. The latter appears to have been the most important factor in Lviv's claims to be considered the capital of Rus'. During the siege of the city in the autumn of 1648, the Lviv delegation entreated the

from the princely era to his own day. He also depicts Kyiv as the firmament whose stars radiate the piety of the Cave Monastery's saints. On the establishment of a 'Canon to the Saints of the Lavra' in Kyiv in the 1640s, see Ievhen Kabanets', 'Petro Mohyla i pechers'ka kanonizatsiia 1643 roku', in *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, pp. 149–55.

[83] *VUR*, 2: 25. [84] See *DOV*, p. 43.

[85] See the diary of negotiations at Pereiaslav in *VUR*, 2: 109, 111.

hetman not to destroy the 'capital city of Rus''.[86] Although Khmelnytsky spared Lviv, he was certainly very far from considering it his capital and treated it as a city located on the border of Ukrainian ethnic territory, in dangerous proximity to Poland. In 1651 he even allowed the Crimean khan to take Ukrainian captives in the territory beyond Lviv, while according to him no such right in the territory extending up to the city.[87]

In the course of the uprising, Kyiv had effectively become the site where the Orthodox hierarchy gave its blessing to the rule of successive hetmans, even if it did not actually consecrate them. As noted earlier, the welcome that Khmelnytsky received in Kyiv from Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem upon his arrival in the city in December 1648 was extraordinarily important to him.[88] Nine years later, Kyiv witnessed the blessing of Khmelnytsky's successor, Ivan Vyhovsky, as he assumed the hetmancy. The practice of crowning (or consecrating) secular rulers in a former capital instead of the current one was well known in Ukraine, considering that Polish kings were still crowned in Cracow, even though their capital was Warsaw.[89] The religious significance of Kyiv was clearly taken into account by the hetman's office when Khmelnytsky administered an epistolary rebuke to Colonel Antin Zhdanovych of Kyiv, who withdrew from the city without offering resistance in the summer of 1651, following the debacle at Berestechko. Khmelnytsky wrote to Zhdanovych that he had '. . . delivered the capital city itself, and the churches of God, and the sacred relics, from which the Orthodox faith rose and shone like the sun, into the heretical hands of the Poles to be scorned'.[90] In his letter of March 1653 to the tsar, the hetman wrote of the defense of 'the borderland houses of God and of the capital of Kyiv itself, also parts of this Little Rus' of ours'.[91]

Given its status as ancestral religious and princely capital, Kyiv was also considered a possible site for the Cossacks to swear allegiance to the tsar in January 1654. According to Muscovite reports, in December 1653 Colonel Ivan Fedorenko (Bohun) of Kalnyk said to the boyar Vasilii

[86] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2, p. 90.

[87] See *VUR*, 3: 79.

[88] Interestingly enough, in the sources that have been preserved concerning Paisios's sojourn in Kyiv, we find no comparison of Kyiv with Jerusalem or any mention of the consecration of the hierarchy by another patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanes, which were matters of current interest. It is unclear whether Mohyla's 'Zion' obscured Boretsky's 'Jerusalem' for a time or whether appropriate sources are lacking.

[89] In that context, Khmelnytsky's ambiguous attitude to the problem of the capital, with Kyiv as the ancient and predominantly religious center, entrance into which would entail religious legitimization of the hetman's rule, and Chyhyryn as the actual functioning capital, was neither unaccustomed nor incomprehensible to his entourage. Cracow also figured in Khmelnytsky's plans to place György Rákóczi on the throne. In the early summer of 1651, on the eve of the Berestechko campaign, rumors were circulating in the Polish camp to the effect that Khmelnytsky wanted to take Cracow together with Rákóczi and crown the latter there as king of Poland (*DOV*, p. 440).

[90] See a report of August 1651 by the Muscovite courier Grigorii Bogdanov (*VUR*, 3: 114).

[91] *DBKh*, p. 286.

Buturlin: '. . . the hetman is to kiss the cross in order for them to be under the sovereign's high hand, either in Kyiv, in the cathedral Church of Sophia of the Divine Wisdom, or in the Cave Monastery, or in Pereiaslav'.[92] The references to St Sophia and the Cave Monastery attest to the religious and political significance attributed to the oath. Ultimately, it was decided not to administer the oath in Kyiv, perhaps for entirely practical reasons: it was too far away, or the hetman's entourage did not wish to impute excessive significance to the new alliance. Nor is it to be ruled out that the hostility to Moscow (which soon made itself apparent) of one of Kyiv's leading figures, Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov, entered into the calculations.

The symbolic significance of Kyiv as the ancient princely capital and political center of a once mighty state was also well appreciated in the Commonwealth at large. The author of one of the works exalting the military victories of Janusz Radziwiłł, in praising his patron, who nourished hopes of seceding from Poland, noted that in 1651 Radziwiłł had entered Kyiv by the Golden Gate, through which two Polish kings had come into the city in their day.[93] If that entrance was so fraught with symbolic meaning for Prince Radziwiłł, it ought to have been even more so for the 'ill-born' Khmelnytsky. After the hetman's death, rumors spread in the Commonwealth to the effect that he had been buried in Kyiv.[94] Thus did Kyivan tradition enshrine the legitimacy of new rulers in the eyes of their subjects and neighbors.

Nevertheless, Kyiv did not become the capital of the new Cossack polity—not, at least, its exclusive and generally recognized capital. Khmelnytsky's decision not to take up permanent residence in Kyiv and make it the political center of Cossackdom had serious consequences for the city and for Cossackdom itself. Since Khmelnytsky did not claim the office of palatine of Kyiv, he effectively turned the city into a regional base for the royal administration, placing it in open competition with Cossack headquarters in Chyhyryn. Even though Adam Kysil, who was appointed palatine of Kyiv at the insistence of the rebels, was an Orthodox Ukrainian and no supporter of the war party in the Commonwealth administration, but sought compromise with the Cossacks, this did little to relieve the tension; neither did the fact that real power in the Dnipro region belonged to the hetman, so that the Kyivan palatine held his office on

[92] *VUR*, 3: 437.

[93] See [Albertus Kojałowicz], *Rerum in Magno Ducatu Lithvaniae per tempus rebellionis Russicae gestarum commentarius* (Regiomonti [Königsberg], 1653), p. 120. I used the only known surviving copy of the 1653 edition of this book in the Rare Book Collection of the Russian National Library (Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka) in St Petersburg.

[94] See excerpts from Marcin Goliński's notes in Harasymchuk, comp., *Materialy do istorii kozachchyny XVII viku*, no. 1, p. 13.

Khmelnytsky's sufferance. The following episode sheds light on the status of Kyiv as a royal administrative center. In December 1649, the hetman was in Kyiv with Kysil when news was received of the arrival in Chyhyryn of Muscovite, Tatar, and Lithuanian envoys. Even though Kysil soon left the city and traveled to Warsaw to attend the Diet, Khmelnytsky did not instruct the envoys to come to Kyiv, but went to Chyhyryn to receive them.[95]

Chyhyryn, a fortress town on the southern boundary of Ukrainian settlement, the administrative center of the palatine and of the registered Cossack regiment assigned to it, gained prominence and became the hetman's residence in short order, during the very first military campaign of 1648. From mid-June to early July 1648, Khmelnytsky was in Chyhyryn,[96] and that was apparently the period in which he made the necessary preparations and issued the orders required to turn it into the hetman's residence. At the beginning of October 1648, as Khmelnytsky's army marched westward, Chyhyryn was the residence of acting Colonel Fedir Korobka. The hetman's wife was also there.[97] Toward the end of December 1648, after Patriarch Paisios had welcomed Khmelnytsky to Kyiv, the hetman proceeded to Chyhyryn. The patriarch sent gifts to Khmelnytsky's wife there as well.[98]

In all negotiations with the Commonwealth commissioners and agreements signed with the Commonwealth, Khmelnytsky treated Chyhyryn and its starosta district as a separate issue; according to circumstances, it was either recognized as the hetman's personal possession or granted as a perquisite of his office ('for the mace'). In the spring of 1649, Khmelnytsky himself explained the conditions of the Pereiaslav truce to the Muscovite envoy Grigorii Unkovsky as follows: 'they are giving me, as hetman, the town of Chyhyryn and four additional towns wherever I please, as well as the Kyiv palatinate, and the Poles and Lithuanians are swearing to us on those conditions'.[99] Special reservations pertaining to Chyhyryn were also included in the March 1654 Articles with Muscovy and in the text of the Treaty of Hadiach (1658).[100]

With the development and consolidation of the Cossack state, Chyhyryn established itself more and more strongly as the center of the Hetmanate's administration, especially in the last years of Khmelnytsky's life,

[95] See the report of the Putyvl voevodas to Moscow, dated December 1649, in *VUR*, 2: 294.

[96] See Khmelnytsky's itinerary in *DBKh*, p. 664.

[97] See information obtained from Polish soldiers who had served in the Kodak garrison and were sent to Chyhyryn following their capture by the Cossacks (*DOV*, p. 204). Fedir Korobka is mentioned as acting colonel of Chyhyryn in the summer of 1649. See George Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 2: 595.

[98] See the diary of the Commonwealth commissioners in Pereiaslav (*VUR*, 2: 110).

[99] See the envoy's report in *VUR*, 2: 154.

[100] See *VUR*, 2: 154; 3: 171, 568; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 343.

when declining health made it difficult for him to venture out of town. More than half of the hetman's currently known proclamations, letters, and other official documents were signed in Chyhyryn, which also became the venue for receiving foreign diplomats and conducting negotiations with them. The hetman's entrances into Chyhyryn were accompanied by a special ceremony: the Chyhyryn company would ride out to meet him, cannon were fired, and the hetman entered the town with banners streaming, to the sound of drums and military bugles.[101]

As far as may be judged from the sources that have come down to us, in the consciousness of Ukrainian society of the mid-seventeenth century Chyhyryn was not so much a capital as the 'town of the mace', or the residence of the Cossack hetman. In a verse of the period, Chyhyryn is represented in just that way: 'And you, Chyhyryn, border town, now have | No lesser glory within you when you behold the mace in your hands.'[102] In signing and dating his letters, Khmelnytsky made no mention of Chyhyryn's status. In most cases, a letter or proclamation would conclude with the words 'done at Chyhyryn', followed by the date. Only one of the surviving letters, written in Latin in March 1657 and addressed to the commander of the Turkish Janissaries, concludes with the formula 'Datum ex sede nostra Czehirin . . .'. Although 'sede' is translated as 'capital' in the collection *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*, the word actually refers to the hetman's seat.[103] Similarly, there are almost no references to Chyhyryn as the capital of the Cossack lands in letters from other leading figures in the hetman's administration. The sole exception would appear to be a letter written by Iurii Nemyrych in late 1657, in which he refers to Chyhyryn as the capital of the Zaporozhian Host.[104]

Nevertheless, a number of strategic, social, and political factors told against Kyiv and in favor of Chyhyryn when it came to the choice of the hetman's seat. The social composition of Chyhyryn must have been an important factor in the competition between this border town and the imposing city of Kyiv. At the time, the population of Kyiv consisted largely of burghers organized in guilds and led by the local patriciate. There was also a significant contingent of clergy and monks of the wealthy Kyivan monasteries. Cossacks were in the minority. In the years of the uprising, only seven Cossack companies were recruited in Kyiv, while Cherkasy, for instance, mustered thirteen.[105] Even though Magdeburg law had been conferred on Chyhyryn as early as 1592, most of its inhabitants were not

[101] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 59.

[102] *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna)*, p. 333.

[103] *DBKh*, p. 573.

[104] *Akty IuZR*, vol. 15 (1892): 41.

[105] See Kompan, *Mista Ukraïny*, p. 76; Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 1st edn., p. 307. Cf. *Reiestr Viis'ka Zaporoz'koho 1649 roku. Transliteratsiia tekstu*, comp. O. V. Todiichuk *et al.* (Kyiv, 1995), pp. 61–94, 291–312.

burghers but Cossacks. This was true of the great majority of large and small towns in Ukraine. Accordingly, both rank-and-file Cossacks and officers felt completely at home in Chyhyryn.[106] On the other hand, the Cossacks in general and the hetman in particular were by no means certain of wielding unquestioned authority in Kyiv, as they were in Chyhyryn. An important consideration that must have inclined Khmelnytsky in favor of Chyhyryn was the activity of the Kyivan metropolitan, Sylvestr Kosov, and the local Orthodox clergy, who, as discussed earlier, were relatively independent of the hetman's administration and competed with Khmelnytsky for influence in Ruthenian society.

As for strategic location, here again Chyhyryn proved superior to Kyiv. It was closer to the Crimean Khanate, the rebels' principal ally in the early years of the uprising, and farther from the major centers of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Kyiv was constantly threatened by the armed forces of Lithuania and, as mentioned earlier, was even occupied by the troops of the Lithuanian field hetman, Janusz Radziwiłł, after the tragic Berestechko campaign of 1651. Kyiv was also considerably inferior to Chyhyryn in defensive capacity. It had no fortifications, while Chyhyryn, which boasted an almost unassailable fortress on a high hill, was renowned outside Ukraine for its defensive structures: Paul of Aleppo, who visited the Cossack fortress in 1654, thought it the best-fortified town in the land of the Cossacks. In Kyiv, new fortifications were built only in 1654 upon the arrival of Muscovite voevodas, who immediately found themselves in conflict with Metropolitan Kosov over the choice of a site for the fortress. As discussed earlier, Khmelnytsky helped resolve the quarrel, but it indicated the difficulties and restrictions that would have confronted him if he had chosen Kyiv as his headquarters.

Chyhyryn also outdid Kyiv in terms of relations between the hetman's administration and the Zaporozhians. The latter not only questioned Kyiv's status as capital of the realm, but even challenged the appropriateness of Chyhyryn as the hetman's residence, maintaining that the capital of the Cossack lands should be the Zaporozhian Sich. Late in 1657 in Moscow, envoys of the Zaporozhian otaman Iakiv Barabash, who was dissatisfied with the choice of Vyhovsky as hetman, proposed that a new council be held at Zaporizhia to elect a hetman. Barabash's envoys referred to Zaporizhia as the military capital, where Zaporozhian hetmans

[106] 'The Cossacks, with their social and economic aspirations', writes Ivan Krypiakevych, 'were a new element in the towns. Cossackdom recognized no restrictions whatever on landownership, agricultural organization, crafts and trades, or commerce. The Cossacks carried on a struggle against the nobiliary order and were just as hostile to the old order in the towns. Conflicts between Cossacks and burghers, especially between the Cossack officers and the urban patriciate, were inevitable' (Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 1st edn., p. 308).

had traditionally been elected. The envoys rejected the proposal of the Muscovite secretaries to hold a council in Kyiv—the capital of Little Rus', as it was called in the document—and insisted on Zaporizhia or, alternatively, the Solonytsia River or Lubny, allegedly a central location that was 'close for everyone to gather'. The Zaporozhians' hostility to the traditional centers of the Dnipro region was also readily apparent from their complaints in Moscow to the effect that the Muscovite official Bogdan Khitrovo had given Vyhovsky the mace in the 'ecclesiastical city' of Pereiaslav, and not, as Zaporozhian tradition would have it, at the Sich or elsewhere 'in the field'.[107]

The attitude of the Zaporozhian envoys in Moscow shows that for the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who played an extraordinarily important role in the opening stage of the uprising, Kyiv was a distant if not an alien center, clearly outside the scope of Zaporozhian influence. Thus the choice of Chyhyryn reflected a compromise between the freewheeling Zaporozhians and the nobiliary stratum that cast its lot with the uprising. Khmelnytsky's native Chyhyryn was also an ideal location for the hetman, given the proximity of his ancestral property of Subotiv and his close acquaintance with the local Cossacks. In practical terms, Chyhyryn became the military and political center of the Zaporozhian Host and all the territory that it controlled in Khmelnytsky's day: for most of the period, that territory included the palatinates of Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Bratslav. Kyiv, on the contrary, was viewed as the ecclesiastical capital of the realm. Khmelnytsky's choice of Chyhyryn as his permanent residence and the seat of his administration was the first stage in the migration of the hetman's residence to a number of inconspicuous Ukrainian towns. In the long run, Chyhyryn did not manage to retain its status as the exclusive residence of the Cossack hetman, and the subsequent appearance of a number of Cossack polities with different political orientations, headed by competing hetmans, led to the establishment of several hetman's seats, utterly confusing the issue of the hetman's residence/capital, which was complicated enough to begin with.

[107] See *Akty IuZR*, vol. 7 (1872), no. 68; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 115–11. True enough, when representatives of the Muscovite Ambassadorial Office gave Barabash's envoys to understand that they regarded Kyiv as the capital of Little Rus', since the government and its officials were located there, the envoys presented a petition in which they themselves identified Kyiv, and not the Zaporozhian Sich, as the capital city, and thus the appropriate location for the treasury from which stipends were to be paid to the Zaporozhian Host. In this case, the Zaporozhian rebels, who depended on Muscovite support, found themselves obliged to recognize Kyiv as the capital of the Host, but their actual views on the location of the capital of the Cossack polity are not in doubt, as they were expressed in no uncertain terms during the negotiations.

On the traditional treatment of Zaporizhia as the center of Cossackdom, see the interesting remark in a letter of 28 April (8 May) 1621 from Hetman Iakiv Borodavka to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, in which the hetman, who was then in Kyiv, wrote of 'Zaporizhia, our Cossack home' (Mytsyk, 'Dva lysty het'mana Nerody [Borodavky]', p. 440).

In Vyhovsky's time, there was some thought of moving the hetman's residence to Pereiaslav. Vyhovsky evidently approached the tsar on the question shortly after his election as hetman in 1657 and received permission to live there.[108] The initiative was also in keeping with Vyhovsky's general intention of weakening the influence of the Cossack rank and file on the hetman's administration, although it is unclear whether Vyhovsky's request was intended more as a display of loyalty to the tsar or as a prelude to the actual transfer of the hetman's residence. Clearly, the choice of Pereiaslav would move the political center of Cossackdom closer to its new ally, the Tsardom of Muscovy, and further from potential enemies, the Poles and Tatars. Not surprisingly, with the outbreak of the revolt against Moscow, the idea of moving his residence to Pereiaslav lost significance for Vyhovsky. Now, a residence further from Moscow would better serve his purpose. When in July 1658 the voevoda Sheremetiev summoned Vyhovsky from Chyhyryn to Kyiv for talks, the hetman did not go to see the voevoda, dispatching an army of 20,000 to Kyiv instead, but it was too late. The fortress, reinforced by Sheremetiev, repelled the Cossack attack and inflicted significant casualties, so that the Ukrainian forces returned with nothing to show for their venture.[109]

If, in the eyes of the Poles, Ukraine consisted of three palatinates—Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Bratslav—then Muscovite politicians regarded Ukraine/Little Rus' as two ancient princedoms with their capitals in Kyiv and Chernihiv.[110] In Muscovite eyes, Kyiv was unquestionably the capital of these possessions. The Ukrainian clergy shared the view of Kyiv as the capital of Rus',[111] but little evidence remains to suggest the prevalence of such a view among the Cossacks. Ironically, the very same Cossack stratum that had permitted the revival of Kyiv as the seat of Ruthenian Orthodoxy in the 1620s showed almost no inclination to restore it as a secular and then a political capital in the 1650s.

The extinction of the princely dynasties that claimed Volodymyr's

[108] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 141, 186. Khmelnytsky himself was not indifferent to Pereiaslav, where he received a Commonwealth delegation in February 1649 and signed no less than twenty letters and proclamations at various times. His first wife came from Pereiaslav, and Khmelnytsky's close contacts with the town and many of its residents even led the historian Mykola Petrovsky to think of it as the hetman's birthplace. See the discussion of Petrovsky's views in Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 1st edn., p. 66.

[109] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 25, 249, 261–70.

[110] The Polish–Lithuanian side naturally refused to countenance the Muscovite claims of ancestral rights to Ukraine. During the Muscovite–Commonwealth negotiations at Vilnius in the summer of 1656, the Commonwealth commissioners stated, according to the Muscovite record: 'And it has come to this, that those Cherkasians have been taken under the high hand of His Tsarist Majesty with many princedoms and towns and lands that never belonged to the Muscovite state' (Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 266).

[111] During Ivan Vyhovsky's rule, one of the hegumens allied with Barabash feared that the Swedish king would install Rákóczi as prince of Kyiv. See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, 10: 166.

legacy and the emergence of the Cossacks as a political force in competition with the nobiliary stratum severed the continuity of the Ruthenian political tradition and made Kyiv much less attractive to Cossackdom than to the restored Orthodox hierarchy, which steadfastly associated its origins with the activities of Grand Prince Volodymyr. Clearly, the reason for this should be sought in the political culture and orientation of the Cossack stratum. On the one hand, as shown earlier, Khmelnytsky paid considerable attention to re-establishing Cossack control over the Kyivan Orthodox metropolitanate, taking over the royal prerogative of granting 'spiritual bread' in the process. On the other hand, in gaining control over the Orthodox Church—the chief institutional embodiment of the political and cultural tradition of Old Rus'—Cossackdom declined fully to identify itself with that tradition and continue it.

The competition between two opposing concepts of political and legal order in the Cossack polity, represented by the ideas of further consolidation of the Zaporozhian Host and the establishment of a Grand Duchy of Rus', ultimately determined the status of the two ruling centers, Kyiv and Chyhyryn. Since the idea of the Zaporozhian Host triumphed among the Cossacks, the hetman's residence remained outside Kyiv and was thus removed from that city's princely tradition. Cossackdom, which was still a very new phenomenon in Ukrainian politics in the mid-seventeenth century, could not or would not take over the older tradition of political thought from the vanishing princely stratum, thereby relegating Kyiv to those social groups that preserved the political tradition of Old Rus'—the Kyivan clergy and the Ukrainian nobility.

EIGHT

In Search of an Orthodox Monarch

As Bohdan Khmelnytsky's rule took hold, the new and still inchoate Cossack polity became ever more deeply involved in the European system of international relations. That system, characterized by religious divisions and traditional alliances based on religious affinity, largely determined the course of the Thirty Years' War, and was one of the results of the confessionalization of European politics. Having rebelled against the Catholic Commonwealth, the Cossacks almost automatically made enemies of the Catholic states of Europe and, by the same token, found potential allies among the non-Catholic powers, whether Islamic, such as the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire, or Protestant, as in the cases of Transylvania and Sweden, a rising star in European politics. Orthodox Muscovy took an immediate interest in the Cossack revolt taking place across its border, as did Orthodox Moldavia.[1]

In the early stages of the revolt, the Cossacks attempted to keep as many options open as possible with respect to the religious affiliations of their potential partners and allies. The first important step in their search for new alliances was the establishment of a pact with the Crimea, which made possible the impressive Cossack victories in the first months of the uprising and was an important element of Khmelnytsky's military strategy in the years that followed.[2] In political and religious terms, this alliance was more than controversial. The pact with the Tatars aroused

[1] For a general survey of the impact of religious wars on the political order in Europe, see Elliott, *Europe Divided*, pp. 70–106; Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1715*, 2nd edn. (New York and London, 1979), pp. 1–9, 12–18, 294–301.

For an account of Khmelnytsky's diplomatic activity prior to 1655, see V. A. Golobutskii (V. O. Holobuts'kyi), *Diplomaticheskaia istoriia osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg.* (Kyiv, 1962). Like most works on the subject published in the USSR, Holobutsky's monograph is clearly biased toward Russia, both in content and interpretation of events. On the European context of Khmelnytsky's diplomacy, see B. F. Porshnev, *Frantsiia, Angliiskaia revoliutsiia i evropeiskaia vneshniaia politika v seredine XVII veka* (Moscow, 1970); id., 'K kharakteristike mezhdunarodnoi obstanovki osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–54 gg.', *Voprosy istorii*, no. 5 (1954): 44–58.

[2] On the origins of Cossack–Tatar co-operation at the time of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, see Wiesław Majewski, 'Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV a rzekome przymierze kozacko-tatarskie z 1645 r.', *Przegląd Historyczny* 64, no. 2 (1973): 267–82; Ivan Storozhenko, 'Ukraïns'ko-kryms'ko-tatars'kyi soiuz 1648 roku' in *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 81–91.

dissatisfaction and elicited numerous complaints from the Ukrainian population about the behavior of the Tatars, who would often take captives in the Ukrainian lands, at times even with the permission of the Cossack hetman. Accusations of having betrayed Christianity and making common cause with its Muslim foes were heaped upon Khmelnytsky by Roman Catholic Poles and Orthodox Muscovites alike, but had limited influence on the making of Cossack policy.

Proceeding on the basis of strategic considerations, Khmelnytsky maintained his alliance with the Crimean Khanate as long as he possibly could, for a period of almost six years. For the sake of the alliance, Khmelnytsky declined proposals from the Venetian Senate to undertake a joint campaign against the Ottomans in 1650; in 1651, he went so far as to accept formal vassalage to the sultan. That step was made all the easier by Ottoman religious policy, which tolerated the Orthodoxy and Protestantism of the empire's East European subjects, counterposing those religious traditions to the Catholicism of its principal European rivals, the Habsburgs. Only when the Ottomans showed themselves unprepared to provide effective assistance to Cossack Ukraine in its debilitating struggle with the Commonwealth did the Hetmanate cease to proceed down the path already trodden by other Ottoman vassals in Southern and Eastern Europe, most notably Orthodox Moldavia and Wallachia.[3]

As for relations with Protestant lands, Khmelnytsky, for his part, showed considerable initiative in his dealings with Transylvania, an Ottoman dependency, and later with Sweden. Nor did he neglect relations with Janusz Radziwiłł, the Lithuanian field hetman and protector of the Lithuanian Protestants, who was married to the daughter of the Orthodox hospodar of Moldavia, Vasile Lupu. For Khmelnytsky and the Hetmanate, the Orthodox connection was the most natural one, given contemporary practice in international relations. From the first year of

[3] On Khmelnytsky's relations with the Crimea and Turkey, see Pritsak, 'Soiuz Khmel'nyts'koho z Turechchynoiu 1648 roku'; id., 'Shche raz pro soiuz Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho z Turechchynoiu'; L. V. Zaborovskii, 'Bor'ba russkoi i pol'skoi diplomatii i pozitsiia Osmanskoi imperii v 1653–54 gg.' in *Osvoboditel'nye dvizheniia na Balkanakh* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 63–75; id., 'Krymskii vopros vo vneshnei politike Rossii i Rechi Pospolitoi v 40-kh—seredine 50-kh godov XVII veka' in *Rossiia, Pol'sha i Prichernomor'e v XV–XVIII vekakh* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 263–75; Sanin, *Otnosheniia Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim khanstvom*; Fedoruk, *Mizhnarodna dyplomatiia*; Jan Seredyka, 'Nieudana próba włączenia w 1650 r. Kozaków Zaporoskich do antyrosyjskiego sojuszu polsko-tatarskiego' in *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVII w. Studia ofiarowane Zbigniewowi Wójcikowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel *et al.* (Warsaw, 1993), pp. 125–32.

On the Venetian mission to Khmelnytsky, see Myron Korduba, 'Venets'ke posol'stvo do Khmel'nyts'koho 1650 r.', *ZNTSh* 78 (1907): 51–89; Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Piotr Salwa, 'Alberta Viminy Relacja o pochodzeniu i zwyczajach Kozaków', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 30 (1985): 207–22. On Vimina and his writings, see also Domenico Caccamo, 'Alberto Vimina in Ucraina e nelle "Parti settentrionali": Diplomazia e cultura nel seicento veneto', *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986): 233–83.

the uprising, Khmelnytsky paid special attention to Orthodox Moldavia, thinking at first to take the Moldavian throne for himself, and subsequently forcing Lupu to give his daughter Rosanda in marriage to his son Tymish. The marriage allied Khmelnytsky not only with the hospodar's Orthodox family but also with the Protestant branch of the Radziwiłłs.[4]

Yet the major potential ally of the Cossack polity in the Orthodox world was not little Moldavia, squeezed between the Ottomans and the Commonwealth, but mighty and traditionally anti-Polish Muscovy. The tradition of Cossack relations with Moscow was long and contradictory. One of Cossackdom's founding fathers, Ostafii Dashkovych, took part in campaigns against Muscovite territories in 1515 and 1521 together with the Tatars. On the other hand, no less a founder of Cossackdom than Dmytro Baida-Vyshnevetsky campaigned against the Crimean Tatars with Muscovite forces in 1556. From 1557 to 1561 he served the Muscovite tsar, thereby inaugurating a tradition of Cossack 'service' to Muscovy: the Cossacks would take action against the Crimean Khanate, either at Moscow's bidding or on their own initiative, in return for the tsar's 'stipend'. There is surviving evidence of several Cossack campaigns against the Crimea initiated by Moscow in the 1570s and 1590s.[5]

In the 1590s the Cossacks considered and accepted 'contracts' for campaigns against the Turks and the Crimean Tatars from other rulers as well, including Emperor Rudolf II and Pope Clement VIII. Later they became actively involved in the Thirty Years' War on the side of the Catholic rulers.[6] Even though the Muscovite tsar was only one of the European

[4] On Cossack intervention in Moldavian affairs, see N. A. Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii moldavsko-russko-ukrainskikh sviazei* (Chişinău, 1961); V. V. Panashenko, 'Dopomoha ukraïns'kykh kozakiv bratn'omu moldavs'komu narodovi v borot'bi proty turets'kykh ponevoliuvachiv (XVI st.)' in *Feodalizm: Ekonomika. Klasova borot'ba. Kul'tura* (Kyiv, 1986), pp. 42–59; Demetrius Dvoichenko-Markov, 'The Ukrainian Cossacks in the Early Anti-Ottoman Struggle for the Independence of Moldavia', *East European Quarterly* 14 (1980): 241–50. On Cossack trade with Moldavia, see Larysa Hvozdyk-Pritsak, *Ekonomichna i politychna viziia Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho ta ïï realizatsiia v derzhavi Viis'ko Zaporoz'ke* (Kyiv, 1999), pp. 19–96. On Cossack relations with Janusz Radziwiłł, see Ia. I. Smirnov, 'Risunki Kieva 1651 goda po kopiiam ikh kontsa XVIII veka' in *Trudy XIII arkheologicheskogo s"ezda v Ekaterinoslave*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1908): 197–512.

[5] For an account of Cossack relations with Moscow, see B. N. Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii i bor'ba vostochnoslavianskikh narodov za vossoedinenie' in V. T. Pashuto, B. N. Floria, and A. L. Khoroshkevich, *Drevnerusskoe nasledie i istoricheskie sud'by vostochnogo slavianstva* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 183–5; Hans-Joachim Torke, 'The Unloved Alliance: Political Relations between Muscovy and Ukraine in the Seventeenth Century' in *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj *et al.* (Edmonton, 1992), pp. 40–2.

[6] On efforts by the Habsburgs and the papacy to involve the Cossacks in the anti-Turkish struggle, see Vynar, 'Dyplomatychna misiia Komulovycha v Ukraïnu 1594 roku'; id., *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594*.

For studies of the Ukrainian Cossacks' international contacts in the 1620s, see Kryp"iakevych, 'Kozachchyna v politychnykh kombinatsiiakh'; Iaroslav Dashkevych, 'Ukraïns'ko-irans'ki perehovory naperedodni Khotyns'koï viiny', *UIZh*, no. 9 (1971):

monarchs prepared to pay for the Zaporozhians' military services, contacts with Moscow turned out to have the most lasting significance for the Cossacks' international relations, and payments to the Cossacks from the tsar's treasury continued into the early seventeenth century. Moreover, the proximity of the Muscovite tsardom's extensive territories and the readiness of the tsars themselves to populate them with emigrants from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth made Muscovy a particularly attractive ally for the Ukrainian Cossacks in their uprisings.

Kryshtof Kosynsky, the first leader of Cossack rebels against the Commonwealth, planned to go over to Muscovite territory with his Cossacks. Participants in the Nalyvaiko rebellion also attempted to cross the border into Muscovy. Each successive crisis in Cossack relations with the Commonwealth inspired Cossack plans to migrate or even go over 'with their towns' to the Tsardom of Muscovy. In 1621, Cossack circles mooted the idea of taking control of the Siverian region, which had just been annexed from Muscovy to the Commonwealth, and placing themselves under the tsar's protection. In 1625, the Cossacks hoped for military assistance from Muscovy in return for their recognition of the tsar's sovereignty over the territory they had captured, employing Kyivan clergymen as intermediaries to sound out the prospects of becoming subjects of the tsar. That idea regained currency among the Cossacks in 1630–2. During the Cossack uprising of 1637–8 and after its suppression, Cossack resettlement to Muscovite territory took place on a massive scale. Muscovy was interested in the construction and settlement of its defensive line against the Crimean Khanate, while the Cossacks wanted a safe haven to which they could retreat when bested in their confrontations with the Commonwealth.[7]

It is nevertheless important to note that Cossack attempts to enter the tsar's service and their resettlement on Muscovite territory in the wake of failed uprisings were not guided by a consistent strategy, but were rather determined by the needs of the moment. When Cossack interests required their participation in the Commonwealth's wars against Muscovy, they showed the same alacrity as they had in seeking to enter 'the tsar's service'. Cossack involvement in the Time of Troubles, Sahaidachny's campaign against Muscovy in 1618, and the participation of Cossack forces in the Smolensk War (1632–4) are all evidence of the opportunism of Cossack policy with regard to Muscovy. For a long time, that policy was bereft of any ideological underpinnings, including religious ones.

124–31. On Cossack participation in the Thirty Years' War, see Baran and Gajecky, *The Cossacks in the Thirty Years War*.

[7] See Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', pp. 185, 207–16, 219–21. On resettlement to Muscovite territory during the revolt of 1637–8, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2, pp. 65–78. On Zaporozhian relations with the Don Cossacks, see Brekhunenko, *Stosunky*.

Cossack participation in the Orthodox–Uniate conflict on the side of the Orthodox changed little in their attitude to international affairs. In this connection, it is quite telling that Sahaidachny's campaign against Muscovy took place only two years before the consecration of the new Orthodox hierarchy.[8]

Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, being sensitive to the idea of confessional unity, forbade the Cossacks to make war on Muscovy, while blessing their campaign against the Ottomans. In his *Verses on the Sorrowful Obsequy for the Worthy Knight Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny*, Kasiian Sakovych made some effort to reduce the significance of the Muscovite episode in the activity of his Orthodox hero. Yet in their relations with Moscow, the Cossacks clearly lacked a broader confessional awareness that might have served to unite not only the Orthodox of the Commonwealth but those of Muscovy and the eastern Ottoman possessions as well. Consciousness of Orthodox solidarity began to grow only in the 1620s in connection with the activity of Cossackdom's new ally, the Orthodox hierarchy consecrated by Theophanes. The hierarchs did not regard Muscovy merely as a neighboring country that was subject to periodic attack by their new defenders, the Zaporozhian Cossacks. In their eyes it was, rather, a great Orthodox state whose support they earnestly sought in the confrontation with their enemies in the Commonwealth. But its significance did not end there. For the hierarchs, unity with Moscow was not only a matter of political orientation, but also a basis for the creation of a new national and religious identity that would later come to be disseminated as Little Russianism.[9]

The Intellectual Origins of Little Russia

The struggle for the establishment and implementation of the Union of Brest became the stimulus that awakened hitherto inert Ruthenian society from its intellectual slumber, forcing it into an engagement with

[8] On Ukrainian Cossack participation in the Time of Troubles, see Tyszkowski, 'Kozaczyzna w wojnach moskiewskich Zygmunta III (1605–1618)'; id., 'Aleksander Lisowski i jego zagony na Moskwę'. For documents on the Cossack attack on Muscovy in 1618, see 'Relacja Sahajdacznego z wyprawy na Moskwę w r. 1618'; *DRA*, nos. 52–148. On Sahaidachny's contacts with Moscow in 1620, see V. D. Koroliuk, 'K voprosu o posol'stve v Moskvu ot zaporozhskogo getmana Petra Sagaidachnogo v 1620 g.', *Slavianskii arkhiv* (Moscow), no. 1 (1958): 34–8. On Cossack participation in the Smolensk War, see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 200–6; Floria, 'Nachalo Smolenskoi voiny i zaporozhskoe kazachestvo'.

[9] On the development of Little Russian identity in Ukraine, see Kohut, 'The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding'; Serhii Plokhy, 'The Symbol of Little Russia: The Pokrova Icon and Early Modern Ukrainian Political Ideology', *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (summer–winter 1992): 171–88.

literature and learning that led to a reassessment of its identity. The schism gave rise to a search for new forms of religious identity that differentiated the Orthodox community from Uniate Rus'—ethnically identical but religiously alien—while simultaneously emphasizing its ties with the Orthodox world beyond the borders of the Commonwealth. The precondition for this quest was a feeling of danger and insecurity among the Ruthenian Orthodox élite that prompted it to seek allies and protectors outside the Commonwealth. There were two possible directions in which to proceed with the quest—the Orthodox East and Orthodox Muscovy.

During the preparations for the church union and especially in the course of the sobors of Brest, the Orthodox of the Commonwealth were already seeking to develop their ties with the Eastern patriarchs as much as possible and making active use of their support in the struggle with their Uniate opponents.[10] In the 1620s, the new Orthodox patriarch, Iov Boretsky, constantly stressed that the restored hierarchy had been consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem. Although the dependence of the metropolitanate on Constantinople was never called into question by the Orthodox, the old tradition of treating the tie between Rus' and the Orthodox East as one involving all the Orthodox patriarchs allowed Boretsky to refer to his 'metropolitan throne of Kyiv and Jerusalem' (*prestola mitropolii kievskoia irusalimskoe*).[11] As discussed earlier, the consecration of the new hierarchy by the patriarch of Jerusalem and Boretsky's attitude to that event established the basis for a conception of Kyiv as a second Jerusalem and, of paramount importance in this respect, spun a thread of association between the isolated Kyivan hierarchy and the Eastern Orthodox world.

The other avenue that offered the Orthodox a way out of the isolation forced on them by the Commonwealth authorities was Moscow. The Tsardom of Muscovy was far from *terra incognita* for the Ruthenian Orthodox. On the eve of the Union of Brest, Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky had sought to make it a factor in the Orthodox–Catholic dialogue, proposing that Ipatii Potii go to Moscow for consultations about the Union.[12] The Muscovite practice of distributing tsarist alms to the Orthodox churches was well known in the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth, and the Ruthenian Orthodox were among those who frequently benefited from the tsar's financial support. In June 1592, the

[10] For details, see Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, pp. 209–44.

[11] See a letter from Metropolitan Boretsky to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich and Patriarch Filaret (Romanov) of Moscow in *VUR*, 1: 48.

[12] See the text of a letter from Kostiantyn Ostrozky to Ipatii Potii in Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis*, pp. 18–20. Cf. K. V. Kharlampovich (Kostiantyn Kharlampovych), *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* (Kazan, 1914), p. 15.

Lviv Brotherhood, along with Bishop Balaban, Metropolitan Rohoza, and Metropolitan Dionysios of Tŭrnovo requested 'alms' from the tsar to rebuild the Church of the Dormition, which had been destroyed by fire.[13] In 1593, seven Orthodox churches in Kamianets received donations from the tsar.[14] At the time, requesting and receiving alms from Moscow was, of course, a purely religious matter that cast no doubt on the loyalty of the Orthodox to the Commonwealth. That situation changed drastically and developed clear political overtones after the conclusion of the Union of Brest in 1596.

As early as the following year, 1597, an Orthodox in Vilnius was taken to court on the basis of a mere allegation that he had requested alms from the tsar in Moscow for the construction of a brotherhood church and had sought to obtain an altar cloth (antimension) from there for the new church. The brethren refuted the charges against them, but the very fact that the case went to trial signaled an abrupt shift in the official attitude to the practice of soliciting financial aid from Moscow.[15] If such a request could previously have been made even by Metropolitan Rohoza, who was loyal to the government, after the Union of Brest the mere suspicion of such contacts on the part of the legally outlawed Orthodox Church constituted sufficient grounds for court action.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Time of Troubles and the Polish–Lithuanian intervention in Muscovite affairs made the question of relations between the Orthodox of the Commonwealth and Muscovy even more acute. In 1606, when a new delegation from the Lviv Brotherhood set off yet again to seek alms in Moscow, King Zygmunt III ordered his own envoys, who were on their way to Muscovy, to arrest the brethren and return them to the Commonwealth.[16] An appeal from bishops Balaban and Kopystensky concerning the False Dmitrii's ties with the Jesuits and plans for the propagation of Catholicism in Muscovy was circulated in Moscow about the same time, leading a number of Commonwealth officials to accuse the Orthodox clergymen of treason against the state.[17] The appearance of Meletii Smotrytsky's *Thrēnos* in 1610 was

[13] The members of the brotherhood were also commended to the tsar by Prince Ostrozky. Besides its appeal to Moscow in 1592, the brotherhood attempted to send a delegation there in 1593, but it is not known whether the envoys reached their destination and, if so, with what result. Clearly, the trail to Moscow was blazed for the brotherhood by Eastern hierarchs: Arsenios of Elasson, who taught at the Brotherhood School, went to Moscow in 1585 and remained there after the visit to Muscovy by Patriarch Jeremiah II, as did Dionysios of Tŭrnovo, who was in Moscow in 1590 and commended the brotherhood's mission of 1592 to the Muscovite authorities. See Isaievych, *Bratstva ta ïkh rol'*, pp. 118–19.

[14] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 13.

[15] See Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba (do 1608 g.)*, pp. 306–12.

[16] See Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', pp. 188–9.

[17] Ibid., p. 192; Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 16.

also condemned at the royal court as the publication of a 'slander' potentially abetting Muscovy in its struggle with the Commonwealth.[18]

Thus the Polish–Lithuanian intervention in Muscovy served to politicize Ruthenian Orthodox relations with Moscow even more, rendering them difficult for the future. The Muscovite state, for its part, having survived internal turmoil and foreign intervention, emerged from the experience greatly weakened and plunged into the depths of isolationism, which was not conducive to maintaining the interest of Ruthenian society. The authorities' assault on the Vilnius Brotherhood and the deaths of the leaders of Orthodox Rus', Prince Ostrozky (1608) and bishops Balaban (1607) and Kopystensky (1610), contributed to the further deterioration of contacts between Ruthenian Orthodoxy and Moscow. The situation began to change only with the consecration of the new hierarchy by Patriarch Theophanes. His sojourn in Ukraine following the consecration of Filaret (Romanov) as patriarch of Moscow and his efforts to prevent the Cossacks from fighting against their co-religionists in Muscovy could not help but contribute to focusing the new hierarchy's attention on Moscow. That effect was heightened by the Commonwealth authorities, who made the Orthodox hierarchs feel that they were cornered, with no avenue of escape. Now that the bishops were operating outside the law, relations with Moscow were no longer so menacing to them as they were to hierarchs loyal to the government and recognized by it. Thus, in psychological terms, the way to Moscow was now open from the Kyivan side.

The first to appeal to Moscow for help was Bishop Isaia Kopynsky. Although he had been appointed to the eparchy of Peremyshl at his consecration, he had not the slightest prospect of assuming office while the royal prohibition remained in effect. The Mhar Monastery in the Lubny area became his temporary residence; from there in December 1622 he dispatched two monks to Putyvl to ask permission for himself and all the monks of the monastery to emigrate to Muscovy. In August 1624, Metropolitan Boretsky himself sent an embassy to Moscow. Unlike Kopynsky, he was not concerned with a small group of monks, but investigated the prospects of resettling the entire Orthodox clergy of the Dnipro region, as well as the Zaporozhians, in the event that Polish forces routed the Cossacks. As Bishop Isaakii Boryskovych of Lutsk, the metropolitan's envoy, testified in Moscow, 'they feared that the Poles would soon attack them and they would have nowhere to turn but to the Sovereign's mercy.

[18] Skarga, who interpreted *Thrēnos* in just that way, also attests to the almost immediate appearance of the book in Moscow in the same year of 1610. On instructions given by the king at his camp near Smolensk, the Orthodox printshop in Vilnius was closed, its equipment confiscated, part of the press run of the book burned, and its publisher, Leontii Karpovych, arrested. Smotrytsky managed to escape arrest—not least, perhaps, because the book appeared under the pseudonym Theophil Ortholog. See Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, pp. 57–8, 280–1.

Then they would all—the metropolitan, the bishops, and the Zaporozhian Host—seek the Sovereign's mercy, they would travel in the name of the tsar . . .'.[19] An important aspect of Boryskovych's mission was that he represented not only the interests of the metropolitan but also those of the Cossack officers, for he transmitted an appeal from the new Orthodox hierarchy to the tsar to forgive the Zaporozhians their campaign of 1618 against Moscow.[20] The close association between the new Orthodox hierarchy and the Cossacks was also noted in Boretsky's letter to the tsar: the Kyivan metropolitan pointed out that the hierarchy had found refuge from its enemies 'under the wing of the Christ-loving Host of Cherkasian warriors'.[21]

Iov Boretsky continued to maintain fairly regular contact with Moscow until his death in 1631. His successor on the metropolitan throne, the above-mentioned Isaia Kopynsky, also favored the Muscovite orientation.[22] In 1625, one of the hierarchs closest to the Cossacks, Iosyf Kurtsevych, emigrated 'in the name of the tsar', actually doing what Kopynsky had only contemplated. Initially he was well received in Moscow and even appointed archbishop of Suzdal. Kurtsevych's defection became the most significant episode in the movement of Orthodox clergy to Muscovy that began in the 1620s and continued with varying intensity for the next twenty-five years.[23] Petro Mohyla's accession to the Kyivan metropolitanate effectively froze relations between the Kyivan Orthodox clergy and the Muscovite state. Those relations became somewhat more intense only in the 1640s, owing to Mohyla's ambitious program of rebuilding Kyiv's churches and the Muscovite tsar's unwavering readiness to provide financial support for Orthodox shrines. In 1640, Mohyla sent a special mission to Moscow to request assistance for the rebuilding of St Sophia's Cathedral and, as mentioned earlier, funds for the sarcophagus of St Volodymyr. In addition, Mohyla offered to send teachers from Kyiv to instruct the Muscovite population.[24] Subsequent embassies

[19] Cited in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 410.

[20] See Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', p. 209.

[21] See *VUR*, 1: 47.

[22] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiikoe vliianie*, pp. 27–9. On Boretsky's contacts with Moscow in 1625 and 1630, see Muscovite correspondence in *VUR*, vol. 1, nos. 24, 31, 45, 49.

[23] See the chronology of clerical migrations 'in the name of the tsar' and the description of Kurtsevych's emigration in Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 29–74. The sobor of 1634 deprived Iosyf Kurtsevych of his episcopal office: he had obtained the Suzdal eparchy from Filaret but had never been ritually rebaptized. This fact was, apparently, used as an excuse to take action against Kurtsevych after the death of his benefactor, Patriarch Filaret, in the same year.

[24] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 88, 115–16; Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', p. 225. Documents on the distribution of gifts to Mohyla's envoys in Moscow indicate quite clearly that this was the first mission he sent to Moscow: the tsar's gifts were distributed according to established precedents, which included missions of 1628 and 1630 from Boretsky, as well as from Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem in 1636, and a visit to Moscow by Archimandrite Parthenios in 1637. See *VUR*, 1: 300–1.

that Mohyla dispatched to Moscow in 1644 and 1646 were also concerned with the reconstruction of St Sophia's Cathedral.[25]

The question of greatest interest to us in this connection is that of interpreting the views, ideas, and conceptions that the Ruthenian Orthodox élite brought to its relations with Moscow in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. What did Muscovite Rus' represent to the Ukrainian and Belarusian Orthodox community at the time of the Union of Brest and afterwards? As is well known, in the 1590s Ipatii Potii rejected Prince Ostrozky's proposal to go to Moscow to discuss the Union, referring to Muscovite 'coarseness, stubbornness, and superstitiousness'.[26] Moreover, in the eyes of the Ruthenian élite, Muscovy was the country that had lost the Livonian War to the Commonwealth (and thus, to the Ruthenians as well), and later, during the Time of Troubles, had been so helpless that Polish–Lithuanian and Cossack units had reached the capital itself and occupied it. As a cultural community, however, Orthodox Rus' must have felt sympathy for Muscovy, with which it had religious affinities, and which had resisted Catholic aggression at the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the religious viewpoint, Muscovy was certainly also regarded as the sole independent Orthodox state, to which, despite its weakness, the entire Orthodox world looked for assistance. The Eastern clergymen who passed through Ukraine and Belarus in a constant stream, heading for Muscovy in search of alms from the tsar, were a direct indication to Orthodox Rus' of the source from which it might seek assistance against the threat that it was facing.[27]

Some observations on the ways in which the Orthodox Ruthenians viewed their Muscovite neighbors can be made on the basis of their use of the terms 'Great' and 'Little' Rus'. The first known use of these terms in early modern Ukraine seems to occur in a letter of 1592 from the Lviv brethren to the tsar, in which Metropolitan Dionysios of Tŭrnovo is titled 'exarch of Little and Great Rus''.[28] The terms 'Little' and 'Great' Rus' were not late sixteenth-century neologisms. Most authorities consider

[25] See references to these missions in a document about the distribution of gifts to Kyivan monks in 1649 (*VUR*, 1: 240–1). Cf. *Akty IuZR*, vol. 3 (1861): 332–6. On the dispatch of the 'goldsmith' Iakim Evtifiev in 1644 and his return from Kyiv in 1645, see *VUR*, 1: 400–1. Cf. *Akty IuZR*, vol. 3, nos. 60–2. A list of Ukrainian missions seeking 'alms from the tsar' is given in Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 79–94.

[26] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 15.

[27] On Eastern clerics seeking alms in Moscow, see Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku*, pp. 103–247.

[28] The texts of the letters that the brotherhood's embassy brought to Moscow are printed in *AZR* (1851): vol. 4, no. 34, pp. 47–51, here 48. In early modern Ukrainian and Russian texts, the terms 'Rus'/Rusia' and their Greek-derived forms, 'Rosiia/Rossiia', were often used interchangeably. Here and below I render all these forms as 'Rus'', primarily in order to avoid confusion with 'Rossiia/Russia', commonly used to denote the Russian Empire of the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries and the Russian Federation and its territory thereafter.

them to be of Greek origin and date their coinage to the early fourteenth century, when the establishment of the Lviv metropolitan see and the partition of the Kyivan metropolitanate made it necessary for Constantinople to differentiate between two metropolitanates and two Rus' entities, then already divided along political and ecclesiastical lines.

In the 1330s, the term 'Little Rus'' was applied to the whole Principality of Galicia–Volhynia. It was included in the official title of Prince Iurii-Boleslav, thereby migrating from the ecclesiastical sphere to the political one. The extinction of the Galician dynasty, as well as the subsequent loss of Galician independence, prevented the political connotations of the term from becoming firmly established. Meanwhile, the terms 'Little' and 'Great' Rus' continued to be used in the ecclesiastical sense until the late fourteenth century in connection with the dispute about the partition of the former Kyivan metropolitanate, but by the early fifteenth century they had virtually fallen out of use. This applied primarily to the term 'Little Rus'', while 'Great Rus'' (as well as 'White Rus'') continued to be employed in parts of Muscovite Rus' to denote the polity ruled by the tsar.[29]

The visit of Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople to Ukraine, the struggle for the establishment of the Union of Brest, and, later, for the recognition of the new Orthodox hierarchy consecrated by Patriarch Theophanes created the context in which the Ukrainian Orthodox revived the use of the terms 'Little' and 'Great' Rus'. Little Rus' terminology came to Kyiv from Lviv and the western Ukrainian lands (where it was first revived toward the end of the sixteenth century) along with the Orthodox Galicians who formed the nucleus of Kyiv's learned circle in the early seventeenth century. As contemporary documents show, it was primarily contacts with Moscow that promoted the use of the terms 'Little' and 'Great' Rus' in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands of the Commonwealth, since 'Little Rus'' was one of the alternative self-definitions that denoted Polish–Lithuanian Rus' in relation to Muscovite Rus'. Beginning with Petro Mohyla, Kyivan metropolitans, who were usually titled metropolitans of 'all Rus'', began to style themselves metropolitans of 'Little Rus'' in their letters to Moscow. Mohyla, for example, referred to himself as metropolitan of 'Kyiv, Galicia and all Little Rus'' in his

[29] On the use of the term 'Little Rus'', see the following works: M. A. Maksimovich (Mykhailo Maksymovych), 'Ob upotreblenii nazvaniia Rossiia i Malorossiia v Zapadnoi Rusi' in his *Sobranie sochinenii* (Kyiv, 1877), 2: 307–11; Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, 'Velyka, Mala i Bila Rus'', *Ukraïna*, nos. 1–2 (1917): 7–19 (repr. *UIZh*, no. 2 [1991]: 77–85); A. V. Solov'ev, 'Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus'', *Voprosy istorii*, no. 7 (1947): 24–38. For recent interpretations, see Petro Tolochko, 'Rus'—Mala Rus'—Rus'kyi narod v druhii polovyni XIII–XVII st.', *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 3 (1993): 3–14; A. S. Myl'nikov, *Kartina slavianskogo mira: vzgliad iz Vostochnoi Evropy. Predstavleniia ob ėtnicheskoi nominatsii i ėtnichnosti XVI—nachala XVII veka* (St Petersburg, 1999), pp. 66–73.

missives to the tsar.[30] Sylvestr Kosov, while eschewing all mention of 'Little Rus'' in his first letters to Moscow, also referred to himself in a letter of July 1649 to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich as pastor of the 'divinely protected city of Kyiv, my metropolitan throne and that of all Little Rus''.[31] In time, 'Little Rus'' became a constant element of Kosov's titulature in his letters to Moscow.

The terminology of 'Great' and 'Little' Rus' was also accepted to some extent by the Muscovite side in its contacts with the Commonwealth. Patriarch Filaret, who generally styled himself patriarch of 'all Rus'', employed the title 'Patriarch of all Great Rus'' in his letters to Boretsky.[32] By the early seventeenth century, the Muscovite state had quite a long tradition of using the term 'Great Rus''. As for the term 'Little Rus'', it was apparently little known and infrequently used until the mid-seventeenth century; at the time, the toponym 'White Rus'' (*Belaia Rus'*) and the ethnonym 'White Russians' (*belarustsy*), along with 'Lithuania' and 'Lithuanians', were used in Moscow with reference to the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth.[33] One of the few known instances of the use of the term 'Little Rus'' by Muscovite diplomats dates to 1634. In that year, during negotiations to end the Smolensk War, which was going badly for the Muscovites, the Polish–Lithuanian side attempted to eliminate the reference to 'all Rus'' from the tsar's official title, maintaining that its use implied the tsar's claim to sovereignty over the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth. As was to be expected, the Muscovite diplomats refused to alter the tsar's title and noted in this connection: 'It is unseemly to undertake this: your Little Rus', which belongs to Poland and Lithuania, does not pertain to the title of "all Rus'" belonging to His Tsarist Majesty; there is no reason for you to apply that Rus' of yours to all Rus'.'[34] Thus, at least in their official relations with the Polish–Lithuanian side, Muscovite diplomats declined to consider Little Rus' a component of 'all Rus''.

Who represented Moscow and 'Great Rus'' in the eyes of the Ruthenian Orthodox élite? Judging from Ukrainian sources of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that representative was not the patriarch but the tsar, the sole independent Orthodox ruler. It was to the tsar, not to the patriarch of Moscow, that Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky urged a mission to discuss the Union.[35] In 1592, four letters were sent by the

[30] See Hrushevs'kyi, 'Velyka, Mala i Bila Rus'', p. 12.

[31] *VUR*, 2: 221–2.

[32] See, e.g., his letter of 25 April 1630 in *VUR*, 1: 81.

[33] On this point, see Floria, 'O nekotorykh osobennostiakh', pp. 22–4.

[34] Cited in S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* (Moscow, 1854–8; repr. 1959–66), bk. 5, p. 176.

[35] Letter from Kostiantyn Ostrozky to Ipatii Potii in Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Unionis Berestensis*, pp. 18–20. The conditions of union proposed by Ostrozky, as published in Lev Krevza's book, do not make it clear whether Ostrozky had the tsar or the patriarch in mind, but

brotherhood to Moscow requesting alms from the tsar for the reconstruction of the church of the Dormition Brotherhood, which had burned down. The letters were addressed, respectively, to the tsar, the tsarina, Boris Godunov, and the clerk Andrei Shchelkalov; there was no missive to the patriarch. It would appear that the Ruthenians either were not aware of the consecration of the patriarch of Moscow by Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople or did not attach much importance to the event. Even the Orthodox author of *Warning* (presumably Iov Boretsky), who was well informed about developments leading to the Union, defined the goal of Jeremiah's mission to Moscow in very general terms as the 'arrangement . . . of church needs'.[36] It is telling that for a long time there was no mention of the patriarch of Moscow in Orthodox–Uniate polemics, which stressed the rights of the pope and the four Eastern patriarchs.[37] A change in the stereotypical perception of Muscovy by Orthodox Ruthenians becomes apparent only in the 1620s, when Patriarch Filaret of Moscow, the father of the new tsar of Muscovy, Mikhail Romanov, returned from Polish captivity and began to play a leading role at the tsar's court.[38]

When the members of the Lviv Brotherhood decided to follow the example of the Eastern suppliants for alms from the tsar and sent their mission to Moscow in 1592, their letter to the tsar presented a series of arguments that laid the foundation for all future contacts between the Orthodox Ruthenians and Moscow. This letter constitutes the first known instance in which the case for the religious, ethnic, and historical affinity of Rus' was elaborated at length. Tsar Fedor Ivanovich of Muscovy was represented in the letter not only as the patron of the Orthodox world, but also as the leader of the whole 'Rus' race, made up of many tribes', with which the brethren identified themselves. Allusions to this leading role of the tsar were buttressed by references to his descent from Prince Volodymyr the Great, 'who enlightened the whole Rus' race with holy baptism'.[39]

Zakhariia Kopystensky, responding to Krevza's book in *Palinodia* (Palinode), understood Ostrozky to be proposing a mission to the tsar. See *Lev Krevza's 'A Defense of Church Unity' and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's 'Palinodia'*, pp. 128, 870.

[36] See 'Perestoroha' in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, p. 30. The establishment of the Moscow patriarchate was at first highly controversial in Muscovy, with the church hierarchy opposing this initiative on the part of the court. For a discussion of the literature and sources on the establishment of the patriarchate, see Borys A. Gudziak, 'The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy, 1588–1589: Some Comments concerning the Historiography and Sources', *HUS* 19 (1995): 200–25.

[37] See especially the polemic between Lev Krevza and Zakhariia Kopystensky, *Lev Krevza's 'A Defense of Church Unity' and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's 'Palinodia'*.

[38] Characteristically, in the eyes of Metropolitan Iov Boretsky, even then the patriarch was second in importance to the tsar. See the order of precedence in the salutations to the tsar and the patriarch in Boretsky's letters (*VUR*, 1: 46–9).

[39] See *AZR* (1851): vol. 4, no. 34, pp. 47–9.

In the opinion of Boris Floria, the argument for the unity of Rus' set forth in the brotherhood's letter constituted 'nothing other than a rehearsal of the most general notions of the program developed in Great Russia for the reunification of the East Slavic peoples'.[40] Some of the ideas in the letter did indeed echo allusions by early sixteenth-century Muscovite diplomats to the claims of Ivan III to Kyiv, Smolensk, and 'the whole land of Rus'' as the legacy of his 'forebears'.[41] One should also not exclude the possibility that the Lviv brethren were influenced by earlier Muscovite chronicles. Familiarity with these sources and with the historical conceptions elaborated in them (most notably the idea of the transfer of the Rus' capital from Kyiv to Vladimir and thence to Moscow) may have come about either directly or through the intermediacy of Polish chroniclers, who made extensive use of Ruthenian and Muscovite chronicles.[42] At the same time, as Edward L. Keenan has shown, there are hardly sufficient grounds to posit the existence of any program of 'reunification' in sixteenth-century Muscovy.[43]

Appealing to the tsar in their letter, the members of the Lviv Brotherhood not only advanced the idea of unity, which apparently lay under a pall of neglect in late sixteenth-century Muscovy,[44] but also approached it in a manner quite foreign to the Muscovite political tradition. The Muscovite politicians' references to the 'forebears' of the grand princes and those of the Lviv brethren to the legacy of Volodymyr the Great were framed within somewhat different intellectual conceptions. If Muscovite diplomacy asserted that the lands of Rus' were the patrimony of Moscow's grand princes, thereby stressing the dynastic rights of their princes to particular territories, the members of the Lviv Brotherhood

[40] See Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', p. 191. [41] Ibid., p. 172.

[42] This was particularly true of Maciej Stryjkowski, author of the popular *Kronika polska, litewska, zmodzka i wszystkiej Rusi* (Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia, and All Rus'). On Stryjkowski's chronicle, published in Königsberg in 1582, see A. I. Rogov, *Russko-pol'skie kul'turnye sviazi v epokhu Vozrozhdeniia. Stryikovskii i ego 'Khronika'* (Moscow, 1966). On the process of familiarizing Ruthenian readers with the Muscovite chronicles, see Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', pp. 161–71.

[43] See the critique of arguments for the existence of a 'program of reunion' in Edward L. Keenan, 'On Certain Mythical Beliefs and Russian Behaviors' in *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (Armonk, N.Y., and London, 1994), pp. 19–40, here 21–5. Cf. the Ukrainian translation of this article, 'Rosiis'ki mify pro kyïvs'ku spadshchynu', *Krytyka* (Kyiv) 3, nos. 1–2 (January/February 1999): 4–10, here 5. Cf. Edward L. Keenan, 'Muscovite Perceptions of Other East Slavs before 1654—An Agenda for Historians' in *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj *et al.* (Edmonton, 1992), pp. 20–38, here 23–6.

[44] The notion of the unity of Rus', having experienced some popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in connection with Muscovy's subjugation of Novgorod and its wars with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for Belarusian and Ukrainian lands, receded into the background and was almost forgotten by the middle years and latter decades of the sixteenth century. Defeat in the Livonian War did nothing to help revive its popularity. On the lack of interest in the idea of Rus' unity in Moscow, see Keenan, 'Muscovite Perceptions', pp. 28–38.

traced a direct line of descent from Prince Volodymyr to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich in order to emphasize the role of the tsar not as the owner of certain lands but as leader of the 'Rus' race' and patron of the Orthodox Church. Thus, instead of stressing patrimonial elements, their letter gave primacy to notions of ethnic and religious affinity between Polish–Lithuanian and Muscovite Rus'.

The views of Ruthenian society on the problem of the unity of Rus', as represented in the letter of the Lviv brethren, reflected the political, social, and religious circumstances and atmosphere prevailing in Ukraine in the second half of the sixteenth century. In their letter to the tsar, the members of the Lviv Brotherhood were largely continuing the intellectual tradition elaborated by the learned circle surrounding Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky. The cult of St Volodymyr as baptizer of Rus' and builder of churches, the conception of the 'nation of Rus'' as one that included a variety of tribes, and, finally, the treatment of the Muscovite tsar as the 'honorable sovereign and grand prince, brilliantly resplendent in Orthodoxy'—all these elements were already present in the introductions and verses written by Herasym Smotrytsky for the Ostrih Bible of 1581.[45] This complex of ideas was based on the efforts of the Ruthenian élite to defend the religious and national rights and prerogatives of Ruthenian society. Those strivings, as well as the tendency that developed in the Commonwealth to define the nation of Rus' in ethnic, religious, and political terms, gave rise to the treatment of the problem of Rus' unity set forth in the letter of the Lviv brethren.

Their ideas on the unity of Rus' were later developed and adapted to new circumstances by Kyivan Orthodox hierarchs of the 1620s, most notably by Metropolitan Iov Boretsky. In a letter of August 1624 to the tsar, the metropolitan presented a most expansive interpretation of the arguments advanced by the Lviv brethren on the historical and dynastic relations between Polish–Lithuanian and Muscovite Rus'. In particular, he addressed Mikhail Fedorovich as 'this tsar descended from tsars, offspring and kin of the great autocrats of all Rus'', who, 'in liberating his land from invasion, accepted the tsar's diadem from the right hand of the Almighty and was crowned with the laurel of the great Rus' state, and clothed in purple'.[46] Boretsky was in fact continuing the tradition initiated by the Lviv letter, but doing so under entirely new circumstances. If the Lviv brethren associated the last Muscovite tsar of the Riuryk dynasty with Volodymyr, which was entirely correct from the genealogical viewpoint, Boretsky applied the honorific 'offspring and kin of the great autocrats of all Rus'' to Mikhail Romanov, who was not descended from the Riurykides.

[45] See *Ukraïns'ka literatura XIV–XVI st.*, pp. 202, 215, 461.

[46] *VUR*, 1: 47.

It is difficult to determine whether Boretsky consciously permitted himself this obvious inaccuracy and error in order to win the tsar's favor or whether it was due to simple ignorance of the circumstances that had brought Mikhail Fedorovich to the throne. All that can be said with certainty is that on the issue of the descent of the Romanovs, the metropolitan followed the official Muscovite line.[47] In some measure, Boretsky's letter marked the beginning of the subsequent Kyivan tradition that would treat the Romanovs as 'relations' of Prince Volodymyr. In 1640, when Petro Mohyla sent a delegation to Moscow to entreat alms for the reconstruction of St Sophia's Cathedral, it was clearly with the intention of gaining the favor of the tsarist administration that he transferred some of St Volodymyr's relics to Moscow and called on the tsar to honor the memory of his 'ancestor'.[48] The tradition of treating the Romanovs as descendants of the Riurykides also manifested itself at the Council of Pereiaslav in 1654.

The important aspect of Boretsky's letter to the tsar was that he continued the tradition, reflected in the 1592 letter of the Lviv brethren to the tsar, of treating Polish–Lithuanian and Muscovite Rus' as ethnically related entities. Even as Boretsky employed the idea of the historical and dynastic continuity of Rus', he spoke of the kinship ties between the two peoples. His point of departure was the biblical story of two brothers, Joseph and Benjamin.[49] This was a rather popular subject in Kyiv at the time and served as the basis for a school drama that was staged successfully at the Kyiv Mohyla College in the 1630s.[50] According to the biblical account, Joseph, who was sold into Egyptian slavery by his brothers and attained a position of eminence in that country, later took a magnanimous attitude toward his siblings, especially Benjamin. The Kyivan metropolitan compared the Muscovite tsar with Joseph and referred to his countrymen as 'related in flesh' and 'related in spirit' to the subjects of the tsar, employing the same term, *rosyiskyi*, both for the name of the

[47] From the very first days following the election of Mikhail Romanov as the new Russian tsar, Muscovite official circles insisted that there had been no change of dynasty and that Mikhail Romanov was a descendant of the Riurykides. At the Assembly of the Land (1621) in Moscow that considered the possibility of war with the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth authorities were charged particularly with the fact that they 'wrote the name of the sovereign without the sovereign title, and exclude the sovereign from the relatives of the tsar; they refuse to acknowledge in writing that Tsar Ivan Vasilievich was his grandfather and Tsar Fedor Ivanovich was his uncle'. See S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, bk. 5, p. 159. On the assembly of 1621 and its decisions, see L. V. Cherepnin, *Zemskie sobory Russkogo gosudarstva v XVI–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 236–8.

[48] Cf. the discussion of this episode in Ch. 7.

[49] See Iov Boretsky's letter to the tsar in *VUR*, 1: 46–8.

[50] Lazar Baranovych, the future archbishop of Chernihiv, is known to have played the role of Joseph in a production of the drama, while the role of Benjamin was played by his fellow student, the future chronicler Feodosii Sofonovych. See the introduction by Iurii Mytsyk and Volodymyr Kravchenko to Sofonovych, *Khronika z litopystsiv starodavnikh* (Kyiv, 1992), p. 9.

Muscovite state and for denoting the Ruthenian population of the Commonwealth. He called upon the tsar: 'take thought for us as well, people of the same birth as your Rus' tribe [*rosyiskaho ty plemeny iedynoutrobnym liudem*] . . . take thought as well for our holy Mother Church, which is in our land, and for us, your younger brethren . . .'.[51] In fact, Boretsky was proposing that the tsar treat his relations with Polish–Lithuanian Rus' not only in dynastic terms but in religious and ethnic ones as well. Boretsky's letter, with its images taken from the Bible, helped to establish the tradition of viewing the Little Russians (Ukrainians) and the Great Russians (Russians) as brothers who together constituted a family.

Important data on the attitude toward Moscow in Ruthenian society of the 1620s are also to be gleaned from Isaia Kopynsky's letter of December 1622 to the patriarch of Moscow. Of particular interest in this letter, which became the 'first swallow' in relations between the Kyivan clergy and Moscow, is the use of the terms 'Little' and 'Great' Rus', revived in Ukraine at the time. Kopynsky refers to Patriarch Filaret (Romanov) of Moscow as patriarch of Great and Little Rus' and to himself as bishop and exarch of Little Rus'.[52] This is, in fact, the first known attempt to include a mention of Little Rus' in the title of the patriarch of Moscow, and potentially the first attempt to extend his authority to Little Rus', that is, all or part of the Kyivan metropolitanate. It is worth noting that the initiative in this matter was taken by Orthodox Rus', although the goal was still a limited one—that of justifying a Ruthenian Orthodox bishop's decision to change his allegiance 'in the name of the tsar'.

The general use of the terms 'Little and Great Rus'' in the Kyivan metropolitanate owed a good deal to the Greeks and the Eastern patriarchs. For supporting evidence of this, we may look not only to the letter written by the Lviv brethren in 1592 but also to the work of Ivan Vyshensky, an Orthodox monk and opponent of the Union who spent many years at Mount Athos and was one of the first to employ the term 'Little Rus'' in his writings. Patriarch Theophanes also used it in the pastoral letter that he issued in January 1621, on the eve of his departure from the Kyivan metropolitanate.[53] The pro-Muscovite orientation of many of the newly consecrated bishops, which was justified by the idea of the ethnic and religious unity of Muscovite and Polish–Lithuanian Rus', gave a new impulse to the usage of the 'Little and Great Rus'' terminology.

In his *Palinode*, Zakhariia Kopystensky wrote of Great and Little Rus' as constituent parts of the Rus' nation, which was considered to have descended from Japheth, a son of Noah who had inherited the North as

[51] *VUR*, 1: 47. [52] See *VUR*, 1: 27–8.
[53] See A. V. Solov'ev, 'Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus'', pp. 35–6.

his domain. He also stressed the religious unity of the two Rus' nations, emphasizing that 'the Muscovites had ecclesiastic communion with our Ruthenians both when our people came to Moscow and when their envoys visited Lithuania and the Crown Land'.[54] In his *Protestation*, Iov Boretsky made mention of the Muscovites (Muscovy), 'with whom we share one faith and worship, one origin, language, and customs'.[55] The stress on the historical, religious, ethnic, and cultural elements of unity was thus an important component of the Little Russian idea developed by the Kyivan clergy. It signaled the beginning of the formation of a new identity that developed in response to the challenge issued to Orthodox Rus' by the Union and by the royal administration—an identity that provided for the creation of a broader cultural self-definition based on the unification of Polish–Lithuanian Rus' with Muscovite Rus'. But was Muscovite Rus', rooted in its dynastic and patrimonial way of thinking, prepared to accept such a vision of unity?

The Last Bastion of Orthodoxy

By all accounts, the idea of the religious and ethnic affinity of Polish–Lithuanian Rus' with Muscovite Rus', advanced in the writings of the bishops consecrated by Theophanes, did not find ready acceptance in contemporary Muscovy. After the lengthy Time of Troubles, with its attendant foreign intervention, the prevailing mood in the Muscovite Orthodox Church was one of self-isolation, suspicion, and vigilance toward the surrounding world.[56] The times when Muscovite clergymen could address Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky as a 'Christian lord of eminent virtue' and call upon him to 'rejoice and be glad that our true and

[54] See *Lev Krevza's 'A Defense of Church Unity' and Zaxarija Kopystenskyj's 'Palinodia'*, p. 775.

[55] Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 143.

[56] For a more detailed treatment, see T. A. Oparina, *Ivan Nasedka i polemicheskoe bogoslovie kievskoi mitropolii* (Novosibirsk, 1998), pp. 58–65. On the events of the Time of Troubles in Muscovy, see the following works: S. F. Platonov, *The Time of Troubles: A Historical Study of the Internal Crisis and Social Struggle in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Muscovy* (Lawrence, Manhattan, and Wichita, 1970); R. G. Skrynnikov, *Sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba v Russkom gosudarstve v nachale XVII veka* (Leningrad, 1985); id., *Samozvantsy v Rossii v nachale XVII veka* (Novosibirsk, 1987); V. I. Buganov, *Krest'ianskie voiny v Rossii XVII–XVIII vv.* (Moscow, 1976); Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina v Rossii*; Jarema Maciszewski, *Polska a Moskwa, 1603–1618: Opinie i stanowiska szlachty polskiej* (Warsaw, 1964); V. I. Ul'ianovskii (Ul'ianovs'kyi), *Rossiia v nachale smuty: ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii i istochnikovedeniia*, 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1993). Ul'ianovs'kyi has also written a number of studies on the Ukrainian connections of the False Dmitrii I. These include 'Lzhedmitrii I i Ukraïna (politychni aspekty)' in *Ukraïna i Pol'shcha v period feodalizmu* (Kyiv, 1991), pp. 73–85, and *Lzhedmitrii I i Ukraina. Ukazatel' arkhivnykh istochnikov i materialov* (Kyiv, 1991).

immaculate Christian faith remains firm and unshakable',[57] as they had done following the overthrow of the First False Dmitrii and the election of Vasilii Shuisky as tsar in 1606, seemed gone forever. Satan appeared to have established his dominion in neighboring lands. As the author of the *Kazan Relation* wrote of Grigorii Otrepev (the First False Dmitrii) soon after 1610, 'on seeing the light, he, the accursed one, fled into the darkness to Poland'.[58]

During the Time of Troubles, the view was propagated in Muscovy that opponents of the regime in power, whether Orthodox or not, were enemies of the Orthodox faith. The close association in the minds of contemporaries between spiritual and temporal authorities made it possible to treat the tsar's opponents as enemies of the Orthodox faith in general. Interesting in this regard are the proclamations issued by Patriarch Germogen, an ally of Tsar Vasilii Shuisky, who described the insurgents led by Ivan Bolotnikov as 'bandits who have fallen away from the Christian faith and murderers of Christians'. He accused them of 'desecrating holy icons and utterly despoiling holy churches', counterposing to them 'all Orthodox Christians', as he called those who supported Shuisky.[59] The author of *The Other Relation*, which appeared in the 1620s, also considered Bolotnikov and Ilia Gorchakov (a pretender who styled himself the Tsarevich Peter) enemies of the Orthodox faith.[60] The very fact of rebellion against the ruling tsar was sufficient grounds, in the eyes of the Muscovite élites, to accuse the rebels of wishing to destroy the whole Orthodox community of faith.

According to this logic, the establishment of Mikhail Romanov's rule in Moscow and the gradual consolidation of his power on the periphery of the state automatically made the whole population not only subjects of the tsar but also 'Orthodox Christians'. 'Traitors', by contrast, were expelled from or remained beyond the borders of the state. In the summer of 1616, after the resumption of hostilities between the Commonwealth and Muscovy, the tsar ordered that infiltrators be sent to appeal to 'Russian people [*russkie liudi*]' in the Polish–Lithuanian army, having regard for God and the Orthodox faith, not to spill Christian blood and to join the tsar's forces. In the appeal from the sobor of Moscow hierarchs that the infiltrators were to distribute, the addressees were treated as 'traitors' to the faith and termed 'Orthodox Christians who have cut yourselves off from salvation, working in the kingdom of the Polish state'. 'Do not flatter yourself', said the appeal, 'that you are Christians: if the four corners

[57] Cited in Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 15–16.

[58] See excerpts from the *Kazanskoe skazanie* in *Vosstanie Ivana Bolotnikova. Dokumenty i materialy*, comp. A. I. Kopanev and A. G. Man'kov (Moscow, 1959), pp. 104–9, here 104.

[59] See excerpts from Germogen's proclamations of November 1606, ibid., pp. 196–201.

[60] See excerpts from the *Inoe skazanie*, ibid., pp. 92–103, here 92.

of the earth cry out against those who consort with the pope, then how should you be Christians, worshipping the beast . . .?'[61]

Couched in such terms, the proclamation of the Moscow hierarchs could hardly convince its readers to go over to the Muscovite side, but for present purposes, the more important point is the conviction of its authors that the 'Russian people' on the Polish–Lithuanian side could not be 'Christians'. It is also noteworthy that the authors of the appeal (unlike Germogen in his charters) derived the 'un-Christianity' of their addressees not so much from the fact that they were fighting against the tsar ('voluntarily and involuntarily you are serving those who seek our demise') as from their alleged subordination to the pope. In their appeal, the hierarchs offer a choice between 'the patriarchs with the whole ecumene' and 'the West with the pope' and counsel their addressees to read the anti-papist works of Cyril of Jerusalem, Stefan Zyzanii, and Meletios of Antioch. The fact that the hierarchs addressed themselves to the 'Russian people' effectively excludes the possibility, raised by some scholars, that the document was actually an appeal of the Muscovite government to the Ukrainians and Belarusians of the Commonwealth and signaled the beginning of a new stage in Muscovite foreign policy.[62] As is apparent from the official correspondence of the temporal and spiritual authorities in Muscovy, as well as from political writings issued at the time, the ethnonym *russkie/ruskie* (Russian) was used exclusively to denote the subjects of the Muscovite tsar, while the Ruthenian subjects of the Commonwealth were termed 'Polish' or 'Lithuanian' people, Belarusians, or 'Cherkasians' if they were Cossacks.[63]

[61] Cited in S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, bk. 5, p. 99. Cf. Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', p. 194. See the texts of the appeals in *Akty, sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii Arkheograficheskoi ėkspeditsiei Akademii nauk*, 4 vols. (St Petersburg, 1836), vol. 3, nos. 327, 328.

[62] See the interpretation of the appeal by B. N. Floria in 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', p. 194. Kharlampovych (*Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 100) dated this appeal to 1613 and considered it to have been addressed to the Uniates. Tatiana Oparina, accepting the date of 1616, generally concurs with Kharlampovych's interpretation, considering the appeal of the Moscow hierarchs to have been one of the first Muscovite responses to the Union of Brest. See her *Ivan Nasedka*, pp. 34–5, and 'Spryiniattia unii v Rosii XVII stolittia' in *Derzhava, suspil'stvo i tserkva v Ukraïni u XVII stolitti* (Lviv, 1996), pp. 131–64.

[63] Documents on Petro Sahaidachny's campaign of 1618 against Muscovy attest particularly to the sharp distinction in contemporary Muscovite correspondence between 'Russian people', meaning subjects of the Muscovite tsar, and 'Lithuanian people' and 'Cherkasians'. For example, a proclamation issued by Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in October 1618 differentiates clearly between two groups: 'of the Cherkasians, more than half are Russian people, prisoners, men and children, and women, and girls. And proceeding with them, it is said, among their Cherkasian regiments were Russian people, men and children, and women and girls on horseback in six regiments, and all the Cherkasians, it is said, number about five thousand' (see *DRA*, p. 185).

A letter of November 1618 from the voevoda Mikhail Speshnev notes that those who returned from captivity 'from the Lithuanian people and Russian thieves' (i.e. Zaporozhian Cossacks and subjects of the Muscovite tsar who joined them) related that they had heard from 'Cherkasians and . . . Cossacks that many Lithuanian people and Russian thieves were following them'

The hierarchs threatened their addressees with 'eternal damnation' and noted that there would be no salvation for them from 'representatives of the Russian Church', which, once again, according to contemporary Muscovite practice, could only have meant the Moscow patriarchate. The fact that the sobor of hierarchs referred first to the Moscow miracle workers Petr, Aleksei, and Iona also indicates that most likely the proclamation was directed to former subjects of the Tsardom of Muscovy, including nobles and other inhabitants of those territories of the Smolensk and Chernihiv regions who had found themselves under Commonwealth rule as a result of the Time of Troubles. As there are no grounds to speak of the presence of Catholicism or the Union in those territories in the 1620s, it may be assumed that the sobor of hierarchs considered the 'Russian people' in the Commonwealth forces 'un-Christian' because of their service to the Catholic monarch and state.

It should nevertheless be acknowledged that in early seventeenth-century Muscovy there was more than one definition of a Christian. On one level, as noted, allegiance to the 'true Christian faith' was limited to the subjects of the Muscovite tsar. On another level, sixteenth-century Muscovy also understood that there were Orthodox outside the boundaries of Muscovy and exalted the role of Muscovite grand princes and tsars as the sole independent Orthodox sovereigns, as is particularly apparent from the monk Filofei's well-known remarks on Moscow as the Third Rome.[64] The Muscovite administration gladly availed itself of the services of Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem in 1619 in order to consecrate its new patriarch, Filaret (Romanov).

The Muscovite élites' recognition that they belonged to the broader Orthodox world did not imply, however, that they considered that world entirely equal to themselves or above suspicion of heresy. This applied both to their attitude toward the 'Greeks', that is, the Eastern hierarchs and clergymen, and to Orthodox from the Commonwealth. Doubts about the probity of the latter increased particularly during the administration of Patriarch Filaret. Having spent eight years in Polish captivity, including a lengthy period at the court of the former Orthodox magnate Lew Sapieha, who had converted to Catholicism, Filaret was well

(ibid., p. 190). Cf. the use of the terms 'Polish', 'Lithuanian', 'Cherkasian', and 'Russian' in Muscovite diplomatic documents pertaining to Commonwealth–Muscovite relations in 1646–7: RGADA, fond 79 ('Relations with Poland'), no. 69, ff. 95, 95^{v}; no. 72, ff. 2, 103^{v}, 239^{v}, 242^{v}, 247^{v}; no. 75, ff. 290–300.

[64] For the most recent discussion of the complex of ideas known as the 'Third Rome theory', see Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589* (Cambridge, UK, 1998), pp. 219–43; N. V. Sinitsyna, *Tretii Rim: istoki i ėvoliutsiia russkoi srednevekovoi kontseptsii (XV–XVII vv.)* (Moscow, 1998). For a survey of literature on the topic, see David M. Goldfrank, 'Moscow, the Third Rome' in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. Joseph L. Wieczynski (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1981), 23: 118–21.

informed about the details of the religious struggle in the Commonwealth, where, as he later wrote, 'I saw many ecclesiastical disagreements among them'. The very fact of the coexistence of Orthodox with Catholics and Protestants and the religious pluralism prevailing in the Commonwealth was not only unprecedented in Filaret's experience but also proof that the Orthodox of the Commonwealth were not maintaining the true Orthodox faith.[65] In a way it was another expression of the views adopted by the Moscow hierarchs in 1616 with regard to the 'Russian people' in the Polish–Lithuanian army.

Filaret's attitude to the Orthodox of the Commonwealth was fully apparent in his 'Ukase on How To Investigate and on the Belarusians Themselves', which became one of the resolutions of the Moscow sobor of 1620. The very title of this ukase is interesting, since it referred to the Orthodox of the Ukrainian and Belarusian territories not in political terms ('Polish' or 'Lithuanian' people), as was standard practice in Muscovite documents, but in ethnic terms as 'Belarusians'. Defining them in religious terms (for example, as 'Christians'), as the text of the ukase itself makes clear, was simply impossible: the Orthodoxy or, in Muscovite terms, the 'Christianity' of Polish–Lithuanian Rus' had been corrupted not only by the dominance of Catholicism and Protestantism in the Commonwealth but also by the Union of Brest, which Filaret termed 'walking two paths'. In the ukase, the combination of Orthodox ('Christian') ritual and jurisdictional allegiance to Rome was characterized as follows: '. . . they have a church, though Christian, yet they pray to God for the pope, and that church of theirs is called the Union'.[66]

The Orthodox of the Commonwealth were also suspected of 'pouring', that is, of performing the sacrament of baptism by the pouring of water, as

[65] For more detailed accounts, see Oparina, *Ivan Nasedka*, pp. 60–1, 63–5, 191; id., 'Spryiniattia uniï v Rosiï', pp. 140–1. In the introduction to the 'Ukase on How To Investigate and on the Belarusians Themselves', composed by Filaret in the form of a pastoral letter, his impressions of his sojourn in the Commonwealth were given as follows: ' . . . I, the humble Filaret, Patriarch of Moscow and of all Rus', was in the Polish and Lithuanian state, and saw many ecclesiastical disagreements among them. . . . Many of them do not observe the rules, and in one house among them, between father and children, between man and wife and between master and slaves there are three or four faiths, and one of them professes the Christian faith, and another the Anabaptist, and another the Saxon, and another the Arian, and they eat and drink together or at the same table and contract marriages, and some even pray together . . . .' (cited in Oparina, *Ivan Nasedka*, p. 60).

[66] Cited in Oparina, 'Spryiniattia uniï v Rosiï', p. 141. As may be judged from Muscovite scribes' records of accounts by Ukrainians and Belarusians who crossed the border, until the early 1630s the term 'Union' was not used in Muscovite chancery practice; instead, they referred to the Catholic or 'Polish' faith. See Floria, 'Natsional'no-konfesiina svidomist' ', pp. 126–8. Floria takes the Muscovite scribes' lack of distinction between the Uniate and Catholic churches as evidence that no such distinction was made by plebeian Orthodox Ukrainians and Belarusians themselves. The element of artificiality in this approach was noted in the discussion of Floria's paper at the fourth 'Brest Readings'. See the statements by Oleh Turii and Ihor Myts'ko in the minutes of the discussion, ibid., pp. 141–3.

was the practice in the Catholic Church, and not by triple immersion in water, as in Muscovite Rus', though in fact even the Uniates did not practice pouring, to say nothing of the Orthodox of the Commonwealth in the early 1620s. The Moscow sobor of 1620 passed a resolution requiring those who had been 'poured' to be rebaptized if they settled in Muscovy. The resolutions of the sobor of 1620 concerning rebaptism were inspired by the rejection of the previous 'flexible' practice of admitting converts to Orthodoxy by confirmation, without requiring them to be rebaptized, as had been the case with Maryna Mniszech (Marina Mnishek), the wife of the First False Dmitrii, and several Commonwealth noblemen thereafter. The sobor resolved that Catholics must be rebaptized, which meant that they were not considered Christians to begin with. This applied to Protestants as well. As for the Orthodox, rebaptism was required not only for those who had been 'poured' but also for those whose priests offered prayers for the pope (that is, Uniates or those baptized by an Orthodox priest who subsequently converted to the Union) and those who took communion in a Catholic church. Even an Orthodox who was above suspicion with respect to all the above circumstances could only be accepted into the Muscovite Church after making an act of contrition.

The sobor's resolution with regard to those who had been 'poured' cast doubt not only on the Orthodoxy of Polish–Lithuanian Rus' but even on its status as a Christian land. In effect, only those who lived in a purely Orthodox state and were not corrupted by contact with non-Orthodox could claim to be true Christians.[67] The only such state was the Tsardom of Muscovy, hence the Muscovite vocabulary of the day (in which the word 'Christian' became synonymous with 'Orthodox') reflected the prevailing view of the outside world, which held that there was no Christianity outside the bounds of Muscovite Orthodoxy.[68] When the sobor of 1620 took place, there was no officially recognized Orthodox Church in

[67] As late as 1646, Muscovite officials continued to object to potential marriages between subjects of the tsar and 'Polish' and 'Lithuanian' people. In negotiations with the Poles, they stated that Muscovy was 'an Orthodox state of the Greek rite. But in Poland and Lithuania there are people of various religions, hence it is impossible to unite with them in blood and flesh, as it would be a breach of the Greek faith' (RGADA, fond 79, 'Relations with Poland', no. 69, f. 95^{v}).

[68] In Tatiana Oparina's view, 'during Patriarch Filaret's administration, notions of confessional exclusivity developed into a conviction of confessional superiority' (*Ivan Nasedka*, pp. 57–61, 191). The Ruthenian Orthodox priest and theologian Lavrentii Zyzanii, who held discussions with Muscovite 'censors' in 1627 about his catechism, was amazed to hear, on asking the Muscovites the name of their faith, that they referred to it as 'the faith of Christ, handed down by the holy apostles and confirmed by the seven ecumenical councils'. This was a general Christian term, while Zyzanii, who came from the multidenominational Commonwealth, sought a definition that would differentiate the Orthodox from representatives of other Christian denominations. See David A. Frick, 'Zyzanij and Smotryc'kyj (Moscow, Constantinople, and Kiev): Episodes in Cross-Cultural Misunderstanding', *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (summer–winter 1992): 78–9.

the Commonwealth, and the Orthodox Kyivan metropolitanate had ceased to exist not only *de jure* but also *de facto* until the autumn of 1620. Muscovite suspicions concerning the quality of Orthodoxy among Ukrainians and Belarusians showed no appreciable change even after the restoration of the Kyivan metropolitanate by Patriarch Theophanes. Even as Zakhariia Kopystensky referred in his *Palinode* to the religious affinity between Polish–Lithuanian Rus' and Muscovy, that affinity was resolutely denied in Moscow. In the 1620s, the rebaptizing of Orthodox emigrants from the Kyivan metropolitanate to Muscovy proceeded apace, without regard to numerous embassies and trips by Kyivan hierarchs to Moscow, and the efforts of Kyivan theologians to obtain approval of their works and publish them in Moscow met with suspicion.

In 1624, when the Kyivan bookman Pamva Berynda presented four books printed in Kyiv to the tsar and the patriarch in Moscow, his gift was accepted with thanks and rewarded with alms, but his proposals for joint publications were rejected.[69] The attitude of the Muscovite 'censors' to the theological innovations of the Kyivan metropolitanate, as well as the dangers awaiting Kyivan authors in Moscow, are well exemplified by Lavrentii Zyzanii's sojourn in Moscow in 1626–7 for the purpose of publishing his catechism. Although Patriarch Filaret ultimately approved the catechism, Zyzanii was suspected by his translators and censors of propagating Arianism (in his definition of the essence of the Holy Trinity), of making use of secular philosophical ideas (on the structure of the universe), and of succumbing to the influence of recent Greek translations and writings. Zyzanii found it expedient to agree with almost every point made by his opponents. He asserted several times that he had come to Moscow for the express purpose of receiving instruction in the faith, but, judging by the logic of the discussions in which he participated, his capitulation cannot have been entirely sincere. After having spent nine months in Moscow, Zyzanii most probably feared a charge of heresy, with all the consequences implicit in such an accusation.[70]

[69] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 102; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 410. See Iov Boretsky's letter commending Berynda to the Muscovite tsar and patriarch in *VUR*, 1: 48–9. On Berynda's proposal of joint publications, see Oparina, *Ivan Nasedka*, p. 64. Among the books presented by Berynda was the latest Kyivan publication, the *Besĭdy na Dïianiia Sviatykh Apostol* (Discourses on the Acts of the Holy Apostles) of John Chrysostom. Together with Iosyf Sviatohorets, Pamva Berynda corrected the translation of the *Discourses* made by Havryil Dorofeiovych. See the description of this publication in Zapasko and Isaievych, *Pam"iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, vol. 1, no. 139.

[70] For the minutes of the Moscow censors' discussion with Zyzanii, see 'Prenie litovskogo protopopa Lavrentiia Zizaniia s igumenon Illeiu i spravshchikom Grigoriem po povodu ispravleniia sostavlennogo Lavrentiem katekhizisa' in *Letopisi russkoi literatury i drevnosti*, ed. N. S. Tikhonravov, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1859). General accounts of the discussion are given in the following works: Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 103–7; Frick, 'Zyzanij and Smotryc'kyj', pp. 67–93; id., 'Misrepresentations, Misunderstandings, and Silences', pp. 160–3.

Zyzanii may have been aware of the fate of Maksim Grek and Isaia of Kamianets, who were

The discussion concerning the translation of Zyzanii's catechism gives a good idea of the ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences separating Muscovite and Polish–Lithuanian Rus'. The Muscovite censors of the catechism, which was written not in Church Slavonic but in Ruthenian (Old Ukrainian), noted that they did not understand the language, and Filaret's principal representative in the discussion, Prince Ivan Borisovich Cherkassky, who was influential at court, termed the language of the catechism 'Lithuanian'. At times, Muscovite participants in the discussion referred to it as 'Polish'.[71] The ethnonym 'Belarusians', employed in the title of the ukase issued by the sobor of 1620, evidently had not become current in Muscovite government circles as an appellation for Ukrainians and Belarusians, and was clearly less popular than the political terms 'Polish' and 'Lithuanian' people.[72]

The fate of the Moscow edition of Zyzanii's catechism is also instructive. It was finally published, with appropriate changes, in Moscow in January 1627, but almost the entire press run was confiscated on Filaret's orders. The Kyivan cleric's attempt to secure the approval of Moscow (and, by extension, of the broader Orthodox world) for his 'Confession of Faith' ended in utter failure. Kyiv's offer to work toward confessional unity of the two Orthodox entities was, in fact, rejected in Moscow. The year 1627 also saw the first prohibition of a Kyivan publication in Moscow. This was Kyryl Tranquillon-Stavrovetsky's *Didactic Gospel*, which had earlier been condemned by the Kyivan metropolitanate.[73] Several score copies of the gospel were burned in Moscow in December 1627, and the tsar and patriarch forbade their subjects to buy 'Lithuanian' books. Works of theology from Kyivan ('Lithuanian') printshops were confiscated by voevodas from churches and from laymen residing in border towns and subsequently dispatched to Moscow. Some of them,

imprisoned in Moscow in the sixteenth century. The case of Iosyf Kurtsevych, who was allowed to correspond with his countrymen only under the supervision of Muscovite censorship, might have served Zyzanii as a more immediate example of Muscovite 'solicitude' for foreign clerics (see Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 103).

[71] See Frick, 'Zyzanij and Smotryc'kyj', p. 75.

[72] It should be noted nevertheless that Muscovite scribes used different words with reference to letters received from the Commonwealth in the Polish and Ruthenian languages. Letters written in Ruthenian were generally marked as copied from a Belarusian text (*spisok s beloruskogo lista*), and only occasionally as translated from the Belarusian (*perevod s lista beloruskogo pis'ma*). Copies of Polish-language letters were marked exclusively as translations. For numerous examples of this practice, see *VUR*, vols. 1–3. For an example of the word 'translation' used with reference to a letter written in Ruthenian, see *VUR*, vol. 3, no. 213. For examples of the clear distinction made by Muscovite diplomats between the Polish, 'Belarusian', and 'Russian' languages, see the records of Vasilii Streshnev's mission to the Commonwealth (1646): RGADA, fond 79 ('Relations with Poland'), no. 71, f. 266ff.

[73] The ban on the *Didactic Gospel* in Moscow was in part the direct result of a negative 'review' written by a Kyivan cleric. For details, see Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 108–12.

including Tranquillon-Stavrovetsky's *Didactic Gospel*, were later sold 'abroad', that is, in Ukraine and Belarus, by Muscovite agents.[74]

Regardless of Moscow's suspicions about the purity of the faith in Polish–Lithuanian Rus', the Muscovite authorities never broke off their contacts with the restored Kyivan metropolitanate and the Zaporozhian Cossacks. They continued to supply alms for the maintenance of Orthodox churches, monasteries, and brotherhoods,[75] and took an interest in the course of the religious struggle in the Commonwealth, without denying that the Orthodox of that state belonged to the Christian community. For example, in May 1616 Muscovite voevodas reported to Moscow about the struggle between the 'Poles' and 'Christians' in the Commonwealth, noting that the Poles 'have desecrated many Christian churches and established Catholic churches . . . and, seeing this, the Christians sent seven of their princes to Cherkasy so that the Poles would not destroy their faith, so that they might stand as one against the Poles'.[76] In the spring of 1620, the secretary Ivan Gramotin specifically inquired of the Cossack embassy to Moscow whether the Polish king 'wanted to violate their faith' and whether there was 'any threat to . . . their faith'.[77]

The most interesting and ironic aspect of Gramotin's question was that a mere two years earlier, when the Cossacks under the leadership of Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny had taken part in the Commonwealth campaign against Muscovy, they had been represented in proclamations issued by the tsar himself as 'destroyers of the Christian faith'.[78] Calling on the Don Cossacks to attack the Zaporozhians, who were then raiding Muscovite territory, Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich wrote:

> If only the Zaporozhian Cherkasians destroy the Polish [i.e. located on the Muscovite border with the Kingdom of Poland] towns . . . our Christian faith will be defeated in those places, and the godly churches and the monasteries, where the graves of your ancestors are located and where you yourselves have made donations for the salvation of your souls, everything will be destroyed and no memory will remain.[79]

Addressing another detachment of Russian Cossacks, the tsar called on them 'to serve for the holy churches of God and for the holy true

[74] See the report of the voevoda of Rylsk on the matter, dated 12 December 1630, in *VUR*, 1: 90–2. The prohibition on reading Kyivan publications applied even to such highly placed 'emigrants in the name of the tsar' as Archbishop Iosyf Kurtsevych of Suzdal. In 1629 he was obliged to explain himself to the tsar for having accepted a printed book from Ukraine (see Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 103, 112–13).

[75] See correspondence of the latter half of the 1620s between Orthodox in the Commonwealth and Moscow concerning donations to churches, monasteries, and brotherhoods (*VUR*, vol. 1, nos. 25, 33, 34, 41, 42).

[76] *DRA*, p. 92; cf. p. 100.

[77] See documents concerning the sojourn of the Cossack mission headed by Petro Odynets in Moscow, ibid., p. 246; *VUR*, 1: 3–7, 14–15.

[78] *DRA*, pp. 161, 162, 165.

[79] Ibid., p. 133.

Orthodox Christian faith. And for us and for all Christendom against the Lithuanian people and the Cherkasians'.[80] Clearly, as in the case of the 'Russian people' of the letter written by the Moscow hierarchs in 1616, the 'Cherkasians' ceased to be considered Christians when they took up arms against the Muscovite tsar. But as soon as hostilities ended and the Ukrainian Cossacks offered their services to the tsar, as in their embassy of 1620, they were considered to have returned to the 'Christian' fold, and Muscovite diplomats even inquired whether they were suffering religious oppression at the hands of the Polish king.

It would appear that there were two competing tendencies in Muscovite foreign policy, an 'idealistic' or super-Orthodox one that recognized no true Christianity beyond the boundaries of the tsar's realm, and a more pragmatic current that sought potential allies in the non-Catholic world and strove to derive benefit for the Muscovite state from Orthodox opposition to the Catholic authorities of the Commonwealth. In line with this second tendency, the Orthodox of the Commonwealth seemed sufficiently right-minded to deserve the tsar's support and assistance.[81] When a Kyivan delegation headed by Bishop Isaakii Boryskovych held negotiations in Moscow in January 1625 and, complaining about the persecution of the Orthodox, put the question about Muscovite assistance to the Cossacks and the extension of the tsar's protection to them, Prince Cherkassky and secretary Gramotin did not reject the idea of Moscow's intervention in the affairs of a neighboring state in order to defend Orthodoxy. Still, Moscow was not yet prepared for conflict with the Commonwealth, and the delegation was refused military assistance on the grounds that, according to Muscovite documentation, 'that idea is not yet established among you yourselves and there is as yet no unanimity among you on that score'. Despite the negative answer, the Kyivan clergymen were assured that 'His Tsarist Majesty and the Most Holy Patriarch will consider how to see the Orthodox faith and the godly churches and all of you delivered from the heretics'.[82]

The appropriate time for 'deliverance', in the view of the Muscovite authorities, evidently arrived in the autumn of 1630. At that time, Muscovy was preparing for a new war with the Commonwealth, and it was decided at the tsar's court to take the path already indicated by Swedish diplomacy and exploit the religious factor by enlisting Ukrainian

[80] *DRA*, p. 139; cf. pp. 152, 154.

[81] In December 1622, the voevodas of Putyvl, who had questioned envoys from Isaia Kopynsky, wrote to Moscow that 'the Poles are said to be intending to oppress the Christian faith in a short time' (*VUR*, 1: 28–9).

[82] See excerpts from the negotiations in Moscow in Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, 7: 409–10. The same records of Boryskovych's audience (RGADA, f. 124, 1625 g., d. 1) were also used by Boris Floria. See his 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', pp. 208–10.

Cossackdom on the side of Moscow. It is worth noting that in their relations with the Cossacks, who took either a pro-Polish or anti-Polish position, depending on circumstances, Muscovite circles sought to avoid direct contact, using the Kyivan clergy as intermediaries.[83] They were the agents chosen to transmit proclamations from the tsar and letters from the Eastern patriarchs with appeals to 'make obeisance' to the tsar of Muscovy.[84] These documents were important indications of the readiness of the Muscovite court to play the Orthodox and Cossack cards in their conflict with the Commonwealth, but the practical effect of their action ultimately proved minimal. Isaakii Boryskovych, who happened to obtain the documents after Boretsky's death, gave them to Petro Mohyla, who did not send them on to the Cossacks and allegedly said to Andrii Boretsky, who made inquiries about them, 'You deserve to be impaled for meddling with those proclamations.'[85]

During the Smolensk War of 1632–4, initiated from the Muscovite side by Patriarch Filaret himself, the Muscovite government attempted, if not to win the Ukrainian Cossacks over to its side, then at least to neutralize them. Even before beginning military operations, it instructed the voevodas not to harass the local population on the other side of the border (as was the usual practice before the outbreak of war), but, on the contrary, to attempt to gain its sympathy for the tsar. In January 1633, an order was even sent from Moscow to the Chernihiv region, then occupied by Muscovite troops, forbidding Muscovy's local allies to attack the 'Cherkasian towns', as the 'Cherkasians are standing up for the faith against the heretics . . . and because of that, they are engaged even now in great

[83] It is telling, for example, that in August 1631, when the Muscovite agent Grigorii Gladky proposed that Swedish envoys be taken directly to Hetman Tymofii Orendarenko, an order came from the 'sovereigns' to take them to Isaakii Boryskovych, Andrii Boretsky, or other Kyivan clergymen, who would later conduct them to the Cossacks, but not to go to the registered Cossacks themselves (see S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, bk. 5, p. 137).

[84] See Boris Floria's reference to this in 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', p. 215. Probably the most current reminder of the Cossacks' readiness to go over to the tsar's service if they could not withstand Polish pressure was delivered to Muscovy by the son of Metropolitan Boretsky, Andrii, who was questioned in Putyvl by the local voevodas in August 1630 (see *VUR*, 1: 86–7). In May 1630 in Putyvl, an envoy from Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, the Greek Andreas, mentioned the transmission to the Cossacks of a letter from the patriarch calling upon them to defend the faith and become subjects of Moscow. (See the publication of the 'statements on the interrogation' of Andreas in Floria, 'New Evidence on the 1630 Zaporozhian Cossack Uprising', pp. 172–3.)

[85] Quoted in the account of the report made by the Muscovite agent Grigorii Gladky in S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoria Rossii*, bk. 5, p. 137. It emerges from Gladky's report that in the autumn of 1631 he gave Andrii Boretsky another missive from the tsar about whose contents no information is available. Clearly, Muscovite propaganda in the Cossack borderland fostered the atmosphere that emerged at the Cossack council in Cherniakhivska Dibrova, where Metropolitan Kopynsky stated that if it proved impossible to resist the Poles, the clergy would go over to Muscovy. Some of the Cossacks had similar plans. See the report of the Putyvl voevodas dating from October 1632 in *VUR*, 1: 124.

battles with the Polish people'.[86] Religious agitation and the cautious line of Muscovite policy did indeed influence the early stages of the Smolensk War, but could not prevent the Cossacks from taking part in the war in its decisive stage.

At first the Cossacks sought to avoid participating in battles against Muscovite troops, thereby exerting pressure on the Commonwealth and demanding the election to the Polish throne of Prince Władysław, who was favorably inclined toward them.[87] After Władysław's election, however, the situation changed, and the Cossacks became fully engaged in the war with Muscovy. Moreover, Filaret's religious propaganda ultimately had negative consequences for Moscow. As discussed earlier, seeking to counteract Muscovite religious propaganda and requiring Cossack assistance and loyalty in the looming war with its eastern neighbor, the Commonwealth government proved more flexible with regard to the 'accommodation of the citizens of the Greek faith' and, as noted earlier, permitted the legalization of the Orthodox hierarchy. This change of policy proved deleterious to Muscovy not only because of active Cossack participation in the Smolensk War on the side of the Commonwealth but also because of the removal from the Kyivan metropolitanate of Isaia Kopynsky, who favored Moscow, and his replacement by Petro Mohyla, who blessed the Cossacks for war with Orthodox Muscovy.

The loss of the Smolensk War by Muscovy, the legalization of the Orthodox hierarchy in the Commonwealth, and the consolidation of Mohyla's status as Kyivan metropolitan led to the cooling of relations between Kyiv and Moscow. Nor did the death of Patriarch Filaret improve relations between the two Orthodox centers, as might have been expected. His policy toward the Orthodox Ukrainians and Belarusians was continued, only with more consistency in certain respects, and with no real hope of exploiting the religious factor in a future war with the Commonwealth, as had been the case during the old patriarch's incumbency. The continuation of the established policy is also apparent in the publication in 1639 of a *Service Book* that included the text of the 'Ukase on How to Investigate and on the Belarusians Themselves'. In the *Service Book*, Filaret's stand on the non-recognition of non-Orthodox baptism was also supported by an argument of Kyivan provenance—the reprinting of the Cave Monastery edition of the *Nomocanon*, certain articles of which recommended the rebaptism of converts to Orthodoxy.[88] Thus Kyiv's own publications were used against it.

[86] Cited in Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', p. 216. Text in *Akty Moskovskogo gosudarstva*, vol. 1 (1890), no. 448.

[87] See Floria, 'Nachalo Smolenskoi voiny i zaporozhskoe kazachestvo'.

[88] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 113; Oparina, *Ivan Nasedka*, pp. 65, 215–16.

The attitude of Muscovite officialdom toward Kyiv began to change only in the mid-1640s. The accession to the throne of the new tsar, Aleksei Mikhailovich, in 1645 increased the influence in church affairs of the tsar's spiritual mentor, Stefan Vonifatiev, who opposed the influence of Patriarch Iosif, the representative of the traditional line. Vonifatiev surrounded himself with a circle (including the future Patriarch Nikon) that began with a struggle for the 'old worship' and gradually undertook a program of reforming Muscovite Orthodoxy, which set it on the road to confessionalization by bringing it into line with the practices then prevailing in the Kyivan metropolitanate and the Greek East. The new course of the Moscow élites was not spontaneous, but was prepared by the acquaintance of the Muscovite 'Westernizers' of the 1620s and 1630s, including Prince Ivan Khvorostinin and the poets of the Printing Office, with contemporary Ruthenian writings.[89]

One of the first signs of the changes that began to be implemented by the Muscovite élites with respect to the theological teachings of the Kyivan metropolitanate was the publication in Moscow in 1648 of a manuscript collection of Kyivan provenance based on the *Book of Faith* of Azarii and the *Palinode* of Zakhariia Kopystensky, to whom Azarii's work is also sometimes attributed. The same year saw the publication of another Kyivan work, a grammar of Church Slavonic by Meletii Smotrytsky: the title page omitted the name of the author, who had converted to the Union. In 1649, the *Brief Compendium of Teachings about the Articles of the Faith*, compiled in Kyiv by Petro Mohyla and Isaia Trofymovych-Kozlovsky, was published in Moscow. The text followed that of the Kyiv edition of 1645. Moscow was in fact accepting the Kyivan 'confession of faith' and opening the door to the creation of a future confessional union of the Kyivan and Muscovite churches.[90]

Quite symptomatic of contemporary Muscovite attitudes toward

[89] On changes in Muscovite religious culture in the first half of the seventeenth century, see Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York and Oxford, 1992), pp. 128–49.

Kostiantyn Kharlampovych was of the opinion that the stimulus for Muscovite Orthodoxy's 'openness' to Greek learning was the incapacity of Muscovite theologians to polemicize on equal terms with Lutheran theologians concerning the possible marriage of Prince Waldemar of Denmark to Grand Princess Irina. In his view, the first steps toward reform undertaken by the Muscovite government corresponded to the proposals made to it in 1645–6 by Metropolitan Theophanes of Paleopatras (see Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 117, 119). For an account of discussions about the marriage and their influence on the Muscovite attitude toward Kyivan theology, see Oparina, *Ivan Nasedka*, pp. 219–21.

[90] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, p. 117. On the publication of the *Kniga o vere* in Moscow, see the chapter of Oparina's *Ivan Nasedka* devoted to the influence of the Kyivan tradition on Muscovite bookmen (pp. 245–86). See also Oparina, '"Da v liudi tu knigu kazat' ne dlia chego": biblioteka Simona Azar'ina i otnoshenie k ukrainsko-belorusskoi knizhnosti v Rossii pervoi poloviny XVII v.', *MU*, no. 4 (Kyiv, 1995): 86–102.

Kyivan Orthodoxy were the ways in which the authorities treated the Orthodox Ruthenian Adam Kysil in the course of his embassy to Moscow in 1647. The border voevodas were informed by Moscow that Kysil belonged to the 'Christian Orthodox faith of the Greek rite (*zakon*)' and could therefore be allowed to worship in Orthodox churches as he made his way to the capital. The only limitation imposed on Kysil and his co-religionists in the diplomatic party was a prohibition on visiting cathedrals in the cities. This was probably more a manifestation of a quid pro quo policy toward Commonwealth officials, whose government allegedly prohibited the Muscovite envoys to visit Orthodox cathedrals in Poland–Lithuania, than of religious discrimination against Ruthenian Orthodox believers. Even that restriction was later lifted, as Kysil and the Orthodox clergymen and nobles accompanying him were allowed to attend a service in the Dormition Cathedral of the Kremlin, where they received blessings from Patriarch Iosif of Moscow. Muscovite thinking of the period was typified by the fact that the Muscovite scribes who reported on visits by Kysil and other Ruthenian Orthodox to the Dormition Cathedral made no connection between their religious affiliation and their ethnic identity, referring to them as Poles.[91]

No less important an indication of change was Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's apparent response to the proposals for cooperation made by Kyivan clergymen in previous decades. In the autumn of 1648, he requested that Bishop Zosyma Prokopovych of Chernihiv send two monastic teachers, Arsenii Satanovsky and Damaskyn Ptytsky, to Moscow. Then he repeated the same request in a letter to the Kyivan metropolitan, Sylvestr Kosov, noting particularly that

> the teachers, the holy monks Arsenii and Damian Ptytsky know Holy Scripture and are familiar with the Greek language, and are capable of translating from the Greek language to Slavonic, and have a sufficient knowledge of Latin, and such people are suitable to Our Tsarist Majesty.[92]

As another contemporary Muscovite document indicates, the question at hand was that of 'correcting the Greek Bibles into Slavonic'.[93] Two monks, Arsenii Satanovsky and Iepyfanii Slavynetsky, were duly dispatched by Kosov and arrived in Moscow by August 1649.[94] This was

[91] See Muscovite materials pertaining to Kysil's embassy in RGADA, fond 79 ('Relations with Poland'), no. 72, ff. 107^{v}–109, 300–301^{v}.

[92] Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 119–20. See the text of the tsar's letter to Kosov in *VUR*, 2: 197–8.

[93] See a Muscovite document on the distribution of alms to Satanovsky and Ptytsky in *VUR*, 1: 238–41.

[94] In Moscow, Slavynetsky and Satanovsky prepared a Russian version of the Latin–Slavonic dictionary compiled by Slavynetsky in Kyiv in 1642. The dictionary remained in

truly the beginning of a new era in Moscow's attitude toward Kyivan Orthodoxy. The 'universalization' of Muscovite Orthodoxy and its return to the larger Orthodox world it had previously abandoned required the correction of Muscovite service books according to the Greek 'originals', and the Kyivan theologians' assistance was most opportune for that purpose.

As noted earlier, the Muscovite approach to the Orthodox ecumene was characterized by two competing tendencies that battled one another in the course of the seventeenth century. The first was marked by openness to foreign Orthodoxy and manifested itself in the continuing support given by the tsar's court to Orthodox churches and clergy outside Muscovy. The other found expression in a policy of isolationism that at its height tended to perceive every Orthodox living in a non-Orthodox state as less than fully Christian. Isolationism flourished after the Time of Troubles, dominating Moscow's religious attitudes and, to some degree, its political thinking during the tenure of Patriarch Filaret. The policy of openness, on the other hand, was fully manifested during the rule of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and the tenure of Patriarch Nikon. At that time, Muscovite Orthodoxy not only opened itself to external Orthodox influences, but also reformed its own liturgy and ecclesiastical practices in order to join and later lead the newly confessionalized Orthodox world. Muscovite attitudes toward Kyivan Orthodoxy were largely influenced by the interplay of these two tendencies. If in the 1620s Moscow's entrenched hostility toward Kyivan Orthodoxy was associated with its defensive reaction to the intervention of the Catholic Commonwealth and Protestant Sweden, the improvement of relations in the 1640s was clearly associated with Moscow's reassessment of its links with the Orthodox East.

manuscript and was not published until 1968 in Rome; it appeared in Kyiv in 1973. Damaskyn Ptytsky, who was mentioned in the tsar's letter to the Kyivan metropolitan, came to Moscow in 1650. The Moscow 'traditionalists' were openly hostile to the arrival of the Kyivan monks. In 1653, Slavynetsky established a Greco-Latin school in the Chudov Monastery and was an active supporter of Patriarch Nikon's ecclesiastical reforms. During his twenty-six years in Moscow, he wrote approximately 150 works. The fate of Arsenii Koretsky-Satanovsky was more tragic and indicates the dangers awaiting Kyivan monks in Moscow. In 1653, despite the tsar's promise that Satanovsky would be allowed to depart freely for Kyiv, he was exiled to a monastery.

On the activity of Slavynetsky and Koretsky-Satanovsky in Moscow, see Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 119–46; Ėingorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII veke*, pp. 39–40; I. Rotar, *Epifanii Slavinetskii, literaturnyi deiatel' XVII v.* (Kyiv, 1900, offprint from *KS* 19 [1900]: no. 10, pp. 1–38; no. 11, pp. 189–217). On Slavynetsky's role as a preacher in Moscow, see Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia*, pp. 152–60; also the introduction by V. V. Nimchuk to *Leksykon latyns'kyi Ie. Slavynets'koho. Leksykon sloveno-latyns'kyi Ie. Slavynets'koho ta A. Korets'koho-Satanovs'koho*, ed. V. V. Nimchuk (Kyiv, 1973), pp. 5–58. On the role of Kyivan monks in the diffusion of humanistic ideas in Muscovy, see Max J. Okenfuss, *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism in Early-Modern Russia: Pagan Authors, Ukrainians, and the Resiliency of Muscovy* (Leiden, New York, and Köln, 1995), pp. 45–63.

Religious Diplomacy

The outbreak of the revolt under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the spring of 1648 diverted relations between Muscovy and the Orthodox Ruthenians into another channel in which the religious theme became closely related to issues of a military and political nature. Depending on the changing fortunes of the uprising, the importance of Muscovite support took on greater or lesser prominence in the Cossack–Muscovite dialogue, but the religious theme was always present. While it never dominated relations, it almost always reflected the dynamics of negotiations between the Cossacks and the Muscovite authorities.[95]

The main themes of the subsequent Cossack–Muscovite dialogue were introduced by Khmelnytsky in his very first letter to the tsar, dated 8 June 1648. The religious theme was broached first, preparing the ground for the discussion of specific military and political issues. 'We have occasion to inform Your Tsarist Majesty of the condition of our ancient Greek faith, as we have long been dying for it and for the freedoms won by our blood and granted by ancient kings, and even now we have no peace from the godless Arians',[96] wrote Khmelnytsky. Closer to the end of his missive, the hetman returned to the religious theme: 'We would wish for ourselves such an autocratic ruler in our land as Your Tsarist Majesty, the Orthodox Christian tsar, if only the eternal prophecy of Christ our Lord would be fulfilled, as everything is in the hands of His divine mercy.'[97] The means whereby Khmelnytsky proposed to fulfill the 'prophecy' were simple: the tsar would attack the Commonwealth with his forces and the Cossacks with theirs. Thus Muscovy was to enter the war with the Commonwealth on the side of the insurgents, and Khmelnytsky's references to the Cossacks' defense of the 'Greek religion' and to the 'prophecy' concerning the establishment of the rule of the Orthodox tsar were to serve as arguments for such armed intervention on the part of Moscow.[98]

The religious theme was also prominent in Khmelnytsky's letter to the voevoda of Khotmyzhsk, Semen Bolkhovsky, in which the hetman sought to forestall the possibility of joint action by Muscovy and the Commonwealth against Cossackdom. Khmelnytsky began his letter as follows:

[95] On the history of Ukrainian–Russian relations in the Khmelnytsky period, see F. P. Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv"iazky Ukraïny z Rosiieiu v seredyni XVII st.* (Kyiv, 1959); Golobutskii, *Diplomaticheskaia istoriia osvoboditel'noi voiny*; Floria, 'Drevnerusskie traditsii', pp. 226–38; Torke, 'Unloved Alliance', pp. 44–8.

[96] *DBKh*, p. 48. [97] Ibid., p. 49.

[98] A letter from Khmelnytsky dispatched on the same day to the voevoda of Sevsk, Zamiatnia Leontiev, was more businesslike, did not touch on matters of the faith, and took up the theme, traditional in Zaporozhian relations with Moscow, of Cossack 'service' to the tsar: 'as our ancestors of the Zaporozhian Host have long rendered all kinds of good service to His Majesty the Tsar, so we stand by this even now' (*DBKh*, p. 51).

'We did not expect of His Tsarist Majesty, the Great Tsar, or of you yourself, Orthodox Christians, that you might attack our Christian faith, which is the same as yours, and assist the Poles against us.'[99] Thus the hetman asserted the principle of the religious unity of Polish–Lithuanian and Muscovite Rus' and indicated the anomaly of war between coreligionists. Framing the matter in this way probably would have done nothing to advance the hetman's cause during the tenure of Patriarch Filaret, but times were changing, and Aleksei Mikhailovich subsequently let it be known that he agreed with Khmelnytsky's assertion about the unity of the faith.

In a draft letter sent by the tsar to the voevoda Nikifor Pleshcheev in July 1648 with orders to copy it and send it to Khmelnytsky under his own name, the tsar's chancery noted that the Cossacks need not fear attack from Muscovy, nor did Moscow expect any trouble from them, for 'you are of the same Orthodox faith as we'. Rumors of a Muscovite alliance with the Commonwealth against Khmelnytsky were dismissed as groundless, with the additional comment that 'this has been suggested to you by some enemy of the Christian faith who thereby wishes to bring about dissension in the Orthodox Christian faith'.[100] Thus the draft letter accepted Khmelnytsky's idea of religious commonality without reservation or limit, just as it accepted the new framework for dialogue with the Cossacks, which was now defined not only by the traditional idea of Cossack service to the tsar but also by the concept of Orthodox solidarity. Nevertheless, in practical terms, Muscovite policy still endeavored to avoid war with the Polish–Lithuanian state, and in his letters to Khmelnytsky the tsar called on him to compose his differences with the Commonwealth 'so that no more Christian blood may be spilled'.[101]

[99] Ibid., p. 54. The theme of the unity of religion was presented even more strongly in a letter written by Khmelnytsky on 11 July 1648 to the voevoda of Putyvl, Nikifor Pleshcheev: 'We did not expect that you would lend assistance with your forces to the Poles, those poor excuses for believers, against us Orthodox Christians' (ibid., p. 57). In another letter to Pleshcheev dated 24 July, Khmelnytsky reinforced his argumentation with threats against Muscovy: 'If you should wish it for yourselves that you take up the sword against us, against your own Orthodox faith, we will pray to God that you reap no benefit from it; just as for anyone else, however much they may have fought among themselves, it is easy for us to make peace, and, having made peace, to turn against you, so that for your treachery God will destroy you' (ibid., p. 64). Having learned from the voevoda of Khotmyzhsk, Bolkhovsky, that Muscovite forces were not preparing to attack the rebels, Khmelnytsky thanked the voevoda, referring once again to the community of faith: 'For such brotherly love as you have shown us . . . with friendship and Christian love of our Orthodox faith, that you do not wish to help the Poles against us, we give you great thanks for this' (ibid., p. 65).

[100] See *VUR*, 2: 57. On the date of the letter, see L. V. Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 22–3, 287. A similar formula was repeated in a draft letter of August 1648 to Khmelnytsky (see *VUR*, 2: 74).

[101] See the account of the tsar's missive in Khmelnytsky's reply to it, dated 8 February 1649 (*DBKh*, p. 94). Judging by the terminology then accepted in Moscow, the reference was not to

The idea of the religious unity of the Orthodox world, which played an important role in establishing a dialogue between Khmelnytsky and Muscovy in the summer of 1648, was reinforced in the hetman's entourage by Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem toward the end of the year. Just as Patriarch Theophanes had once sought to popularize a confessional attitude among the Cossacks and forbade them to fight against Orthodox Muscovy, so Paisios now attempted to convince the Cossack hetman that an alliance with the Islamic Tatars would be disastrous, while Muscovy would prove a reliable ally. According to Paisios's report in Moscow, he reproached the hetman that 'he, a man of the Orthodox faith, had nevertheless allied himself with the infidels and spilled much Christian blood, and yet he could have come to an understanding about this with His Tsarist Majesty'. The hetman had allegedly made the excuse that before his letter could reach the tsar, the Poles would have defeated the Cossacks and destroyed the Orthodox faith, while in fact he had taken joint action with the Tatars to defend the faith.[102] Of course, Khmelnytsky was not about to abandon his alliance with the Crimea, but he was probably more than pleased to hear such agitation from the patriarch on behalf of an Orthodox alliance. In receiving the patriarch and lavishing him with attention, Khmelnytsky was not only seeking to legitimize his newly acquired power, as noted earlier, but also to make use of Paisios's services in his contacts with Moscow.

Paisios's sojourn in Moscow was indeed extraordinarily useful to Cossack diplomacy. In the first place, the patriarch enabled a Cossack delegation led by Colonel Syluian Muzhylovsky to obtain an audience with the tsar that would otherwise have been impossible to arrange. Relations between the two parties were thus raised to the highest diplomatic level. Secondly, Paisios himself proved a dedicated and tireless promoter of an alliance between Khmelnytsky and Moscow.[103] According to Muscovite documentation about Paisios's stay in Moscow, Khmelnytsky asked the patriarch above all to convince the tsar to take the Zaporozhian Host 'under his high hand' and 'provide assistance with military men'.[104]

the spilling of Christian blood in general, but only of Orthodox blood. In his letters to the tsar, Khmelnytsky also used the term 'Christians' with reference to the Orthodox, but in his correspondence with representatives of the Commonwealth administration, he used 'Christian' in the Western sense, meaning Christians in general, from Orthodox and Catholics to representatives of various branches of Protestantism. Cf. the use of the theme of 'spilling Christian blood' in his letters of 1648 in *DBKh*, nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, etc.

[102] See documents on Paisios's sojourn in Moscow in *VUR*, 2: 92.

[103] Apparently Paisios was dissatisfied with the results of his mission and complained to Arsenii Sukhanov that the tsar had declined to intervene in favor of Khmelnytsky (see Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku*, p. 357).

[104] *VUR*, 2: 93. These statements by Paisios, recorded in Moscow, are entirely in accord with the ideas expressed by Khmelnytsky in his first letter to the tsar, in which he wrote that he would wish to be the subject of a sovereign such as Aleksei Mikhailovich and requested military

Paisios informed the tsar of this diplomatic commission from the hetman, but received no reply, and reminded the courtiers before his departure that 'the sovereign's ukase in the matter had not been issued'. The tsar's decision was communicated to him three days later (9 May 1649): it comprised the basic principles and rationale of Muscovite policy toward the Khmelnytsky Uprising, which remained almost entirely consistent until the summer of 1653.

What was the tenor of Muscovite policy toward the uprising as presented in the official reply? The patriarch was told that the tsar could not send an army to reinforce Khmelnytsky or take the Zaporozhian Host and its territory under his protection, because Muscovy had concluded an 'eternal peace' with the Commonwealth. At the same time, it was indicated that if Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks should themselves succeed in throwing off the king's authority and express their desire to submit to the tsar, he could take them under his 'high hand', as that would not be a violation of the 'eternal peace'. Furthermore, the patriarch was assured that the tsar was prepared to admit the Cossacks into Muscovy if there 'should be oppression and persecution of the Cherkasians on the part of the Poles because of the Orthodox Christian faith and if they should go to the land of His Tsarist Majesty'. This was the sole reference to religion in the reply given to the patriarch. Thus it appeared that the tsar, as a Christian ruler, could not violate his oath to another Christian monarch, but, being an Orthodox Christian, was prepared to welcome the Cossacks on his territory if it came to a defense of the Orthodox faith. Paisios, seemingly agreeing with the tsar's position on the treaty with the Commonwealth, noted that he was unaware of its existence and 'knew himself that for him, the great Christian sovereign, His Tsarist Majesty, it was in fact impossible to violate that eternal peace, but necessary to observe it, while the Zaporozhian Cossacks, being simple people, spoke without knowing anything'.[105] The position taken by the Muscovite government in its reply to Paisios was fully developed in the tsar's letters and in the documentation of Muscovite embassies to Ukraine.[106]

As for Cossack diplomacy, very early on it had developed a clearly defined strategy in its contacts with Muscovy. Stressing the idea of religious

assistance from him. In his letter of February 1649 to the tsar, Khmelnytsky stressed the religious theme, as he had done earlier, writing that the Poles 'have slaughtered several Christian towns; capturing priests and monks, they butcher them and subject them to various tortures, like Herod'. He also developed the theme of 'prophecy', mentioned in his first letter to the tsar: 'that the Western adherents of different faiths may submit beneath the foot of your tsarist Orthodoxy and all Orthodoxy'. In practice, Khmelnytsky was seeking Muscovy's intervention in the war against the Commonwealth on the Smolensk front (*DBKh*, p. 94).

[105] See *VUR*, 2: 100–1.

[106] See, e.g., the tsar's letter of 13 June 1649 to Khmelnytsky in *VUR*, 2: 208–9; instructions of September 1649 to the envoy Grigorii Neronov (ibid., p. 258), etc.

unity, the Cossacks continually sought to involve the tsarist forces in the theater of military operations.[107] In advancing arguments in favor of its position, however, Cossackdom had to keep the dialogue within the parameters established by Moscow's official position. In 1649, for example, when the tsarist envoy Grigorii Unkovsky asserted during negotiations with Khmelnytsky that the tsar was prepared to take the Zaporozhian Host under his authority if it should free itself from the Poles, the hetman proposed his own solution to the legal difficulty of violating the 'eternal peace'. He noted particularly that the Cossacks had only taken an oath of loyalty and 'kissed the cross' to Władysław, while they had not elected, crowned, or sworn loyalty to the new king, Jan Kazimierz, hence 'we have become free of him through the will of God'. The argument was more than artificial, as the Cossacks had not been admitted either to the election of Jan Kazimierz or to that of Władysław IV, but the Muscovite envoy did not question the validity of the statement, as he had no ready reply to the hetman's suggestion.[108]

Khmelnytsky's talks with the former secretary of Patriarch Filaret, the monk Arsenii Sukhanov, conducted in 1650, show that Cossack diplomacy had yet another solution to the problem of the 'eternal peace' and 'kissing the cross', which Aleksei Mikhailovich was supposedly reluctant to brush aside. Khmelnytsky sought to convince Sukhanov that if the tsar would not violate the treaty, the Poles would do so themselves, as the pope 'absolves them of all violations of oaths', and if the tsar considered this a sin, all four Eastern patriarchs and their sobors would grant him absolution and pray for him. The hetman also sought to tempt Sukhanov with the idea of a universal Orthodox tsardom, noting that 'all the faithful desire it—the Greeks and Serbs and Bulgarians and Moldavians and Wallachians—that we all be in communion'.[109]

For the time being, given the military and political situation, Muscovy was unwilling to accept these arguments and refused the Cossack hetman's requests, which, as Khmelnytsky admitted to Sukhanov in desperation, were 'all shameful to me [Khmelnytsky] and of no use in any

[107] See Khmelnytsky's letters of 8 February and 22 April 1649 to the tsar (*DBKh*, nos. 43, 58) and the record of his conversation with Grigorii Unkovsky in the spring of that year (*VUR*, 2: 151–3).

[108] See Unkovsky's report in *VUR*, 2: 151–2.

[109] See *VUR*, 2: 189. Khmelnytsky's arguments in favor of the tsar's breaking the 'eternal peace' include some that testify to his good knowledge of biblical history and to his conviction, shared by members of his entourage, that the sin of breaking an oath was a relative matter. As Sukhanov's report indicates, the hetman told him: 'Father Arsenii, Herod told the truth and killed the forerunner; what good was truth to him? Would he not have done better to lie? And Rahab, the fallen woman, lied; how is she to blame for that lie? She even received eternal blessing for that lie; and elsewhere it is written: the one who beat the prophet was saved, and the one who did not perished—this could also have been grounds for the sovereign to support us, for we are Christians together with you' (ibid.).

respect'.[110] Nevertheless, when the tsarist government began to feel more sure of itself and the impending war with the Commonwealth took its place on the agenda of state policy, Moscow began to approach the problem of legitimizing the war along the lines earlier suggested by Khmelnytsky. In February 1651, when the first assembly of the land to examine the 'Lithuanian affair' convened, Patriarch Iosif of Moscow expressed his willingness, together with the entire 'holy sobor', to absolve the tsar of his oath pertaining to the conditions of the 'eternal peace'. In a letter concerning the assembly, the patriarch noted particularly that

> If the Polish king, despite his kissing of the cross and despite the eternal treaty of peace . . . does not take action and deal with the guilty according to the agreement and the eternal treaty, the holy great universal apostolic church may grant absolution to you, pious and virtuous Grand Sovereign, Tsar and Grand Prince of all Rus', Aleksei Mikhailovich, in view of the king's great misdeeds and his violation of the kissing of the cross and the eternal treaty.[111]

The preparations that Muscovy undertook in the winter and spring of 1651 for intervention in the Ukrainian–Polish conflict fully introduced the religious motif into the context of Muscovite–Commonwealth relations and negotiations. As religious claims receded into the background in Cossack justifications for the resumption of hostilities, the selfsame religious elements came to the fore in Muscovite–Commonwealth relations. Like the Cossack arguments pertaining to religion, those advanced by Muscovy concentrated on the question of church union. In Muscovite diplomatic documents it came to be treated as the principal (and, in practice, the sole) instance of the violation of the rights of the 'Greek religion' by the royal administration, and thus of contractual relations between the Cossacks and the king.

The question of the royal administration's violation of Cossackdom's religious rights first became significant in Muscovite–Commonwealth negotiations in the spring of 1651.[112] In April 1651, when a Polish–Lithuanian delegation headed by the castellan of Sandomierz, Stanisław Witowski, was in Moscow, Muscovite diplomats offered the services of the tsar as mediator to the Poles in their conflict with the Cossacks. The tsar's representatives at the negotiations stressed that the Cossacks had

[110] See Sukhanov's report in *VUR*, 2: 188.

[111] See *VUR*, 3: 11–12. On the proceedings of the Assembly of the Land of 1651, see Cherepnin, *Zemskie sobory*, pp. 319–27.

[112] The history of Muscovite relations with the Commonwealth during the first years of the Khmelnytsky Uprising is most fully presented in the works of G. M. Lyzlov: 'Pol'sko-russkie otnosheniia v nachal'nyi period osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg. (do Zborovskogo mira)', *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta slavianovedeniia AN SSSR* (Moscow) 24 (1957): 58–82; id., 'Pol'sko-russkie otnosheniia v period ot Zborovskogo mira do Zemskogo sobora 1651 g.', ibid., 27 (1959): 45–61.

risen against the king because of religious persecution, 'that they [the Poles] had deprived them [the Cossacks] of the faith of the Greek rite and forced them to accept their Roman faith, sealed godly churches, and imposed the Union on Orthodox churches, and oppressed them in every way'.[113] They also asserted that Władysław IV ought not to persecute the Cossacks for their faith, as he had taken an oath to the Orthodox not to do so, and that there was no place for persecution on religious grounds in a Christian state.[114]

The Commonwealth envoys sought to deny any persecution on religious grounds, indicating the rights guaranteed to the Orthodox by the Diet constitution of 1635. According to the Muscovite record of the negotiations, the Polish–Lithuanian representatives asserted that after Zboriv

> Khmelnytsky, having become partial to loot gained by robbery and placing his confidence in the same rebels, the Zaporozhian Cherkasians, began to consider various means of freeing himself from subjection to His Royal Majesty, and began to raise a rebellion, while spreading the claim and offering the reason that they, the Cherkasians, had supposedly begun to stand up for the faith.[115]

Despite its clearly polemical character, the Commonwealth envoys' assessment of the balance between religious and military/political factors in Khmelnytsky's policy was not far off the mark, but, having taken up the religious theme, Muscovite diplomacy was not easily deflected from it.

The religious question was raised again in July 1653 during negotiations conducted in Lviv by an embassy led by Boris Repnin-Obolensky, Bogdan Khitrovo, and Almaz Ivanov.[116] As a breach of relations and commencement of hostilities were imminent, the Muscovite side proposed conditions that were then unacceptable to the Commonwealth: not only making peace with Khmelnytsky according to the terms of the Treaty of Zboriv but also recognizing the Muscovite tsar as *de facto* mediator and arbiter of Cossack–Commonwealth relations. The main instrument of Muscovite pressure on the Commonwealth became the religious question. The Muscovite envoys maintained that the king had not kept the promises made at Zboriv and was continuing to persecute the Orthodox. Besides advancing tried and true arguments, both sides put forward new ones in the course of the discussions.[117]

The Commonwealth representatives stressed that churches were not being taken away from the Orthodox by force, 'and whatever holy

[113] See a Muscovite report on the negotiations in *VUR*, 3: 37.
[114] Ibid., p. 38. [115] Ibid., p. 39.
[116] On the organization of the embassy and the circumstances in which the talks were held, see Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 306–7.
[117] For excerpts from the report of the Muscovite delegation, see *VUR*, 3: 333–49 and Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 119–51.

churches have gone over to the Union, those churches, too, have not been converted to the Union by force, but the priests of those holy churches themselves have voluntarily adhered to the Union and converted those holy churches to the Union'.[118] The Muscovite delegation, however, continued to maintain that the churches had been forcibly converted to the Union and that the king was continuing to persecute the Orthodox. Some of the evidence put forward in support of this claim was gathered by the envoys in the course of their mission. As an example of the persecution of the Orthodox, they cited an incident in Minsk involving noblemen who had shot arrows at St Peter's Monastery: the envoys had seen for themselves the arrows that lodged in the wall of the church.

It was also imputed to the king that the churches returned to the Orthodox after Zboriv had been taken away from them once again after Berestechko. The situation involving the Orthodox church and monastery in Lublin was cited as an example.[119] After Zboriv they had been returned to the Orthodox, but after Berestechko they were restored to the Uniates (the hegumen and the monks 'were driven out of the monastery with great indignity'). The conclusion drawn by the Muscovite delegation was that Khmelnytsky had renewed hostilities because of the king's violation of the Treaty of Zboriv, 'and, moreover, because of the great persecution of the faith and the destruction of the Eastern churches'.[120]

The Commonwealth representatives at the negotiations asserted once again that no one was persecuting the Orthodox or closing their churches (it was noted that there was not a single Uniate church in Lviv, where the negotiations were taking place). According to them, not only had the king made no promise at Zboriv to abolish the Union but he could not do so even if he wished, as this was a matter for the pope and the Kyivan metropolitan to resolve; moreover, the king had sworn to uphold the liberties of his nobiliary subjects, including the Uniates; and, finally, he had no right to prohibit the Union on private estates. The Polish–Lithuanian side also went over to the attack on the religious issue, maintaining that the tsar had no right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Commonwealth, and that despite the presence of Catholics in Muscovy, there was not a single Catholic church for them. Moreover, the Commonwealth envoys claimed that the patriarch of Moscow was violating the 'eternal peace' by appointing Orthodox priests in the border regions of the

[118] *VUR*, 3: 336.

[119] 'Liubens'ka' or 'liubel's'ka' in the report of the envoys. Cf. the text of the report in *VUR*, 3: 337 and Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 130, 134.

[120] *VUR*, 3: 337. On changes in Commonwealth religious policy after the Battle of Berestechko, see Mironowicz, *Prawosławie i unia*, pp. 114–17.

Commonwealth.[121] The envoys also asserted that Khmelnytsky had begun the war 'for his own benefit', using religion as a cover: this was evident not only from the rebels' looting of Orthodox churches and from Khmelnytsky's conflict with Orthodox Moldavia but also from his vassalage to the Turkish sultan and his acceptance of the 'infidel' faith.[122] The Muscovite representatives, for their part, played the Muslim card to encourage the Commonwealth toward an accommodation with the Cossacks, who would otherwise—so the Muscovites claimed—become subjects of the 'infidels'. The Muscovite representatives were instructed to state that 'there is no such violent persecution of the faith by the infidels as they, the Cherkasians, suffer from the Poles'.[123]

The alliance of the Cossacks with the 'infidels'—the Turks and Tatars—was indeed an important factor that often surfaced in Cossack–Muscovite negotiations between 1648 and 1653. Its importance was heightened by perfectly genuine Muscovite fears that the principal victim of such an alliance would be Muscovy itself. Moreover, Cossack negotiations with Moscow were based on the principle of the religious unity and solidarity of Orthodox polities, endowing the subject of an alliance with the 'infidels' with particular significance and piquancy. Khmelnytsky often found himself obliged to make excuses for his alliance with the Tatars. His position on the matter was simple and clear-cut: inasmuch as the Tatars were lending assistance in the struggle with Catholic Commonwealth, which was persecuting the Orthodox Ruthenians, the alliance was due to divine providence and enjoyed God's blessing. That is how Khmelnytsky presented his alliance with the Crimea to Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem[124] and explained the religious factor in the uprising

[121] Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 135–8.

[122] Ibid., p. 148; *VUR*, 3: 336, 345–46. Khmelnytsky's 'un-Christian' behavior in concluding an alliance with infidels had been noted at the start of the uprising by Adam Kysil (*VUR*, 2: 25) and later became a staple element of Polish accusations against the hetman. In the spring of 1651, the Commonwealth envoys in Moscow asserted that 'Khmelnytsky wrote to the sultan that from days of old, from his father and mother he has been of the infidel and not the Christian faith'. See the record of the negotiations in *VUR*, 3: 49. Cf. also the Muscovite translation of Jan Kazimierz's letter of February 1652 to the tsar, in which he speaks of revolts 'of subjects of Our Royal Majesty, the Zaporozhian Cherkasians . . . with the assistance of the infidel Crimean khan and all the Tatar hordes, which has made their name eternally infamous all over the world' (*VUR*, 3: 192). See also the instructions of August 1652 to Commonwealth envoys dispatched to Khmelnytsky, published in Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1, pp. 456–7.

[123] See the instructions of April 1653 to the embassy of Repnin-Obolensky, Khitrovo and Ivanov (*VUR*, 3: 268, 270). Contemporary Muscovite documents concerning negotiations with the Poles and Cossacks alike constantly make use of the term 'infidels' (*busurmany*), a religious epithet expressing a negative attitude, with reference to Khmelnytsky's Crimean allies (see *VUR*, 2: 268; 3: 49, etc.).

[124] The hetman told him that 'after having made contact with the Tatars and allied myself with them against the Poles, I stood up for the Orthodox Christian faith' (*VUR*, 2: 92). Khmelnytsky's 'court' metropolitan, Gabriel of Nazareth, was also opposed to the alliance with the Crimea. As the Muscovite secretary Grigorii Bogdanov noted in August 1651 immediately after

in conversation with the Muscovite envoy Grigorii Neronov. Neronov reported him as saying that 'Indeed, they, the Orthodox Christians, had been given the Crimean khan with his whole Horde by God to assist them in liberating themselves from the accursed Poles.'[125] In a letter to the Don Cossacks, Khmelnytsky also explained his alliance with the Crimea by citing his concern for the Orthodox Church: 'And in all things we need the favor of His Royal Highness the Crimean Khan and all his Hordes, thanks to which we have regained not a few godly churches, for which we should all give our lives.'[126]

Seeking to encourage the Muscovite government to enter the war with the Commonwealth, Khmelnytsky made several attempts to play the Crimean and Turkish card. At one point, he even ventured to tempt the Muscovite tsar with the prospect of uniting not only Orthodox lands and peoples under his rule, but Islamic and even Protestant ones as well: 'And the time is now approaching', he told Grigorii Neronov in 1649, 'when all the infidel states and those of various other faiths will soon be of the Orthodox Christian faith under the great Eastern sovereign'.[127] On other occasions, Khmelnytsky threatened joint action with the Crimea against Muscovy. In response to such threats, Muscovite envoys constantly reiterated to the hetman that, 'having regard for God and the common Orthodox Christian faith . . . [he should] discourage the infidels from all harm and make no common cause with them against the Orthodox Christian faith and the Muscovite state'.[128] Thus did tsarist diplomacy attempt to play on feelings of Orthodox solidarity, which had earlier been exploited with considerable success by Khmelnytsky.

Another of Khmelnytsky's tactics came down to calling on Moscow to

his return from Ukraine, 'the metropolitan is surprised that the hetman, an Orthodox Christian, nevertheless maintains fraternal relations and an alliance with the infidel Crimean khan'. According to this report, the metropolitan advised Khmelnytsky not to trust the khan, since the Muslims did not consider it a sin to break an oath sworn to Christians, but, on the contrary, regarded friendship with them as a sin (ibid., 3: 122).

[125] See *VUR*, 2: 267.

[126] See *DBKh*, p. 163. Characteristically, it was this interpretation of the Cossack alliance with the Tatars that was reflected in the tsar's message to participants in the Assembly of the Land of 1653, which decided to declare war on the Commonwealth. In particular, it contained the following statement about the Cossacks: 'And they do not wish to lose the holy Christian faith and to see the holy churches of God destroyed, and, seeing that they were subject to such severe persecution, having involuntarily summoned the Crimean khan with his Horde to assist them, they began to stand up for the Orthodox Christian faith and the holy churches of God' (Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 152).

[127] See *VUR*, 2: 273.

[128] See Khmelnytsky's threats and Neronov's replies to them in *VUR*, 2: 268–70. Cf. the record of Arsenii Sukhanov's negotiations with Khmelnytsky (ibid., p. 188) and the instructions of August 1650 to the Muscovite envoy Vasilii Unkovsky (ibid., pp. 394–5). In the latter document, Unkovsky was advised to indicate to the Cossacks that as 'Orthodox Christians it was unseemly and sinful before God for them to ally themselves with infidels'. The envoy's statement on the matter is recorded in his report (ibid., p. 431). Cf. also *VUR*, 3: 148.

assist the Cossacks lest they become vassals of Istanbul and take the side of Muscovy's enemies. Visiting Moscow in the spring of 1653, Khmelnytsky's envoy Ivan Iskra pointedly emphasized the Cossacks' unwillingness to become subjects of the Tatars.[129] The next Cossack embassy, headed by Kindrat Burliai and Syluian Muzhylovsky, stated that even though the Turks and Tatars were asking the Cossacks to accept their overlordship, they did not want to bypass 'the great Christian Sovereign, Tsar and Grand Prince Aleksei Mikhailovich, Autocrat of all Rus', in order to become vassals of the infidels'.[130] Khmelnytsky also threatened the tsar through occasional envoys. Aleksei Mikhailovich himself mentioned these threats in a letter to Khmelnytsky written in June 1653 that contained the first mention of Muscovy's intervention in the war with the Commonwealth. In explaining this decision, the tsar responded to the Cossack hetman's threats as follows: 'We have deigned to take you under the high hand of Our Tsarist Majesty so that you may not be a proverb and a byword to the enemies of the cross of Christ.'[131]

An official letter of May 1653 to participants in the Assembly of the Land noted that 'the Turkish sultan and the Crimean khan had sent many embassies [to the Cossacks], asking them to become their subjects and make war as allies against the Muscovite state', but the Cossacks had declined subjection to infidels. Nevertheless, the participants were warned that if the tsar did not accept the Cossacks as subjects,

> they, unable to bear persecution by the Poles, will become subjects of the Turkish sultan or the Crimean khan, and then among them, the Cherkasians, the Orthodox Christian faith will be completely rooted out and the holy churches of God will lie in ruins, and all kinds of harm to the Muscovite state may be expected from them.[132]

Thus the religious and military/political arguments were presented in tandem, reinforcing each other in the official attempt to incline the assembly toward accepting Cossack Ukraine as a dominion of the tsar and initiating a new war with the Commonwealth.

In the eyes of participants in the Assembly of the Land, the Ukrainian question consisted of two parts. The first was the problem of breaking the 'eternal peace' concluded with the Commonwealth in 1634; the second was that of accepting the Zaporozhian Cossacks as subjects of Muscovy. That is how the question was formulated in the tsar's proclamation of 19 February 1651 convoking the Assembly of the Land, and it was considered in those terms during the assembly sessions in 1653.[133] The assembly's resolutions on these questions were: first, to defend the honor of the deceased Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich and the ruling Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich by going to

[129] See *VUR*, 3: 209. [130] Ibid., p. 263. [131] Ibid., p. 323.
[132] Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 153. [133] *VUR*, 3: 7–11; 406–14.

war with the 'Lithuanian king'; and secondly to take the hetman under the tsar's high hand 'for the sake of the Orthodox Christian faith and the holy churches of God'.[134]

As its reason for breaking the 'eternal peace', the Muscovite side cited the errors in the tsar's titulature that Commonwealth officials had permitted themselves in writing to Moscow (the tsar's proclamation convoking the Assembly of the Land listed 186 such instances, including the misnaming of Mikhail Fedorovich as Mikhail Filaretovich—Filaret was the monastic name of the tsar's father, Fedor Romanov); the publication in the Commonwealth of books that titled Władysław IV Grand Prince of Moscow and the king's refusal to punish the guilty (with execution); the granting of permission to a Crimean envoy to travel to Sweden across Commonwealth territory, which was forbidden by the peace treaty; and conflicts in border regions. Characteristically enough, the principal legal argument advanced by the Muscovite side—the errors in the tsar's titulature and the demand to punish the guilty—evoked laughter from the Commonwealth officials during the sojourn of the Muscovite mission led by Boris Repnin-Obolensky (a fact noted with reproof in the assembly proceedings), but was taken with great seriousness in Moscow. This was the argument on which the assembly's decision was based—to defend the honor of the sovereigns.[135]

The problem of taking the Zaporozhian Host 'under the tsar's high hand' was decided by the assembly on two levels. In the first place, the assembly had to deal with the issue of how the tsar could assume sovereignty over the subjects of another monarch. This contradiction was resolved by noting that on ascending the throne, Jan Kazimierz had sworn not to infringe the religious rights of his subjects: since he had violated his oath in the case of the Cossacks, they were free to abandon him and become subjects of the Muscovite tsar.[136] Reference was made to the text of Jan Kazimierz's oath, which included excerpts from the act of the Warsaw Confederation of 1573.[137] Thus, in the proceedings of the assembly, the

[134] *VUR*, 3: 414.

[135] The issue of errors in the tsar's title was extremely important to the Muscovite side, given the claim advanced by Władysław IV to the Muscovite throne. Although that claim had been officially abandoned, it continued to haunt Muscovite court officials. Their complaints about minor errors in the tsar's titulature became one of the most important issues in Muscovite–Commonwealth negotiations immediately after the Time of Troubles, and were still on the agenda shortly before the Khmelnytsky Uprising. See, e.g., the records of Vasilii Streshnev's embassy to the Commonwealth (1646): RGADA, fond 79 ('Relations with Poland'), no. 70, ff. 18^{v}–19; no. 71, ff. 177–203^{v}.

[136] 'And when King Jan Kazimierz was elected to the kingship and took an oath at his coronation, in his oath it was written, among other things, that he is to caution and protect those who differ in the Christian faith and not to take any measures himself to place restrictions on the faith or permit anyone else to do so. And if he should not keep that oath of his, then he renders his subjects free of all loyalty and obedience and will not ask anyone to absolve him of that oath or accept such absolution' (*VUR*, 3: 412).

[137] Ibid., pp. 428–9. The embassy of Vasilii Buturlin, dispatched after the conclusion of the assembly to accept the oath of loyalty from the Cossacks, was already on its way when it received

Polish king figured as a violator of the religious rights of his subjects, while the Muscovite tsar was depicted as a protector of Orthodoxy and Orthodox churches in general, even outside the boundaries of Muscovy. The assembly's most important decision in this context, 'to take Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the whole Zaporozhian Host, with its towns and territories', also pertained to the religious sphere. This was done 'for the Orthodox Christian faith and the holy churches of God'.[138]

The Orthodox Protectorate: Declarations and Misunderstandings

Arguments of a religious nature were important in justifying the Cossack–Muscovite alliance before and during the Council of Pereiaslav (January 1654), at which the Cossack side ratified the establishment of a Muscovite protectorate over the Zaporozhian Host. As the tsarist embassy headed by the boyar Vasilii Buturlin made its way across Ukrainian territory to Pereiaslav, it virtually became a triumphal procession of Orthodoxy. At almost every settlement of any significance, the envoys went to church and took part in ceremonial services. The unity of Muscovite and Kyivan Orthodoxy had been demonstrated by Muscovite envoys in Ukraine even before 1654, when they freely visited Cossack churches to pray; now it was officially confirmed by a group of Muscovite clergymen included in Buturlin's embassy in order to accept the oath of loyalty from the local population. Led by Archimandrite Prokhor, the Muscovite priests took part in joint religious processions with Ukrainian clergymen, as on 6 January 1654, on the Feast of the Epiphany, when they carried an icon of the Savior donated by the tsar. They also readily took part in joint services with Archpriest Hryhorii of Pereiaslav and the local clergy.[139]

a translation of the Diet constitution containing Jan Kazimierz's oath and instructions to show it to Khmelnytsky. A copy of Jan Kazimierz's oath was sent to Khmelnytsky by the Muscovite government, apparently at the suggestion of Feodosii Sofonovych, who was in Moscow at the time. As noted in the documents concerning Buturlin's mission, 'The Kyivan monk Feodosii was shown the oath in the Polish constitution sworn by King Jan Kazimierz at his coronation. And the monk Feodosii, having looked at the constitution and read that entire article, said that after it had been copied, it should be sent to the hetman with whomever the king should designate' (*Akty IuZR*, vol. 10 [1878]: 152–3). The Cossacks themselves, however, are unlikely to have considered this a wholly sufficient argument. In any event, they are not known to have used it in negotiations with either the Commonwealth or the Muscovite side.

[138] *VUR*, 3: 414.

[139] See the report of Buturlin's embassy in *VUR*, 3: 423–89, here pp. 451, 452, 454, 458–9 ff. As David A. Frick puts it in his study of Ivan Vyhovsky, 'The constant refrain of communications between Rus' and Muscovy before the treaty of Perejaslav . . . seems to have functioned as a kind of mutual cheerleading' for the Orthodox churches. See his 'The Circulation of Information about Ivan Vyhovs'kyj', *HUS* 17, nos. 3–4 (December 1993): 271.

On meeting the embassy, Cossack officers and Ukrainian Orthodox clerics also stressed the religious elements of the new union. Colonel Pavlo Teteria of Pereiaslav, greeting Buturlin's embassy, spoke of the 'Orthodox and illustrious' Zaporozhian Host coming under the 'high hand of the great sovereign pious tsar of the East'.[140] At the Council of Pereiaslav itself, Bohdan Khmelnytsky employed religious terminology to describe the choice that he and the Cossack officers had made in accepting the tsar as protector of the Zaporozhian Host. According to reports prepared by Muscovite envoys present at the council, the hetman began by explaining the uprising as a reaction to the Polish persecution of the 'Church of God' and went on to counterpose the Turkish sultan and the Crimean khan, whom he called infidels, along with the Polish king (Khmelnytsky did not emphasize that the king was Catholic, but reminded his audience of the 'pitiless shedding of Christian blood'), to the Muscovite tsar, who was 'of the same worship of the Greek rite, of the same faith' as the Cossacks. According to the same source, the reaction of the Cossacks and burghers taking part in the council was also inspired by the religious factor: 'we would rather die in our true faith under the firm hand of the Eastern Orthodox tsar than fall into the hands of the pagan who hates Christ'.[141] Thus the path of the Cossack and Muscovite élites to Pereiaslav was the well-trodden one of religious and political alliances and alignments common during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), in which the role of the religious factor would be difficult, if not impossible, to exaggerate.

One of the important elements in the interpretation of the Pereiaslav Agreement by the Ukrainian side was the perception of relations between the tsar and the Zaporozhian Host in terms of the Orthodox tsar's protection of the Orthodox faithful. At the level of imagery, this view of the agreement was embodied in the allegory, of which the Ukrainians made considerable use, wherein an eagle spread its wings to protect its eaglets, that is, the Cossacks and all of 'Little Rus''. The theme of the eagle, the eagle's wings, and patronage (protection) of the Host/Little Rus' was extraordinarily popular in educated Kyivan circles at the time of the Pereiaslav Agreement. It was treated and developed in the tradition of Ukrainian emblematic poetry, with copious use of biblical symbolism.

[140] See *VUR*, 3: 454.

[141] See *VUR*, 3: 460–1. Khmelnytsky's speech contained obvious elements of confessional thinking that represented Ruthenian Orthodoxy as part of the broader Orthodox world. This explains Khmelnytsky's reference not only to the 'Eastern' Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich but also to the Turkish sultan, of whom he said, 'we all know how our brothers, the Orthodox Christian Greeks, are suffering misfortune and the situation they are in because of the godless repressions'.

According to the diplomatic report, the image of the eagle was employed in the speeches of welcome made by Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky to Buturlin at Pereiaslav: 'As the eagle covers its nest, so did he, the sovereign, deign to take us under the high hand of His Tsarist Majesty.'[142] After the Pereiaslav council, on the occasion of Buturlin's entry into Kyiv, Metropolitan Kosov also greeted him with an allegory on this theme: 'may the descent of the pious princes of Rus' be renewed by your arrival, like the eagle's young'.[143] The same motif appeared in the speech of Archpriest Hryhorii: 'Enter this divinely protected city with gladness . . . for thanks to your good offices our Orthodoxy of Little Rus' will find rest beneath the peaceful protective wings of His Most Serene Tsarist Majesty.'[144] In all these cases, the point of departure was the image of the two-headed eagle with its wings outstretched—the emblem of the Muscovite tsar.

Besides Archpriest Hryhorii, Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky also made mention of Little Rus' in speaking with Buturlin, and the hetman would make reference to the Orthodoxy of Great Rus' in his speech at the Council of Pereiaslav.[145] In a letter to the tsar signed on 8 January 1654, the very day of the council, the Cossack hetman referred to Aleksei Mikhailovich not as autocrat of all Rus', but of 'all Great and Little Rus''.[146] This attempt to add a new component to the tsar's title, thereby altering its shorter, fundamental section, was an important step toward a new Ruthenian self-identification in ethnic, religious, and cultural terms—a process that began, as shown earlier, long before Pereiaslav.

Another important motif that also originated long before Pereiaslav and was fully expressed during Buturlin's embassy to Ukraine was the representation of Kyiv as a former tsarist/princely capital. This motif made its appearance in Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov's address to Buturlin. Kosov noted particularly that Kyiv was the 'very first seat of Rus' [*ruskii*] piety', and Volodymyr 'the first pious Rus' [*rosiiskii*] grand prince'.[147] According to Buturlin's diplomatic report, both Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky referred to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich as a 'relative' of Grand Prince Volodymyr.[148] Kyivan burghers wrote to the tsar in May

[142] *VUR*, 3: 460. In this case, the image of an eagle covering its nest was based on a verse from Deuteronomy: 'As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings . . . ' (Deut. 32: 11).

[143] *VUR*, 3: 478. Kosov was in fact citing one of the psalms of David, 'Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things; So that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's' (Ps. 103: 5).

[144] *VUR*, 3: 455.

[145] See *VUR*, 3: 460–1.

[146] See *DBKh*, p. 316. Gennadii Karpov maintained that the hetman's letter was probably written on 13 January and delivered to Moscow on 20 January (see *Akty IuZR*, vol. 10 [1878]: 262).

[147] *VUR*, 3: 478. It is not entirely clear from the text of the speech as recorded by the Muscovite scribes whom Kosov regarded as Prince Volodymyr's heir—himself or the Muscovite tsars.

[148] See *VUR*, 3: 460.

1654 about the bequests made to Kyiv, 'as their Rus' capital city', by the ancient princes of Kyiv.[149] And in his speech before the tsar in the autumn of that year, Archpriest Maksym Fylymonovych, touching on the decline of Kyiv, spoke of its earlier burgeoning: 'during the rule of the Rus' grand princes, the most eminent city of Kyiv was the natural mother of cities, the mother of churches, the abode of God, and was called the second Jerusalem'.[150] Thus, on the level of images and symbols, the Ukrainian side emphasized the historical relationship between Kyivan and Muscovite rulers, stressing the 'primogeniture' of Kyiv and its princes.

Such was the Ukrainian view of the Pereiaslav Agreement, expressed through the medium of solemn rhetoric. The Muscovite view of relations with the Cossacks underwent a number of changes and modifications in the period of several months between sessions of the Assembly of the Land in September and October 1653 and the Pereiaslav Council of January 1654.[151] The decisions and arguments of the Assembly of the Land concerning Ukraine formed the basis of the instructions given to Buturlin's embassy, which was dispatched to Khmelnytsky following the assembly. Passages cited verbatim from the assembly's resolutions are to be encountered in the official instructions to the embassy, in Buturlin's speeches at Pereiaslav, and in the embassy's report. At the same time, the report contains numerous arguments of a political, legal, historical, and religious character that do not pertain to the proceedings of the assembly. Some of the differences between those proceedings and Buturlin's report may be explained by the diversity of the tasks that faced the assembly and the embassy, but others point to the emergence of important new elements in the Muscovite approach to the question of taking the Zaporozhian Host under the 'tsar's high hand' following the dissolution of the assembly.

According to his report, Buturlin delivered two major speeches in Pereiaslav. The first was given immediately after the Cossack council and included an account of the arguments formulated by the Assembly of the Land in favor of taking the Zaporozhian Host under the tsar's sovereignty.[152] The second took place after Khmelnytsky and the officers had sworn loyalty to the tsar, when Buturlin presented the tsar's banner, a mace, and a robe to the hetman. The latter speech was notable for adding new historical and legal elements to the arguments in favor of a Muscovite–Cossack agreement. In that speech, Buturlin employed a number of motifs that paralleled not only the principal historical and legal aspects but also the sequence of textual imagery appearing in the speeches of

[149] *Akty IuZR*, vol. 14 (1889): 613. [150] Ibid., pp. 175–8.

[151] On Patriarch Nikon's role in Muscovy's decision to make war on the Commonwealth, see Torke, 'Unloved Alliance', pp. 44–5.

[152] See an account of the speech in *VUR*, 3: 462–3.

Ukrainian political and religious leaders of the period.[153] One of them was the image of an eagle covering its eaglets with its wings in order to protect them, which Buturlin invoked with reference to the Muscovite tsar. The tsar, he noted, bore 'the emblem of the eagle; as an eagle covers its nest and watches over its young, so the tsar wish[es] to cover with his sovereign favor the city of Kyiv and other towns that were once the nest of his tsarist eagle, and with it [Kyiv] to take his faithful eaglets, which were once ruled by the pious tsars, under his protection'.[154]

The idea of the tsar's patronage and protection, with which we are familiar, was in fact the leitmotif of the speech. In presenting the hetman with the robe, Buturlin noted the symbolism associated with this component of the tsar's gift: 'As a token of his tsarist favor, he presents you with this piece of clothing, indicating, as always by his constant sovereign favor, that he wishes to cover you and all the Orthodox who submit to his most eminent tsarist rule.'[155] There is a similar motif in the portion of the speech concerning the gift of a cap to the hetman: 'His Most Serene Tsarist Majesty gives this cap for protection.'[156] The theme of protection and patronage is developed especially in those portions of the speech that mention the Theotokos. Noting that the tsar's banner depicted 'the most

[153] The interpretation of the report submitted by Buturlin's embassy, as well as of other Muscovite diplomatic documents of this period, is rendered difficult by the problem of determining the accuracy of the statements and speeches of embassy members and those of their interlocutors, persons questioned *et al.*, which were incorporated into the embassy's reports. There is evidence to suggest that on occasion Muscovite diplomats embellished the record of their statements or speeches with passages that they had not actually spoken, but considered politic to include with a view to the tsar's favor or disfavor (cf. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 751–2).

Such reservations should be borne in mind when interpreting Buturlin's report, even though Ivan Krypiakevych, who studied the document, considered that the speeches incorporated into the text were distinguished by 'characteristic peculiarities of style' and assumed that the writer of the report made use of 'notes of the speakers themselves or their secretaries' (*Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, 1st edn., p. 459). The prevailing opinion today is that the description of the Pereiaslav council in Buturlin's report was either written by Ivan Vyhovsky in person or, at the very least, issued from his chancery (see L. V. Zaborovskii, 'Pereiaslavskaia rada i moskovskie soglasheniia 1654 goda: problemy issledovaniia' in *Rossiia–Ukraina: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii*, ed. A. I. Miller *et al.* [Moscow, 1997], pp. 39–49, here 43; id., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 312–13).

If one assumes that the authors or co-authors of Buturlin's second speech were in fact Ukrainians, then it is worth asking where the text was composed—in Moscow or in Ukraine. The report's reference to Buturlin's receiving from Moscow the text of the speech to be delivered when presenting the tsar's insignia goes some way toward resolving the problem. A further indication that the Moscow chancery was already familiar with the new 'language' of communication with the Ukrainians is the tsar's speech praising the envoys upon their return to Moscow, which made reference to Saints Antonii and Feodosii (see Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 750).

In my view, it is precisely the stylistic consistency of the Ukrainian speeches and their variation from the basic text of the report, as well as the stylistic variety even of the speeches of Buturlin himself, that attest to the general accuracy of this report and make it a useful source for studying the diplomatic discourse of the time.

[154] *VUR*, 3: 468. [155] Ibid., p. 468. [156] Ibid.

blessed Theotokos for protection', Buturlin referred directly to the legend of Blachernai, which is associated with the development of the cult of the Holy Protection in Rus'.[157]

The author or authors of Buturlin's second speech clearly accepted many aspects of the Ukrainian side's cultural code as their own and attempted to speak to the representatives of the Cossack and church élites in terms familiar to them. The substance of the embassy report shows clearly that both of Buturlin's speeches were not delivered extempore, but were read from a prepared text. While the text of the first speech was apparently contained in the general instructions to the embassy (as attested by its stylistic and phraseological resemblance to the proceedings of the Assembly of the Land), the text of the second speech was received by the embassy considerably later, when it was already on Ukrainian territory.

The Assembly of the Land decided to declare war on the Commonwealth and accept the 'hetman with the entire Zaporozhian Host' as subjects on 1 October, and by 9 October the plenipotentiary embassy headed by Buturlin was already on its way to Khmelnytsky. It was dispatched in haste, and 'the text according to which the hetman and the Zaporozhian Host should take the oath, and which was to be sent to the towns, and the banner, and the mace, and the robe, and the cap' were sent after the embassy from Moscow. On 17 December, the envoys received notification from Moscow that the banner that was being sent to them, along with a letter with the text of the speech that Buturlin was to deliver when presenting the banner and other insignia of rule, had been damaged en route, and the tsar ordered that a new banner be prepared.[158] A courier from the tsar, carrying a new banner and, most probably, a new letter with the text of the speech, caught up with the embassy on Ukrainian territory on 1 January 1654.[159] Thus, Buturlin presented the new banner to Khmelnytsky in Pereiaslav on 8 January and 'delivered a speech to the hetman according to the instructions of the government'.[160]

This was the speech that differed so clearly in style and in the substance of its historical and legal argumentation from Buturlin's first speech and the embassy's other materials, and showed considerable affinity with the speeches of the Ukrainian figures. The attention paid by Buturlin to the saints most honored in Kyiv—Antonii and Feodosii and the great martyr Barbara—seems somewhat unnatural from a Muscovite boyar who attributed the success of his mission in the same report to the intercession of 'the great miracle workers Petr, and Aleksei, and Iona, and Philip of Moscow and of all Rus''. Saints Antonii, Feodosii, and Barbara were far beyond the pale of current Muscovite 'fashion' and clearly belonged to

[157] Ibid., p. 467. [158] Ibid., p. 442. [159] Ibid., p. 454. [160] Ibid., p. 467.

Kyiv.[161] Buturlin's reference to them, as well as the words of his speech that noted Kyiv's primacy in the diffusion of Orthodoxy in Rus', were not only calculated to appeal to the Ukrainians but, judging by the style of the speech, were also suggested by a representative of the Kyivan clergy.[162]

In spite of the religious unity proclaimed at the Council of Pereiaslav and Muscovite attempts to adopt the vocabulary of their Ukrainian counterparts, the course of the negotiations revealed serious differences between the two sides that manifested themselves in diverse interpretations of the nature of treaty relations between the Host and the tsarist administration. When the Orthodox clergymen from Moscow prepared to accept the oath of loyalty to the tsar from Khmelnytsky and his entourage at the Church of the Dormition in Pereiaslav, the hetman proposed, to the surprise of the Muscovite envoys, that they themselves first swear an oath in the name of the tsar to protect the Zaporozhian Host against the Commonwealth, to refrain from violating liberties and estate privileges, and to confirm property rights. Buturlin replied that in Muscovy subjects alone took oaths to the tsar, not vice versa, and promised that the tsar would satisfy their requests. Khmelnytsky, claiming that he had to discuss the matter with his colonels, thereupon exited the church, leaving the clergymen and Muscovite envoys at a loss. Somewhat later, two Cossack colonels, Pavlo Teteria and Hryhorii Lisnytsky (Sakhnovych), entered the church and began a discussion with Buturlin that sheds light on the two parties' divergent interpretations of treaty relations between the Zaporozhian Host and the Muscovite tsar.

The colonels repeated Khmelnytsky's earlier demand that the envoys take an oath in the name of the tsar, referring to established practice in relations between the Host and the Polish king, which required that oaths to uphold a treaty be sworn both by representatives of the Host and by the Commonwealth commissioners who represented the royal administration. According to the diplomatic report, Buturlin rejected this comparison, advancing the following arguments: Polish kings, unlike the Muscovite tsar, were 'infidels', meaning that they were not Orthodox; they were not 'autocrats' but were elected to the kingship instead of acceding to it by inheritance; nor could they be trusted, since 'what they swear to, even that they never uphold'. The Muscovite envoy also noted

[161] *VUR*, p. 466.

[162] Among the possible candidates for this role, besides Iepyfanii Slavynetsky, Arsenii Satanovsky, and Damaskyn Ptytsky, who were present in Moscow at the time, was the well-known chronicler and then vicar of the Kyiv Brotherhood Monastery, Feodosii Sofonovych. He is known to have been in Moscow during the winter of 1653–4 (and perhaps earlier) and to have advised the tsar's court on matters pertaining to Buturlin's embassy. On Sofonovych's recommendation, additional documents were dispatched to Buturlin when he was already on his way to Ukraine. Notable among these documents was the text of Jan Kazimierz's oath, discussed above.

that his powers were limited, as he had been dispatched 'with the sovereign's gracious word' and could by no means swear an oath in the name of the tsar. Buturlin insisted that the Cossacks take the tsar at his word. Finally, Khmelnytsky returned to the church and took an oath of loyalty to the tsar together with his colonels, noting that they would appeal to the tsar in the matter ('will proceed to make obeisance') later.[163]

The incident seemed closed, but two days later the Cossack officers attempted (once again, unsuccessfully) to obtain letters, in the names of the envoys at least, confirming their liberties and privileges. As they had during the negotiations at the Church of the Dormition, the officers began to claim that unless an oath were taken and letters issued, the Cossack rank and file would begin to 'doubt'. It may be assumed that these references to the lower ranks were not just a negotiating ploy in the difficult talks with the Muscovite delegation but also reflected the notion, firmly established among the broader Cossack masses, that relations between the king/tsar and the Zaporozhian Host had their basis in mutually recognized treaties. Subsequently there were rumors, evidently spread by the officers, to the effect that the Muscovite envoys had sworn after all to uphold the rights and privileges of Ukrainian society. The circulation of these rumors naturally assisted the officers in their efforts to present the decisions of the Pereiaslav council in a positive light at the regimental and company levels.[164]

As we have seen, the putative unity of the two negotiating parties, based on their common religious tradition, was undermined by their different interpretations of the nature of that unity. As David Frick has justly noted, 'the history of the Treaty of Pereiaslav can be interpreted as a long series of cross-cultural misunderstandings'.[165] It would appear that Moscow, while accepting the new parameters and vocabulary of the discourse initiated by the Ukrainians, reserved the right to infuse that discourse with its own content, reflecting the Muscovite political and legal tradition. This is vividly illustrated by Moscow's reaction to Khmelnytsky's attempt to introduce the terms Little and Great Rus' into the tsar's official title. The reaction was rather swift: as early as February 1654, the tsar wrote the first letters in which he styled himself 'Autocrat of Little and Great Rus''.[166] Even as he accepted a change of title that reflected the

[163] See excerpts from Buturlin's report in *VUR*, 3: 464–6.

[164] See Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2, pp. 743–4, 752–9.

[165] Frick, 'Misrepresentations, Misunderstandings, and Silences', p. 164.

[166] See *VUR*, 3: 543–6. Evidence that the initiative for adding a new component to the tsar's title originated in Ukraine and was not inspired by Moscow is provided by the title given to the copy of this letter in the documents of the Ambassadorial Office: 'Copy of a Letter in Belarusian Script That Was Written by Bohdan Khmelnytsky to the Tsar Sovereign and Grand Prince of all Rus' Aleksei Mikhailovich . . .'. This title and the actual text of Khmelnytsky's letter chimerically

Ukrainian tradition of political thought more than the Muscovite, the tsar added another element to his title based entirely on the Muscovite political tradition. Besides calling himself 'Sovereign of Great and Little Rus'' instead of 'Sovereign of all Rus'', he claimed the additional title 'Prince of Kyiv and Chernihiv'.

In his letter of December 1653 to the tsar, Buturlin, writing about the Cossack land, also made reference to 'Kyiv, Chernihiv, and all of Little Rus''.[167] In the same month the Ambassadorial Office sent a draft letter containing the titles of the Cossack hetman and his colonels to the boyars Kurakin and Volkonsky, who were appointed to Kyiv as voevodas. The most interesting element of the letter appears to be the titles of the boyars themselves, who were styled 'boyars and voevodas of the patrimony of His Tsarist Majesty, the Grand Principality of Kyiv'.[168] In April 1654, Aleksei Mikhailovich wrote of Kyiv as his patrimony to none other than Bohdan Khmelnytsky.[169] Thus the historical link between the Muscovite tsars and St Volodymyr, which had been promoted by Ruthenian intellectuals long before the Pereiaslav Agreement, was now turning into a legal claim to the tsar's patrimony.

The idea of the ethnic unity of the two Rus' nations, which was important to the Little Russian ideology of the Kyivan clergy in the 1620s, seems not to have been accepted or even treated seriously in mid-century Moscow.[170] Nevertheless, the idea of the religious unity of

united elements of the old and new epochs—the tsar's old title, the new title with the division into Great and Little Rus', and the Muscovite notion of the Ruthenian population of the Commonwealth as 'Belarusians' who spoke the 'Belarusian' language (cf. copy of the letter in *VUR*, 3: 516).

[167] The same formula was employed in the tsar's letter of April 1654 to Colonel Ivan Bohun and in his proclamation to the residents of Mahilioŭ (see Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 188, 218).

[168] *VUR*, 3: 506. [169] Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 181.

[170] There is also no evidence that the Kyivan clergymen or the Cossack officers themselves made any further insistence on those notions of unity. At the same time, the idea of ethnic affinity and ties of blood between the two Rus' nations held by the Kyivan clergymen of the 1620s was echoed to some extent by the more broadly conceived theory of all-Slavic ethnolinguistic ties between the Kingdom of Poland 'with its grand principalities' and Muscovy presented by Adam Kysil in a speech to the tsar in August 1647. Having been sent to Moscow at the head of a Commonwealth embassy in order to conclude an alliance against the Tatars, Kysil spoke as follows: 'like two Lebanese cedars springing from a single root, so these two great states have been united and created by the right hand of God Almighty out of one Slavic blood and one language of the Slavic people'. See the text of Kysil's speech, published from a Russian copy, in Frank E. Sysyn, 'A Speech before the Tsar: Adam Kysil's Oration on August 28, 1647 (N.S.)' in *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel *et al.* (Warsaw, 1993), pp. 133–42, here 139–42.

The notion of ethnic kinship between Muscovy and Poland was advanced in contacts with the Muscovite side not only by Kysil but also by other Commonwealth diplomats (see, e.g., references to the religious, ethnic ['one language'], and geographical proximity of Poland and Muscovy in the documents of Vasilii Streshnev's embassy to the Commonwealth (1646): RGADA, fond 79 ('Relations with Poland'), no. 71, f. 218^{v}. Muscovite officials often joined their

Polish–Lithuanian and Muscovite Rus', on which Ruthenian Orthodox activists had insisted as far back as the late sixteenth century, proved an acceptable basis for legitimizing the Pereiaslav Agreement on the Muscovite side because of the abrupt shift of the Muscovite élites in the direction of Greek, and eventually Ruthenian, Orthodoxy in the late 1640s and early 1650s. On the other hand, the notion of establishing a universal Orthodox monarchy under the supreme rule of the tsar, which was put forward on a number of occasions by the Cossack side, apparently enjoyed little currency in Muscovite governmental circles. The silence on the matter in official Muscovite documents concerning Pereiaslav shows that in their plans, deeds, and even words, the Muscovite secular authorities tended less toward idealism than toward caution and realism.[171]

In the Pereiaslav Agreement, the tsarist government perceived and emphasized the acceptance of the tsar's sovereignty, confirmed by an oath, on the part of the hetman and the Zaporozhian Host, with a concomitant obligation to serve the tsar. The addition of a new element to the tsar's title in 1655—White Rus', meaning the Ruthenian territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania conquered by the tsar's armies—introduced a gradation among the three Ruses according to the degree of tsarist control over them. White Rus' was conquered territory and thus had no rights, while the lands of Little Rus', annexed under a negotiated arrangement, retained certain rights, hence local authority was exercised not by the tsar's voevodas but by the Cossack administration.

Commonwealth counterparts in justifying the Commonwealth–Muscovite alliance against the Crimea in religious terms, representing it as a union of Christians against Muslims (ibid., ff. 203^{v}, 292), but it is not known what reaction, if any, was elicited in Moscow by Polish appeals for Slavic unity. When similar ideas were raised in Muscovy—also in relation to the anti-Ottoman struggle—by the Croatian Catholic priest Juraj Križanić, they met with no response. On Križanić, see L. N. Pushkarev, *Iurii Krizhanich: ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva* (Moscow, 1984). See also the English translation of Križanić's *Politika* in *Russian Statecraft: The 'Politika' of Iurii Krizhanich*, ed. John M. Letiche and Basil Dmytryshyn (Oxford and New York, 1985).

[171] For an analysis of the 'Articles of Bohdan Khmelnytsky' (March 1654), which, together with the tsar's responses to them, constituted the text of the Ukrainian–Russian agreement, see Ch. 1.

The idea of a universal Orthodox empire headed by the Muscovite tsar, which appears in several of Khmelnytsky's letters, echoed statements made by the Muscovite monk Arsenii Sukhanov in his talks with Greek theologians (see Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku*, pp. 390–2). On the Ukrainian side, the influence of this idea is also apparent in a speech made to a Muscovite embassy in the summer of 1653 by Archpriest Hryhorii of Pereiaslav. Expressing all kinds of desiderata addressed to the Muscovite tsar, he wished particularly for 'union of the faith in his time, and godspeed against the godless who are crushing the East[ern] churches and all Orthodox Christians. That he may be not only an autocrat, but ruler of the whole world, like a second Augustus.' In January 1654, he expressed a similar wish to Buturlin's embassy: 'that the Lord our God may unite not only Little Rus', but all the kingdoms of this world, and make them submit to the unconquerable hand of His Most Serene Tsarist Majesty' (*VUR*, 3: 289, 455).

As far as the Cossacks were concerned, their official view of the agreement (with particular stress on Orthodox unity) was a product designed primarily for export, and only 'situationally' applied by the hetman's administration. Khmelnytsky's letters demonstrate that his chancery, headed by Vyhovsky, and the hetman himself switched easily from one set of legal arguments and biblical images to another, depending on the addressee of a particular letter—the tsar, the king, the sultan, or some other European ruler.[172] Given Khmelnytsky's 'situational' approach in directing Orthodox rhetoric toward Moscow, he was able to shift readily from the appeals launched at the beginning of the revolt for the tsar to establish a universal Orthodox monarchy to the harder line that he took at Pereiaslav, where he demanded an oath in the name of the tsar to uphold the rights and liberties of Cossackdom and Rus' as a whole.

It would appear that the Cossacks were prepared to accept the complex of ideas associated with Little Rus' in order to substantiate and obtain support for their military and political plans, but utterly rejected the notion that the Muscovite tsars had a dynastic claim to their land. In legal and political terms, the focus of all Cossack aspirations continued to be the 'Zaporozhian Host' and its liberties. In those terms, from the viewpoint of the Cossack officers, the agreement was meant to be an act of 'voluntary subordination', as evidenced by Khmelnytsky's speech at the council, which was conceived as an argument in favor of the free choice of one monarch out of several. The Cossacks were prepared to swear to observe the terms of the contract, but the tsar, for his part, was also expected to swear to uphold his obligations. This was a view of Pereiaslav as a pact between two parties bound by mutual obligations, and thus considered equal under the terms of a specific agreement.

The difference between Muscovite and Cossack attitudes to the unity of Great and Little Rus' became fully apparent with the worsening of relations between Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and the Muscovite authorities. In the summer of 1658, a secretary of the Host told the Muscovite representative Vasilii Kikin, in line with Vyhovsky's new policy, that the hetman had earlier rendered faithful service to the tsar and 'brought Little Rus' under the high hand of His Tsarist Majesty as a subject, but [now] Great Rus' will be Great Rus', while Little Rus' will be Little Rus', since there is an invinc[ible] army in Little Rus' as well'. Kikin responded angrily, asking who had told the secretary to divide Great Rus' from Little Rus'. On learning that it was the hetman himself, Kikin asserted that 'Little Rus', the branch that had been torn away, was united with its true root, Great Rus', by God'.[173] The apparent logic behind Kikin's

[172] On Vyhovsky's extraordinary dexterity in switching from one set of arguments to another, see Frick, 'The Circulation of Information about Ivan Vyhovs'kyj'.

[173] See *Akty IuZR*, vol. 4 (1863): 145.

statement reversed all the claims of the Ruthenian clergy about the historical relations between Great and Little Rus', which were premised on the notion of Kyiv's primacy as the first 'Rus' capital' and on the view of St Volodymyr as the first 'Rus' monarch'. Kikin, on the contrary, posited Little Rus' as an outgrowth of Great Rus'—a hereditary tsarist possession once lost and now regained.

The Cossack administration's official view of the Pereiaslav Agreement reflected not so much the prevailing notions of the Cossack élite about the legal norms of international relations as the traditional thinking of the Kyivan clergy. The latter found it entirely natural to search for protectors and attempt to stabilize the position of the church under the patronage of a specific temporal authority.[174] Nevertheless, as Metropolitan Kosov's conflicts with the tsar's voevodas after the Pereiaslav Agreement made clear, there were also cardinal differences between the conceptions of the religious unity of Rus' held by the Kyivan clergy and the Muscovite administration. For the Kyivan clergy, what counted was not only the protection of the Orthodox tsar in their struggle against the Union, but first and foremost the preservation of all the rights and privileges of the metropolitanate. For the Muscovite side, above all for the patriarch of Moscow, the overriding issue was the subordination of the Kyivan metropolitanate to Moscow's ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As early as January 1654, Metropolitan Kosov sent the monk Makarii Krynytsky on a westward journey: he entered a protest in the castle record-books of Lutsk against the efforts of Muscovite voevodas to oblige the Kyivan clergy to take an oath of loyalty to the tsar. Judging by Krynytsky's words, there were already fears in Kyiv that the Muscovite authorities would arbitrarily replace the Kyivan metropolitan or restrict the metropolitanate's jurisdiction.[175] The Orthodox nobleman Pavlo Olekshych, a supporter of the Polish orientation who wrote to Colonel Ivan Bohun in March 1654, treated an oath to the tsar as a betrayal of the patriarch of Constantinople, effectively drawing a parallel between subordination to Moscow and the Union.[176]

[174] Many of the ideas that abounded in the writings of mid-seventeenth-century Kyivan monks were formulated by the Kyivan metropolitan Iov Boretsky as early as 1624. In a petition to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, appealing to the principle of secular protection of the metropolitanate, he identified the Zaporozhian Host as mediator and protector: 'And so we, remembering what has been said: make yourself small so that wrath may pass over, finding ourselves here, taking shelter under the wing of the Christ-loving Host of Cherkasian warriors, wished to visit Your Great Sovereign Highness' (*VUR*, 1: 47). In 1649, the monks of the Mhar Monastery asked the tsar to take them 'under the wings of his tsardom' (*VUR*, 2: 202).

[175] Cf. an excerpt from the report of Makarii Krynytsky in Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 172.

[176] 'And for that reason we did not want to accept union with the Roman Church either, in which we did not oppose the pastor, our leader, whom God presented to us' (Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 185). Cf. *Akty IuZR*, vol. 10 (1878): 555–8.

The differences between the Kyivan clergy and the Muscovite administration became fully apparent in the course of negotiations between Muscovite courtiers and a delegation from the Kyivan metropolitanate headed by the hegumen of the St Nicholas Hermitage Monastery, Inokentii Gizel. The delegation, which reached Aleksei Mikhailovich's headquarters at Smolensk in July 1654, sought the tsar's confirmation of property rights and privileges of the church and its clergy. Gizel's principal task was to obtain the tsar's recognition that the Kyivan metropolitanate was under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. Furthermore, the delegation was to secure the tsar's recognition of the Kyivan metropolitan's authority over the Orthodox eparchies of Volhynia and Lithuania. Gizel also wanted the tsar to refrain from sending Muscovite clergymen to Ukraine or bringing Ukrainian clergymen to Muscovy under duress. The text of the delegation's 'articles' clarifies Kosov's fears about the possible consequences of the extension of Muscovite authority to Kyiv and explains his hostility to the Treaty of Pereiaslav.

The effort to maintain Constantinople's jurisdiction over Kyiv became one of the most contested issues in the negotiations. Clearly, the delegation came under considerable pressure, and Gizel had to devote special attention to the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the petition that he addressed to the tsar. He wrote in particular that 'the law of God through the holy apostle Andrew the First Summoned and the canons of the holy fathers attached and united' Kyiv with Constantinople. He also noted that the jurisdictional division had been ratified by an ecumenical council, which alone could change it. Other arguments of a more practical nature were adduced as well. One of the most significant was Gizel's contention that Moscow's behavior *vis-à-vis* Kyiv might elicit a negative reaction among the Orthodox clergy beyond the borders of Muscovy that wished to accept the tsar's sovereignty. This was an obvious reference to the clergy of Belarus and western Ukraine.[177]

The tsar responded to only a few of the 'articles'. In particular, he confirmed the property rights of the church and recognized the metropolitan's exclusive judicial authority over his subjects, which was to be respected by the Muscovite voevodas. The other points were deferred. Since a war was in progress, the Muscovite authorities wished to avoid incurring the hostility of the Ukrainian clergy, but were not prepared to offer a positive response to their petition. And so the jurisdictional issue remained unresolved.[178] Moscow continued to exert pressure both on the Kyivan clergy and on the Cossack hetman. Conversing with him in

[177] See the documents of Gizel's mission and its talks with the tsar in *Akty IuZR*, vol. 10 (1878): 707–64; cf. Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 206–17.

[178] Ibid.; cf. Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 2: 302–4.

January 1655, the tsar's envoy Artamon Matveev not only referred to Nikon as 'Patriarch of all Great and Little Rus'' but also hinted at his primacy in relation to the other patriarchs: 'patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem come to our Grand Sovereign, His Tsarist Highness . . . and accept the blessing of our Grand Sovereign, the Most Holy Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow and of all Great and Little Rus''.[179] In Belarus, the patriarch of Moscow took over Orthodox parishes and whole eparchies with no consultation of any kind with Kyiv.[180]

The death of Metropolitan Kosov in April 1657 raised the question of the succession to the metropolitan see and, given the circumstances of the Ukrainian–Muscovite alliance and Moscow's aspirations to establish its authority over the Kyivan metropolitanate, that question took on particular importance. The secular and ecclesiastical authorities of the Hetmanate pointedly avoided any consultations on the matter with Moscow. As Metropolitan Kosov lay on his deathbed, it became necessary to appoint a new bishop for the Chernihiv eparchy. Given the metropolitan's incapacity, the candidate for the bishopric, Lazar Baranovych, was sent for consecration not to Moscow but to Iași. This was a more than transparent indication of the attitude prevailing in the Hetmanate and the clergy's fears of Muscovite aspirations. As discussed earlier, the new sobor elected Bishop Dionysii Balaban, a supporter of Vyhovsky, to the metropolitanate. The election was held according to the 'old laws', and Moscow was not consulted about it. Soon afterwards, in February 1658, Balaban found himself obliged to clarify the matter with the Muscovite envoy. Asked whether he had sent a mission to 'present a petition' to the tsar and the patriarch, Balaban replied that he could not be consecrated

[179] Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, p. 226. The first reports of Nikon being titled patriarch of Great and Little Rus' date from the previous year, 1654.

[180] See Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 164, 170–1. When armed hostilities began in 1654, all the Orthodox eparchies of Belarus began to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. On the conflict between Mefodii Biba, Nikon's vicar 'in the bishoprics of Mstsislaŭ, Orsha, Mahilioŭ, Vitsebsk, and Polatsk', and the burghers of Mahilioŭ in the spring of 1655, see the documents in Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 248–50.

As early as the summer of 1653, when the question of the appointment of priests in the Smolensk region by the patriarch of Moscow was raised at the talks between Muscovite and Commonwealth representatives in Lviv, it led to a clash between the two sides. The Uniate bishop Andrei Kvasnytsky-Zloty, clearly acting at the behest of the royal administration, removed altar cloths donated by Moscow from some Orthodox churches in the Dorohobuzh region (leaving in place the ones from Kyiv). The Commonwealth diplomats were also aware of the ordination of at least three priests from the Dorohobuzh region in Moscow in 1653. The Muscovite envoys did not deny the ordination, insisting that the metropolitan of Moscow had the right to perform it, inasmuch as the territory had earlier belonged to Moscow and, according to the 'eternal peace', the churches were to enjoy their former rights (see documents in Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 124–5, 137–8, 142–3). Thus Moscow was making a bid to renew its ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the territories earlier lost to the Commonwealth.

by the patriarch of Moscow without the permission of the patriarch of Constantinople, and that Moscow should resolve the question by independent consultation with the ecumenical patriarch. To all intents and purposes, this was a refusal to submit to Moscow's authority.[181]

Regardless of the sharp differences over the jurisdictional question between Moscow on the one hand and the Kyivan clergy on the other, religion sometimes provided a basis for the development of a joint Cossack–Muscovite platform, even when the political aims of the two partners were diametrically opposed. This became particularly apparent at the Muscovite negotiations with the Commonwealth in Vilnius in 1656. Khmelnytsky was categorically opposed to the conclusion of a peace treaty between Muscovy and the Commonwealth, and his delegation was not even admitted to the Vilnius talks, but the Muscovite representatives insisted quite firmly on the religious points suggested by the Cossack administration as issues to be raised at the negotiations. These were the return to the Orthodox on Commonwealth territory of property confiscated from them by the Uniates and the liquidation of the Union.[182] The Muscovite tsar and the Cossack hetman were also united on the issue of permitting one faith alone—Orthodoxy—to exist on the territory subject to their rule.[183] In letters and proclamations to the Orthodox of the Commonwealth, the tsar's courtiers made lavish use of the motif of defending the Orthodox religion.[184] Yet this solidarity in the defense of Orthodoxy and hostility to the Union and other non-Orthodox churches proved insufficient to establish a firm Orthodox alliance between Muscovy and the Hetmanate.

In his manifesto to foreign rulers on the occasion of his breach with Moscow in 1658, Ivan Vyhovsky set forth the Cossacks' view of the role of religion in their alliance with the tsar: the Cossacks had risen in defense of the Eastern Church and of their own rights, voluntarily accepting protection from the tsar, who was obliged to preserve their liberties, among

[181] For an account of developments in the Kyivan metropolitanate in 1657–9, see Karpov, 'Kievskaia mitropoliia i moskovskoe pravitel'stvo'; Vlasovs'kyi, *Narys istorii*, 2: 108–13.

[182] See Muscovite reports on the negotiations in Zaborovskii, ed., *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty*, pp. 262–78. In their hostility toward the Union, Muscovite diplomats shared the view of the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility of the early seventeenth century, which maintained that the Union was not a distinct faith and that the Uniates were free to convert immediately to Catholicism. The better to advocate this view, Muscovite diplomacy availed itself of a biblical quotation (Matt. 6:24; Luke 16:13): 'Christ our God says in the holy Gospels[:] no man can serve two masters; he will love the one and dislike the other. So those Uniates, too, wish to have two faiths: they love one and hate the other. It is fitting for them to remain in one faith, whichever they wish, and they should be given freedom to do so' (ibid., p. 271).

[183] On the unwillingness of the tsarist administration to permit any churches other than Orthodox ones east of the Biarezina River, see the records of negotiations between the Muscovite authorities and the Belarusian nobility in late 1655 and early 1656, ibid., pp. 233–8.

[184] Ibid., pp. 188, 193–6.

other reasons, because of his love of the church. Moscow, however, had chosen to violate Cossack liberties. On learning of this, the Cossacks, being 'firm in the faith', had had no choice other than to revolt against the Muscovites.[185] Explaining the reasons for his rebellion against the tsar in conversation with the Muscovite representative Vasilii Kikin, Vyhovsky went even farther and complained of the oppression of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine by Muscovite voevodas.[186]

The Belarusian nobleman Kastiantin Paklonsky, a one-time ally of Muscovy who eventually went over to the side of the Commonwealth, summarized the grievances of the Orthodox Ruthenians against their Orthodox protector as follows:

> I understood that the war was to be for the liberation of oppressed Rus', or to be gladdened by a Christian sovereign; instead, we experienced such destruction of houses of God as was practiced by the Tatars: our Christians, who were experiencing daily persecution by the Uniates, were now taken into eternal slavery, while others were tortured . . . not only laymen, but our clergy were also taken captive, and we had greater freedom under the Poles than the way our people live today.[187]

The initial concord in relations between the two Orthodox partners, Polish–Lithuanian Rus' and the Tsardom of Muscovy, had disappeared. The uneasy alliance between Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus in which Orthodoxy was destined to play a fundamental role still lay ahead.

[185] See the text of the 'manifesto' in *AIuZR* (1908): pt. 3, vol. 6, pp. 362–9. For an English translation, see John Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study* (Edmonton, 1982), pp. 259–64, appendix 6.

[186] Kikin alleged to the hetman that the Cossacks themselves had pleaded to come under the tsar's high hand in order to free themselves of the 'Polish yoke' and that the tsar had 'ordered all his Christ-loving forces to suffer for you, to shed their blood for you and not to spare their lives for anything other than the one Orthodox faith and the liberation of you Orthodox Christians from the Latin bondage and yoke'. Vyhovsky, in turn, replied to these allegations as follows: 'And given that the voevodas of His Tsarist Majesty, the boyar Vasilii Borisovich Sheremetiev and the courtier and voevoda Grigorii Grigorievich Romodanovsky have caused [much] harm to [Little] Rus' and violated our rights and, furthermore, have burned godly churches and murdered monks and nuns and many other innocent Christian souls, we [the Cossacks] shall take revenge and continue in that fashion as long as any of us remain; even under the rule of the Polish kings they [said Vyhovsky] stood up and fought for their rights' (*Akty IuZR*, vol. 4 [1863]: 150–1).

[187] See his letter of March 1655 to Acting Hetman Ivan Zolotarenko, in which he explains his decision to go over first to the tsar and then to Janusz Radziwiłł, in *Akty IuZR*, vol. 14 (1889): 542. In his manifesto to foreign rulers, Ivan Vyhovsky also complained of the deportation of Belarusian nobles to Muscovy (see Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654*, p. 260). On the Muscovite occupation of eastern Belarus in 1654–5, see Henadz' Sahanovich, *Neviadomaia vaina, 1654–1667* (Minsk, 1995), pp. 28–33.

Conclusions

'What other nations strive to win by means of words and discourses, the Cossacks accomplish with actions themselves', wrote the Orthodox metropolitan Iov Boretsky in 1621 concerning Cossack participation in the struggle against the Ottomans.[1] With his references to religious discourses and other peoples, Boretsky was in effect placing Ukrainian Cossackdom in the context of the broader religious conflicts of his age, and, in speaking of the Cossacks' inclination to direct action rather than words, he was implicitly referring their specific role in contemporary relations not only between Christianity and Islam but also between Orthodoxy on the one hand and the Union, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism on the other.

What would Kyivan Orthodoxy and its relations with other Christian and non-Christian churches have been like if Ukrainian Cossackdom had not become involved in the religious conflict of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and what might have been the fate of Ukrainian Cossackdom if it had remained aloof from the religious struggle? These questions, which are partly informed by recent writings in the realm of 'virtual history',[2] can help us better understand the actual contribution of Cossackdom to religious developments in early modern Eastern Europe, as well as evaluate the influence of religion on the historical fate of the Cossacks. Providing 'real' answers to these 'virtual' questions can also serve to bring out some of the principal conclusions that follow from the preceding analysis.

In responding to the questions formulated above, it is worth remembering that the Cossack Host was only one of the actors on the Ukrainian political and religious stage, and the Cossack impact (or lack of it) on religious developments in Ukraine should be evaluated in relation to the actions of other social groups and institutions. The complexity of the problems involved in rendering a historical judgement is well exemplified by the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620. On the one hand, without the active participation of the Cossacks, the revival of the hierarchy and the sojourn of the newly consecrated Orthodox metropolitan in Kyiv are scarcely conceivable. On the other hand, the tendency toward

[1] 'Co inszy narodowie słowy y dyskursy walczą, to kozacy rzeczą samą odprawuią' (Zhukovich, 'Protestatsiia', p. 150).

[2] See, e.g., Niall Ferguson, ed., *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals* (London, 1998).

the revival of Kyiv's functions as a major religious center began almost immediately after the Union of Brest and continued in the first two decades of the century. It was associated only in part with the Cossacks: the main actors here were the brotherhood school teachers who were forced out of western Ukraine, as well as the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility. In the final analysis, nevertheless, there is little doubt that without the Cossacks' readiness to take the new hierarchy under their protection and make their participation in the Khotyn War dependent on the government's toleration of that hierarchy, its consecration and survival in 1620 and 1621 would have been utterly impossible. In other words, the very existence of the Kyivan Orthodox metropolitanate and, to some extent, of the church as a whole seems rather problematic without Cossack involvement in the events of 1620.

Could the renewal of the Orthodox episcopate have happened later, without Cossack participation? While the possibility cannot be excluded completely, it must be considered minuscule. Throughout the second decade of the seventeenth century, there was only one Orthodox bishop, Ieremiia Tysarovsky, remaining in Lviv. Perhaps the burghers and nobles could have obtained the royal nomination of one more Orthodox bishop, but with the demise of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky and the waning of the era of the Orthodox princes, the nobiliary and burgher strata were unprepared to take on the struggle against the royal administration, which was openly hostile to Orthodoxy. The alliance of the Orthodox nobility and its Diet deputies with the Protestants was a powerful but somewhat limited weapon in the struggle to preserve the Orthodox Church. In 1632, following the death of Zygmunt III, when the Orthodox hierarchy was again legalized thanks to joint Orthodox–Protestant action, the crucial factors that brought this about were, along with pressure from the nobility, the presence of the Orthodox bishops consecrated with Cossack assistance in 1620 and the authorities' desire to involve the Cossacks in a new war with Muscovy.

The consecration of the hierarchy in 1620 under the protection of Cossack swords profoundly affected the course of Orthodox–Uniate relations and spurred the leaders of the Uniate Church, most notably Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Rutsky, to seek a compromise with the Orthodox. Attempts were even made to convoke a joint sobor, with the subsequent prospect of uniting both branches of the Kyivan church, but the Cossacks opposed these efforts and found themselves in tandem with Rome on the issue, since both sides, for very different reasons of their own, opposed the notion of a joint sobor. The establishment of a new, 'legal' hierarchy in 1632 undermined the old alliance between Cossackdom and the Kyivan metropolitanate, relegating the Cossack leaders to the periphery of the religious struggle and of Orthodox relations with the Uniates and

Roman Catholics in Ukraine. It also opened new opportunities for dialogue between Orthodox and Uniate Christians. In the latter half of the 1630s the Kyivan clergy, free of Cossack control and encouraged by the royal administration, was more ready to venture into contacts with the Uniates, and by the time of the Khmelnytsky Uprising there was already talk of a 'universal' union and the establishment of a joint Orthodox–Uniate patriarchate. Some form of association between the Kyivan Orthodox metropolitanate and Rome was clearly in the offing, but the outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising in the spring of 1648 put an end to hopes for the incorporation of the whole Kyivan metropolitanate (not only its Uniate portion) into the Catholic Church.

The Khmelnytsky Uprising, which rather quickly took on the aspect of a defense of the native religion against the onslaught of a foreign one, almost immediately transformed Orthodoxy into a militant faith. The Cossacks had long cultivated notions of religious warfare and an anti-Ottoman crusade: in the 1620s, Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem blessed them for war against the Muslim infidels, and in 1648 his successor, Patriarch Paisios, gave his blessing for a war with the Catholic Poles. With the support of the Eastern hierarchs, the leaders of the uprising effectively took over control of Orthodox ideology, vocabulary, and symbols from the disoriented Kyivan clergy, which was generally moderate in its hostility to other faiths. The Cossack leadership would now make use of these tools to further its own interests, whether these involved justification of the uprising or a new course in relations with the Catholic Commonwealth, Protestant Transylvania, the Islamic Porte, or Orthodox Muscovy.

The Khmelnytsky Uprising proceeded under the banner of Orthodoxy, but only in so far as Cossackdom itself desired and permitted the association. The rebel masses, for their part, recognized little if any authority over themselves and their immediate leaders. Not only Catholics and Jews were massacred in the first months of the revolt but even Orthodox monasteries were attacked by unruly mobs. The higher clergy eventually turned for protection to Khmelnytsky and his officers. Under the circumstances they had little alternative, even though prior to the uprising relations between Cossackdom and the upper Orthodox hierarchy were exceedingly cool. Not surprisingly, it was not the Kyivan metropolitan but the Zaporozhian hetman who was the leading partner in the state–church tandem of the Hetmanate, a fact that had a pronounced influence on the ideology and course of the uprising. The behind-the-scenes conflict between the hetman and the metropolitan, who had rid himself of competition from other denominations on the territory controlled by the Cossacks, but lost control of his own church, ended with the victory of the Cossack hetman. The Khmelnytsky Uprising saved

Kyivan Orthodoxy from subordination to Rome, but also promoted its absorption by Moscow. Having seized the banner of Orthodoxy from the Kyivan metropolitan, Khmelnytsky decided, against the churchman's will, to accept the suzerainty of the Orthodox tsar, thereby creating conditions for the future subordination of the Kyivan throne to the Muscovite patriarch.

Cossack intervention in the religious conflict in Ukraine not only helped to preserve the Orthodox Church and strengthen its ties with Moscow but also led to the deterioration of relations between the Orthodox on one side and the Uniates, Catholics, and Jews on the other. It is quite clear that without Cossack intervention in religious affairs, Orthodox relations with these churches and religions would have developed differently. In the first place, they would have been less hostile. The principal victim of Cossack intervention in church affairs during the Khmelnytsky Uprising was, of course, the Union, which the Cossacks treated as a Catholic intrigue against Orthodoxy and the principal threat to their own freedom of religion. Although none of the Cossack revolts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including the Khmelnytsky Uprising, claimed large numbers of victims among the Uniates, the rebels' ideological opposition to the Union and their violent seizures of Uniate property could not help but increase hostility between Orthodox and Uniates. The Khmelnytsky Uprising led to the marginalization of the Union in Ukraine (and, to a lesser extent, in Belarus), driving the Uniate Church to the edge of extinction. Thus it is no accident that the Cossacks entered Ukrainian historical memory and tradition as implacable enemies of the Union.

Orthodox relations with Roman Catholicism also fell victim to the Cossack revolts and their religious policy. Although the Cossacks never questioned the right of existence of the Catholic Church (as they did with the Union), judging by the number of victims and the intensity of their religiously motivated violence, the rank-and-file Cossacks and the aroused masses were far more hostile to Catholics than to Uniates. Clearly, Catholics were stereotypically associated not only with a different and hostile religion but also with a different and hostile ethnic and social group: in the Ukrainian steppes, Catholicism was synonymous with Polish nationality and membership in the nobility. Not surprisingly, in the eyes of the rebels the Catholic monks personified the oppressive religious and political order and were therefore particularly hated by the rank-and-file insurgents. When signing agreements with the Commonwealth authorities, the Cossack officers sought to place legal restrictions on the presence of Catholic religious orders on their territory and absolutely forbade the presence of Jesuits.

It is worth noting nevertheless that, however strongly the Cossacks defended Orthodoxy within the Commonwealth, they were very far from

pursuing a consistent religiously motivated policy in their foreign relations and were guided instead by the imperatives of the moment. Whether fighting on the side of the Commonwealth or taking part in the Thirty Years' War with its blessing, the Cossacks generally ended up taking the part of Catholic states at war with their Islamic, Protestant, or Orthodox neighbors. The Cossacks' active participation in the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 did not prevent them from making peace with the Crimea and allying themselves with various Crimean factions in their conflicts with the Ottomans in 1624–5.The Cossacks' relations with the Protestants were also generally pragmatic in character. When the Cossacks entered the religious struggle within the Commonwealth on the side of the Orthodox nobility and burghers, they automatically inherited the support of the latter's old allies in the parliamentary struggle, the Polish and Lithuanian Protestants. Contrariwise, the appeals of Swedish diplomats in the early 1630s for the Cossacks to wage a joint struggle against the Catholic Commonwealth evoked no response from the Cossack officer milieu. For a long time, the Khmelnytsky Uprising put an end to the spread of Protestantism in Ukraine, even though the revolt had no particularly anti-Protestant orientation. Bohdan Khmelnytsky invested considerable hopes in an understanding with the leader of the Lithuanian Protestants, Janusz Radziwiłł, and developed his foreign policy in a spirit of close co-operation with Protestant Transylvania and Sweden. Nevertheless, the very nature of the uprising, in which popular anger was directed against the nobility, forced many Protestant nobles to flee the territories occupied by the rebels and migrate deep into the Commonwealth. This was the fate of the rather numerous communities of Socinians (Antitrinitarians) in Volhynia, and the prohibition of Antitrinitarianism in the Commonwealth following the Swedish Deluge made it necessary for nobiliary Ruthenian Socinians to choose among emigration, Catholicism, and Orthodoxy. Some of its representatives, such as the general chancellor in Vyhovsky's administration, Iurii Nemyrych, chose Orthodoxy, making it possible to return to their estates with the prospect of continuing a military and political career in a Ukraine that was now Cossack.

How would Orthodox–Jewish relations have developed if there had been no Cossack uprisings, or if the Cossacks had not taken up the flag of religious war? On the basis of what is now known about Jewish relations with various segments of Ruthenian society, it may be concluded that those relations would hardly have been idyllic even without Cossack interference, but Cossack participation made them extraordinarily hostile. The destruction of entire Jewish communities at the beginning of the Khmelnytsky Uprising and the persecution of Jews in subsequent years turned the Cossacks and their leader, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, into a

personification of absolute evil in Jewish historical consciousness and tradition. It is worth noting nevertheless that Cossackdom was not traditionally distinguished by strong anti-Jewish prejudice, and in all likelihood, the Cossack uprisings merely released previously suppressed but rather widespread feelings of anti-Jewish antagonism. Counter-Reformation influences fostered the rise and development of distinct anti-Judaic principles in the Kyivan metropolitanate—principles that Orthodox priests sought to promote and inculcate in their faithful. The granting of royal privileges to Jewish communities and the growth of their numbers on Ukrainian territory gave rise to competition and antagonism on the part of Ukrainian burghers. The peasants also resented the expansion of magnate landholdings and the nobles' employment of Jews as leaseholders and tax collectors. Unlike the clergy, burghers, and peasants, the Cossacks initially harbored no antagonism to Jews on social grounds. Only in the 1630s, and to a greater extent in the 1640s, given the spread of Jewish leaseholding in areas of Cossack settlement, did Cossack–Jewish antagonism begin to grow, opening the door to Cossack attacks on Jewish communities during the Khmelnytsky Uprising. In the first years of the uprising, the Cossacks readily lent themselves to the prosecution of a 'holy war' against the Jews and to the promotion of mass Jewish conversions to Christianity.

Having declared the Orthodox Church dominant on the territory of the Cossack polity and prohibited, or greatly complicated, the presence within its boundaries of organized communities of Catholics, Uniates, Protestants, and Jews, Cossackdom effectively renounced the principle of religious toleration professed by the Orthodox of the previous age and took on the project of building a monoconfessional state. To some extent, that policy echoed the principle of 'cuius regio, eius religio' enunciated at Augsburg in 1555 and reflected the situation that had become dominant in Western and Central Europe by the mid-seventeenth century, with the end of the Thirty Years' War and the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). After the Cossack wars and Swedish intervention, Cossack Ukraine's principal antagonist, the Commonwealth, also set out to persecute those who professed other faiths in order to build a monoconfessional Catholic state. Thus, in its religious policy, the Cossack state followed the main tendencies of post-Reformation Europe, where the period of religious wars, or wars with a significant religious component, was succeeded by a period of consolidation of monoconfessional statehood. These tendencies were also welcomed and supported by the Orthodox world outside Ukraine. The Council of Pereiaslav and Khmelnytsky's acceptance of the Muscovite protectorate also could not fail to strengthen the Cossack officers' resolution to establish a purely Orthodox Cossack state.

In assessing the influence of Cossackdom on the religious situation in Eastern Europe, one must also take account of the development of Orthodox–Islamic relations. Did their nature change as a result of Cossack military policy? Despite the very fact of Cossackdom's rise and development on the conflict-ridden Christian–Muslim borderland and the Cossacks' frequently reiterated anti-Islamic, pro-Christian attitude, the answer to this question must be more negative than positive. On the one hand, the Cossacks and their Orthodox allies made lavish use of the idea, developed mainly by Polish Catholic political writers, of the Commonwealth as the bastion of Christian Europe. They represented Cossack seagoing campaigns against the Turks and land-based ones against the Tatars as actions in the defense of Christianity. On the other hand, beginning in the 1620s, the Cossacks began to ally themselves with Tatar factions in the Crimea. In Khmelnytsky's time, they concluded a treaty with the Crimean khan and even accepted the nominal protectorate of Istanbul in spite of protests and accusations of treason against Christianity from the Catholic Commonwealth, Orthodox Muscovy, and, in part, from their own Kyivan clergy. Nevertheless, the Orthodox of Ukraine were consistently hostile toward Islam, and Cossack warfare against the 'infidels', like their occasional alliances with them, could only effect a partial and temporary change in that attitude, not alter it in essence. After the Khmelnytsky era, the direct intervention of the Ottoman Turks in Ukrainian affairs in the 1670s and 1680s, their support for Hetman Petro Doroshenko, their campaigns against Chyhyryn, and their occupation of Podilia, which produced shock and true devastation in Right-Bank Ukraine, intensified anti-Islamic feelings in Ukraine and gave rise to polemics against Islam by the Ukrainian clergy.[3]

Such, in general terms, was the influence of Cossackdom and the epoch of the Cossack wars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries on the historical fate of the Orthodox Church and its relations with other religions. But would the fate of Cossackdom itself and its identity have been different without the 'Orthodoxization' that it experienced in the early decades of the seventeenth century? With only a small measure of uncertainty, it may be asserted that that fate would have been decidedly different. Without the Orthodox Church and the social ideology associated with it, it would have taken much longer for the Cossacks to find

[3] On Doroshenko's hetmancy, see the study by Dmytro Doroshenko, *Het'man Petro Doroshenko. Ohliad ioho zhyttia i politychnoï diial'nosty* (New York, 1985). On anti-Islamic polemics in Ukraine, see the study of Ioanikii Galiatovsky and his writings by N. F. (Mykola) Sumtsov, *Ioannikii Galiatovskii (K istorii iuzhno-russkoi literatury XVII veka)* (Kyiv, 1884), as well as a bibliography of Galiatovsky's works and writings about him in *Ukraïns'ki pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*, vol. 1, *Davnia ukraïns'ka literatura (XI–XVIII st.)*, comp. L. Ie. Makhnovets' (Kyiv, 1960), pp. 278–86, and *Bibliografia literatury polskiej 'Nowy Korbut'*, 2: 172–3.

their way into the ranks of the Ruthenian nation, as well as to form and assert their own identity. The formation of that identity was an important project in which Cossackdom became involved at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as the formation of a distinct corporate estate on the basis of Cossackdom necessarily involved an effort on the part of its leaders to make a place for themselves in the traditional structure of Ruthenian society. Even with the help of the well-disposed Orthodox hierarchy, that process was neither simple nor straightforward. True, the effort undertaken by the hierarchs consecrated in 1620 to introduce the Cossacks into the socially exclusive club of the Ruthenian nation was not carried through to the end, while the new Mohylian hierarchy and the nobility that supported it no longer had any need or desire to remain in the same camp as the rebellious Cossacks. Nevertheless, this unsuccessful attempt showed Cossackdom the path to future union with other sectors of Ruthenian society on the common ground of the defense of Orthodoxy—a path confidently taken by the Cossacks in the course of the Khmelnytsky Uprising.

The use of religious slogans, most notably appeals to fight for the rights of persecuted Orthodoxy, gave Cossackdom a unique opportunity to legitimize its rebellions not only as a defense of the rights and privileges of its own estate but also as a vindication of the rights of the whole Ruthenian nation. On the one hand, religious ideology increased the legitimacy of Cossack uprisings in the eyes of non-Cossack Ruthenians; on the other, it was an important means of mobilizing the broader peasant and burgher masses for participation in Cossack revolts. We observe distinct efforts to employ religious slogans in order to broaden participation in the Cossack uprisings of 1630 and 1637–8, and most particularly in the Khmelnytsky Uprising, when the Cossacks succeeded in involving not only burghers and peasants but also a significant part of the Ruthenian nobility in their revolt. It is safe to assume that if the idea of defending religious and national interests had not been proclaimed as one of its principal aims, the Khmelnytsky Uprising could hardly have developed into anything more than a Cossack revolt limited in social and territorial extent and brief in duration. The religious sanction given to the Khmelnytsky Uprising by the Eastern hierarchs not only transformed the Cossack revolt into a religious war but also helped to legitimize Cossack rule over the territory and corporate estates of the new polity. This applied above all to the rule of the Cossack hetman, whose treatment by Ukrainian intellectuals as a leader and ruler given by God Himself was intended to bolster the status and legitimacy of the hetman's authority in the eyes of the Cossacks themselves, as well as their neighbors.

The lack of a clearly defined religious identity and confessional allegiance would probably have complicated the search of Cossack

diplomats, difficult enough as it was, for potential allies abroad. In a world defined by division into confessionally based blocs and alliances, Cossackdom, having raised the flag of Orthodoxy, quite naturally found its place in the camp of non-Catholic opponents of the predominantly Catholic (and increasingly monoconfessional) Commonwealth. Islamic, Protestant, and Orthodox countries followed the course of the Cossack revolt with sympathy, seeing the Khmelnytsky Uprising as yet another of the religious conflicts in which the post-Reformation era abounded. The confessionalization of Kyivan Orthodoxy in the first half of the seventeenth century popularized the notion of Orthodox commonality in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and gave the Cossacks an important argument in their negotiations with Orthodox Muscovy. It is typical in this respect that the Pereiaslav Agreement of 1654 between Cossack Ukraine and Muscovy was legitimized and substantiated on both sides primarily in terms of religious commonality. Thus Orthodoxy became the binding ideological foundation on which the idea of a Cossack–Muscovite alliance under the protection of the 'Eastern' tsar was raised.

Given later developments, it is apparent that the Orthodox religion, as an element that bound Cossack Ukraine with tsarist Muscovy, and later with the Russian Empire, promoted the formation of a specific national identity in Ukraine. Considered from the viewpoint of the development of modern nations on Eastern European territory, Cossack influence on the nature of relations between Kyivan and Muscovite Orthodoxy heightened the barrier between Orthodox and Uniate Ukraine, while easing communication between Muscovy and Orthodox Ukraine. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when concepts of a Cossack nation flourished and a Ukrainian national identity began to evolve on the basis of the views and perceptions of the Cossack élite, the religious dimension could not be used to distinguish Ukrainians from Russians as it differentiated them from Poles, Tatars, or Turks. Politically and socially distinct, the Hetmanate was weakened by the lack of a church or even a clergy of its own. Eventually, in the course of the eighteenth century, the choice in favor of Orthodoxy made by Cossackdom more than a century earlier contributed to the dissolution of a specifically Cossack identity and its attendant political and social forms within a broader all-Russian identity. It should also be noted that the other hypothetical choice available to the Cossacks, that of the Union, was not only unrealistic, given the needs and intentions of the Uniate hierarchy, but also impracticable in terms of early seventeenth-century politics, as it did not meet the needs of Orthodox Cossackdom in its opposition to the Catholic state.[4]

[4] On eighteenth-century developments in Ukraine and the fate of Cossack identity, see Kohut, 'The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding'; id.,

For a better understanding of the role played by religion in the history of Ukrainian Cossackdom, especially considering its association with Orthodoxy, the example of Russian Cossackdom and its relations with the Old Believers is quite significant. Nothing demonstrates the unique role of the religious factor in the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks so clearly as the failure of a possible alliance between Cossackdom and religion in Russia. There, the 'true' faith of the Old Believers, persecuted by the Muscovite authorities and opposed to official Orthodoxy, potentially constituted a useful religious platform for the legitimation of Cossack uprisings. The Don and the Yaik, like other centers of Russian Cossackdom, also attracted Old Believers fleeing tsarist persecution, but none of the Cossack and peasant uprisings that took place in Muscovy had a clearly defined religious program, and none developed into a religious war comparable to the Khmelnytsky Uprising. Despite the powerful influence of the Old Believers, the Russian Cossacks, especially their officers, remained divided in religious allegiance. The attempt by supporters of the Old Believers to take over the leadership of Don Cossack forces in 1688 ended with the victory of Moscow and supporters of official religious policy. Thereafter, the ecclesiastical structure of the Don region was deprived of its particular autonomy and subordinated to the local bishop. Nor did the Old Believers succeed in taking control of other Cossack forces in which true religious pluralism prevailed and was countenanced by the authorities, as was so rarely the case on the territory of the Muscovite state.[5]

Why was Russia's experience so different from that of Ukraine? Was it because the link between a persecuted church and an oppressed nationality, present in Ukraine, was missing in Russia? Or was it because of Reformation and Counter-Reformation impulses, which were strongly felt in Ukraine but had little impact farther east? Answers to these questions lie far beyond the scope of the present work, but it may reasonably be suggested that these and other differences in the social, cultural, and religious environments of the Ukrainian and Russian Cossacks contributed to the growth of divergent relations between the Cossacks on the one hand and organized religion on the other.

To a greater or lesser extent, the Cossack uprisings of early modern Ukraine, the most important of which were raised under the banner of Orthodoxy, were part of a whole series of social and religious conflicts

Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy; Viktor Horobets', *Prysmerk Het'manshchyny. Ukraïna v roky reform Petra I* (Kyiv, 1998); Subtelny, *The Mazepists*.

[5] On the role of religion in the history of the Russian Cossacks, see Seaton, *Horsemen of the Steppes*, pp. 56–7, 106–7, 111, 124, 171; Longworth, *The Cossacks*, pp. 141–2, 158–9. Cf. V. G. Druzhinin, *Raskol na Donu v kontse XVII veka* (St Petersburg, 1889; repr.: Slavic Printings and Reprintings. The Hague and Paris, 1969).

that rolled across Europe in connection with the upheavals precipitated by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. In the final analysis, the Union of Brest and the religious conflict following upon it was brought about by the internal crisis of the Kyivan metropolitanate—a crisis rooted in the inability of the old Orthodox structure to respond to the challenge represented by the confessionalization of European religious and social life. Supported by the royal administration, whose long-term goal was to transform the Commonwealth into a monoconfessional Catholic state, the Union not only upset the traditional balance between Catholicism and Orthodoxy within the Commonwealth but also aroused the opposition of the 'traditionalists' among the Orthodox clergy and the most influential strata of Ruthenian society—the princes, the nobility, and the burghers—joined, in time, by the Cossacks. Having entered the religious fray, Cossackdom readily adapted and transformed Orthodoxy into a rebel faith, but, in the process, even more profoundly changed and transmuted itself.

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	*Akty istoricheskie*
AIuZR	*Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*
Akty IuZR	*Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*
Analecta OSBM	*Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni* (Lviv and Rome)
AZR	*Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii*
ChIONL	*Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-letopistsa* (Kyiv)
ChOIDR	*Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (Moscow)
DBKh	*Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*
DOV	*Dokumenty ob Osvoboditel'noi voine*
DRA	*Dokumenty rosiis'kykh arkhiviv z istorii Ukraïny*
HUS	*Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
Hustynia Chronicle	*Kroinika, kotoraia nachinaetsia ot potopu pervogo mira*
JUS	*Journal of Ukrainian Studies* (Edmonton and Toronto)
KhCh	*Khristianskoe chtenie* (St Petersburg)
KS	*Kievskaia starina* (Kyiv)
LNV	*Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk* (Lviv)
MU	*Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (Kyiv)
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome)
PKK	*Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov*
PSRL	*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*
RIB	*Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*
SRP	*Scriptores rerum Polonicarum*
TKDA	*Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (Kyiv)
UIZh	*Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Kyiv)
VUR	*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei*
ZNTSh	*Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka* (Lviv)
ZUNT	*Zapysky Ukraïns'koho naukovoho tovarystva v Kyievi* (Kyiv)

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

AGAD — Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Warsaw)
'Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie', dział 6, no. 36.

ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican) Nunziatura Polonia, nos. 43, 44.
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa (Warsaw) Manuscript Division, dział IV, no. 4228; dział V, no. 16549.
NBL	Naukova biblioteka L'vivs'koho universytetu (Lviv), Manuscript division 'Acta Jesuitica', teka 3, no. 228.
RGADA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (Moscow) fond 79 ('Relations with Poland'), 1647, nos. 69, 70, 71, 72, 75.
RGIA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (St Petersburg) fond 823, Archive of the Uniate Metropolitans, no. 458.
RNB	Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka (St Petersburg) Dubrovsky Collection, Avtografy, 242, nos. 103–5.
Stefanyk Library	Naukova biblioteka im. V. Stefanyka Natsional'noï akademiï nauk ukraïny (Lviv) 'Ossolineum', nos. 113, 168, 189 (Notes of Marcin Goliński), 198, 225, 240. MB, no. 799.
TsDIA (Kyiv)	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukraïny (Kyiv) fond 1230 (Photocopies of documents from Polish archives), op. 1, no. 61.
TsDIA (Lviv)	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukraïny (Lviv) fond 140, no. 119.
Vernadsky Library	Instytut rukopysu Natsional'noï biblioteky Ukraïny im. V. I. Vernads'koho Natsional'noï akademiï nauk Ukraïny (Kyiv) Mak. P-51.

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Akta Unii Polski z Litwą, 1387–1791. Ed. Stanisław Kutrzeba and Władysław Semkowicz. Cracow, 1932.

Akty Moskovskogo gosudarstva, izdannye Imperatorskoi akademiei nauk. 3 vols. St Petersburg, 1890–1901.

Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoi komissiei (=*Akty IuZR*). 15 vols. St Petersburg, 1861–92. Repr. The Hague and Paris, 1970.

Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoi komissiei (=*AZR*). 5 vols. St Petersburg, 1846–53.

Akty, sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii Arkheograficheskoi ėkspeditsiei Akademii nauk. 4 vols. St Petersburg, 1836.

Alberti Bolognetti nuncii Apostolici in Polonia epistolarum et actorum (= *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vols. 5–6). Ed. Edward Kuntze. Cracow, 1938.

Antelenchus, To iest odpis na skrypt vszczypliwy zakonnikow Cerkwie odstępney Ś. Ducha, Elenchus nazwany. Vilnius, 1622. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 674–731.

Apolleia Apolohiy knyzhky dialektom rouskym napysanoi polskym zas' ve Lvovi drukovanoi. Kyiv, 1628. Repr. in S. T. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, vol. 1, appendixes, pp. 302–17. Kyiv, 1883.

Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana koronnego. Ed. Wacław Sobieski *et al.* 4 vols. Warsaw, 1904–13, and Cracow, 1948.

Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Severo-Zapadnoi Rusi, izdavaemyi pri upravlenii Vilenskogo uchebnogo okruga. 14 vols. Vilnius, 1867–1904.

Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii, izdavaemyi Vremennoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov (= *AIuZR*). 8 pts., 34 vols. Kyiv, 1859–1914.

Barwiński, E., ed. *Diariusze sejmowe z r. 1597* (= *SRP*, vol. 20). Cracow, 1907.

de Beauplan, Guillaume le Vasseur. *Description des contrées dv Royavme de Pologne, contenvës depvis les confins de la Moscouie, iusque aux limites de la Transilvanie.* Rouen, 1651. 2nd edn. *Description d'Vkranie, qui sont plvsievrs Prouinces du Royaume de Pologne*. Rouen, 1660. English translation: *A Description of Ukraine*. Introduction, translation, and notes by Andrew B. Pernal and Dennis F. Essar. Cambridge, Mass., 1993.

Berynda, Pamva. *Leksykon slovenoros'kyi Pamvy Beryndy*. Ed. V. V. Nimchuk. Kyiv, 1961.

Bevzo, O. A., ed. *L'vivs'kyi litopys i Ostroz'kyi litopysets'. Dzhereloznavche doslidzhennia*. 2nd edn. Kyiv, 1971.

Borot'ba Pivdenno-Zakhidnoï Rusi i Ukraïny proty ekspansiï Vatykanu i uniï (X—pochatok XVII st.). Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv. Kyiv, 1988.

Bytomski, Jan. *Obsidio Zamosciana quam perduelles Cosacchi iunctis viribus Tartarorum conspirante audacia, fatali Poloniae tempores sub interregnum AD 1648*. Zamość, 1649. Repr. in *Zherela* (Lviv) 6 (1913): 137–51.

Chevalier, Pierre. *Histoire de la gverre des Cosaqves contre la Pologne avec vn discovrs de levr Origine, Païs, Moeurs, Gouuernement et Religion. Et vn autre des Tartares Précopites*. Paris, 1663; 2nd edn. Paris, 1668; 3rd edn. Paris, 1859. English translation: *A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government and Religion of the Cossacks, With another of the Precopian Tartars. And the History of the Wars of the Cossacks against Poland*. London, 1672. Ukrainian translation: *Istoriia viiny kozakiv proty Pol'shchi*. Ed. A. Z. Baraboi and O. A. Bevzo. Trans. Iu. I. Nazarenko. Kyiv, 1960.

Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho, 1648–57 (= *DBKh*). Ed. Ivan Kryp"iakevych and I. L. Butych. Kyiv, 1961.

Dokumenty Livonskoi voiny: podlinnoe deloproizvodstvo prikazov i voevod, 1571–1580. Ed. I. Gralia *et al.* Moscow and Warsaw, 1998.

Dokumenty ob Osvoboditel'noi voine ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg. (= *DOV*). Comp. A. Z. Baraboi, I. L. Butich, A. N. Katrenko, and E. S. Kompan. Kyiv, 1965.

Dokumenty, ob"iasniaiushchie istoriiu Zapadno-Russkogo kraia (= *Documents servant à eclaircir l'histoire des provinces occidentales de la Russie*). Ed. M. O. Koialovich. St Petersburg, 1865.

Dokumenty rosiis'kykh arkhiviv z istorii Ukraïny. Vol. 1, *Dokumenty do istorii zaporoz'koho kozatstva 1613–1620 rr.* (= *DRA*). Comp. Boris Floria, Iaroslav Isaievych, Frank Sysyn, Arkadii Turilov, Lev Voitovych, and Lev Zaborovskii. Lviv, 1998.

Dopolneniia k aktam istoricheskim. 12 vols. St Petersburg, 1846–72.

Filozofia i myśl społeczna XVII wieku. Ed. Zbigniew Ogonowski. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1979.

Floria, B. N. (Boris). 'New Evidence on the 1630 Zaporozhian Cossack Uprising'. *HUS* 16, nos. 1–2 (June 1992): 167–73.

——. 'Novye svidetel'stva ob otnoshenii naseleniia Ukrainy k evreiam v pervoi polovine XVII veka (dokumenty)'. In *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vyp. 5, *Evreiskoe naselenie v Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope. Srednie veka—Novoe vremia*, ed. G. G. Litavrin *et al.*, pp. 136–8. Moscow, 1994.

Galiatovs'kyi, Ioanikii. *Mesia pravdyvyi, Isus Khrystos, syn Bozhii*. Kyiv, 1669.

Grabowski, Ambroży, ed. *Ojczyste spominki w pismach do dziejów dawnej Polski*. 2 vols. Cracow, 1845.

——. *Starożytności historyczne polskie, czyli pisma i pamiętniki do dziejów dawnej Polski*. 2 vols. Cracow, 1840.

Grondski (Grądzki), Samuel. *Historia belli Cosacco–Polonici*. Ed. Carolus Koppi. Pestini [Budapest], 1789.

Hanover, Nathan. *The Abyss of Despair (Yeven Metzulah)*. Trans. Abraham J. Mesch; foreword by William B. Helmreich. New Brunswick, N. J., and London, 1983. Russian translation: Solomon Mandel'kern. *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii. Letopis' evreia sovremennika Natana Ganovera*. Odesa, 1878.

Harasiewicz, Michael (Mykhailo Harasevych). *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*. Lviv, 1862.

Harasymchuk (Herasymchuk), Vasyl', comp. *Materialy do istorii kozachchyny XVII viku* (= L'vivs'ki istorychni pratsi. Dzherela, vyp. 1). Ed. Iaroslav Fedoruk. Lviv, 1994.

Heidenstein, Reinhold. *Rerum Polonicarum ab excessu Sigismundi Augusti libri XII*. Frankfurt am Main, 1672. Polish translation: Michał Gliszczyński. *Dzieje Polski od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do r. 1594*. 2 vols. St Petersburg, 1857.

Herbest, Benedykt. *Wypisanie drogi*. Addendum to idem, *Chrześcijańska porządna odpowidź*. Cracow, 1567. Repr.: *Historia literatury polskiej*, ed. Michał Wiszniewski, vol. 7, pp. 569–81. Cracow, 1845.

Hryhorij Hrabjanka's 'The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj'. Introduction by Yuri Lutsenko (= Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 9). Cambridge, Mass., 1990.

Hustynia Chronicle, see *Kroinika, kotoraia nachinaetsia ot potopu pervogo mira*.

Ioann Zlatoust (John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople). *Besĭdy na Dĭianiia Sviatykh Apostol*. Kyiv, 1624.

Ipat'evskaia letopis' (= *PSRL*, vol. 2). St Petersburg, 1843.

Jerlicz, Joachim (Ioakym Ierlych). *Latopisiec albo kroniczka Joachima Jerlicza*. Ed. Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1853.

Kahana, Nathan Neta. *Sefer She'elot u-teshuvot Divre renanah*. Ed. Itzhak Herskovitz. Brooklyn, N.Y., 1984.

Kalnofoyski, Athanasius (Atanasii Kal'nofois'kyi). *Teratourgēma lubo cuda, które były tak w samym świętocudotwornym Monastyru Pieczarskim Kiiowskim*. Kyiv, 1638. Excerpts in *Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva*, pp. 27–48. Kyiv, 1874; *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 478–504.

Kamanin, I. M. 'Materialy k Ocherku getmanstva P. Sagaidachnogo'. *ChIONL* 15 (1901): vyp. 3, pp. 123–77.

'Kievskaia letopis' (1241–1621)'. In *Sbornik letopisei otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rusi*, ed. V. B. Antonovich (Antonovych), pp. 71–92. Kyiv, 1888.

Kl'onovych, Sebast'ian Fabian (Sebastian Fabian Klonowic). *Roksolaniia. Poema*. Trans. Mykhailo Bilyk. Kyiv, 1987. Critical edition: *Roxol-ania/ Roksolania czyli ziemie Czerwonej Rusi*. Ed. and trans. Mieczysław Mejor. Wrocław, 1996.

Kochowski, Wespazjan. *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislai IV Climacter primus*. Cracow, 1683. *Climacter secundus*. Cracow, 1688. *Climacter tertius*. Cracow, 1698. Polish translation: *Historia panowania Jana Kazimierza*. Ed. Edward Raczyński. 2 vols. Poznań, 1840. 2nd edn. 3 vols. Poznań, 1859. *Lata Potopu, 1655–1657*. Warsaw, 1966.

Kojałowicz, Albertus (Wojciech Wijuk). *De rebus anno 1648 et 1649 contra Zaporovios cosacos gestis*. Vilnius, 1651.

——. *Miscellanea rerum ad statum ecclesiasticum in Magno Lithuaniae Ducatu pertinum*. Vilnius, 1650.

[Kojałowicz, Albertus]. *Rerum in Magno Ducatu Lithvaniae per tempus rebellionis Russicae gestarum commentarius*. Regiomonti (Königsberg), 1653. 2nd edn. Elbląg, 1655.

Kopystens'kyi, Zakhariia. *Palinodiia yly knyha oborony Kafolycheskoi Sviatoi Apostolskoi Vskhodnei Tserkvy y Sviatykh Patriarkhov*. In *RIB*, vol. 4, pp. 312–1199. St Petersburg, 1878. Repr. in *Lev Krevza's 'Obrona iednosci cerkiewney' and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's 'Palinodija'* (=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 3). Cambridge, Mass., 1987. English translation: *Lev Krevza's 'A Defence of Church Unity' and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's 'Palinodia'*. Texts. Translated with a foreword by Bohdan Strumiński (=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations, vol. 3, pt. 1). Cambridge, Mass., 1995.

Kossów, Sylwester (Syl'vestr Kosov). *Exegesis to iest danie sprawy o szkołach kiiowskich y winnickich w których uczą zakonnicy Religiey Graeckiey*. Kyiv, 1635. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 422–47.

——. *Paterikon abo Żywoty SS. Oyców Pieczarskich*. Kyiv, 1635. Excerpts in *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 448–72.

Krevsa, Leon (Lev Krevza). *Obrona iedności cerkiewney*. Vilnius, 1617. Repr. in *RIB*, vol. 4, pp. 156–311; *Lev Krevza's 'Obrona iednosci cerkiewney' and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's 'Palinodija'* (=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian

Literature, Texts, vol. 3). Cambridge, Mass., 1987. English translation: *Lev Krevza's 'A Defence of Church Unity' and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's 'Palinodia'.*

Kroinika, kotoraia nachinaetsia ot potopu pervogo mira (=*Hustynia Chronicle*). In *PSRL*, vol. 2, pp. 233–373. St Petersburg, 1843. Excerpts in *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII stolittia*, ed. O. V. Myshanych, pp. 146–66. Kyiv, 1987.

Kryp"iakevych, Ivan. 'Novi materiialy do istoriï soboriv 1629 r.' *ZNTSh* 116 (1913): 5–39.

Kulish, P. A., ed. *Materialy dlia istorii vossoedineniia Rusi.* Vol. 1. Moscow, 1877.

Kuszewicz, Samuel Kazimierz (Samiilo Kushevych). 'Arma Cosacica'. *Zherela* (Lviv) 6 (1913): 2–104.

——. 'Shist' lystiv Kushevycha z 1648 r. pro suchasni podiï'. *Zherela* (Lviv) 6 (1913): 107–22. Ukrainian translation: 'Lysty zi L'vova', *Zhovten'* (Lviv, 1980), no. 1: 119–27; 2: 130–6; 3: 99–106; 4: 117–27.

Lassota von Steblau, Erich. *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau.* Ed. R. Schottin. Halle, 1866. English translation: *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks: The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau, 1594.* Ed. Lubomyr R. Wynar. Trans. Orest Subtelny. Littleton, Colo., 1975.

'Letopis' monastyria Gustinskogo'. *ChOIDR* 8 (1848): bk. 4, Materialy otechestvennye, pp. 1–38.

Lewin, Paulina, and Frank Sysyn, eds. 'The *Antimaxia* of 1632 and the Polemic over Uniate-Orthodox Relations'. *HUS* 9, nos. 1–2 (June 1985): 145–65.

List do zakonników monastera cerkwie ś. Ducha Wileńskiego. Vilnius, 1621. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 732–61.

Listy księcia Jerzego Zbaraskiego, kasztelana krakowskiego, z lat 1621–1631. In *SRP* 5: 1–171. Cracow, 1880. Also separately.

Listy Stanisława Żółkiewskiego. Ed. T. X-że L. [Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski]. Cracow, 1868.

Litopys Samovydtsia. Ed. Ia. I. Dzyra. Kyiv, 1971.

Memuary, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi Rusi. Ed. V. B. Antonovich (Antonovych). Trans. E. Mel'nik (Mel'nyk). 2 vyps. Kyiv, 1890–6.

Michalon Lituanus. *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituanorum et Moschorum fragmina X. multiplici historia referta.* Basel, 1615. Russian translation: Mikhalon Litvin. *O nravakh tatar, litovtsev i moskvitian*. Moscow, 1994.

Michałowski, Jakub. *Jakuba Michałowskiego, wojskiego lubelskiego a później kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza (1647–1655)*. Ed. Antoni Zygmunt Helcel. Cracow, 1864.

[Mohyla, Petro]. *Evkholohion albo Molytvoslov yly Trebnyk imïiai v sebïtserkovnaia razlychnaia poslïdovaniia iereiom podobaiushchaia*. Kyiv, 1646. Repr. Rome, 1988; Canberra, Munich, and Paris, 1988.

——. *Lithos, abo kamień z procy prawdy Cerkwie Świętey Prawosławney Ruskiey . . . przez pokornego ojca Euzebia Pimina*. Kyiv, 1644. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1893): pt. 1, vol. 9, pp. 1–446.

[Mohyla, Petro, and Isaia Trofymovych-Kozlovs'kyi]. *S"branie korotkoy nauky o artykulakh vïry pravoslavno-kafolycheskoy*. Kyiv, 1645; 2nd edn. Lviv, 1646. Russian edn.: Moscow, 1649. English translation: Ronald Peter Popivchak.

Peter Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47): Translation and Evaluation of His 'Orthodox Confession of Faith' (*1640*). Washington, D.C., 1975.

Mużyłowski, Andrzej (Andrii Muzhylovs'kyi). *Antidotum, przezacnemu narodowi Ruskiemu*. Vilnius, 1629.

Mytsyk, Iu. A. (Iurii). 'Buremnyi 1648 rik (dobirka neopublikovanykh dzherel)'. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 277–318. Kyiv, 1998.

——. 'Dva lysty het'mana Nerody (Borodavky)'. In *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu Iaroslava Dashkevycha z nahody ioho 70-richchia*, ed. Ihor Hyrych *et al.*, pp. 435–42. Lviv, Kyiv, and New York, 1996.

——. 'Dva publitsystychni traktaty pro prychyny Natsional'no-Vyzvol'noï viiny ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII st.' *UIZh*, no. 6 (1999): 122–35.

——. 'Iz lystuvannia ukraïns'kykh pys'mennykiv-polemistiv 1621–1624 rokiv'. *ZNTSh* 225 (1993): 310–47.

——. 'Kil'ka dokumentiv do istoriï kozats'ko-tatars'koho soiuzu 1625 roku ta pravoslavnoï tserkvy v Ukraïni'. In *Rukopysna ta knyzhkova spadshchyna Ukraïny*, vyp. 4, pp. 139–46. Kyiv, 1998.

——. 'Novi dani do biohrafiï Petra Konashevycha (Sahaidachnoho)'. In *Prosphonema. Istorychni ta filolohichni rozvidky, prysviacheni 60-richchiu akademika Iaroslava Isaievycha*, ed. Bohdan Iakymovych *et al.*, pp. 413–29. Lviv, 1998.

——. 'Z novykh dokumentiv do istoriï mizhkonfesiinykh vidnosyn u XVII–XVIII st.' In *Dnipropetrovs'kyi istoryko-arkheohrafichnyi zbirnyk* (Dnipropetrovsk), no. 1, *Na poshanu profesora Mykoly Pavlovycha Koval's'koho* (1997): 134–45.

Niemcewicz, Julian Ursyn, ed. *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce z rękopisów, tudzież dzieł w różnych językach o Polsce wydanych, oraz z listami oryginalnymi królów i znakomitych ludzi w kraju naszym*. 5 vols. 2nd edn. Leipzig, 1839–40.

Okolski, Szymon. *Dyaryusz transakcyi wojennej między wojskiem koronnem i zaporoskiem w r. 1637*. Zamość, 1638. Repr.: Ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski. Cracow, 1859.

——. *Kontynuacya dyaryusza wojennego*. Cracow, 1639. Repr.: Ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski. Cracow, 1859.

The Ostroh Bible, 1581. Winnipeg, 1983.

Ostroz'kyi (Suraz'kyi), Vasyl'. [*Knyzhytsia*]. Ostrih, 1588. Repr.: 'O edinoi vere. Sochinenie ostrozhskogo sviashchennika Vasiliia 1588 goda'. In *RIB*, vol. 7, cols. 600–938. St Petersburg, 1882.

Oświęcim, Stanisław. *Diariusz 1643–1651* (= *SRP*, vol. 19). Ed. Wiktor Czermak. Cracow, 1907. Russian translation: V. B. Antonovich (Antonovych). 'Otryvki iz dnevnika Stanislava Osventsima, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi Rusi'. *KS* 1 (1882): no. 1, pp. 125–51; no. 2, pp. 366–85; no. 5, pp. 257–75; no. 6, pp. 433–50; no. 9, pp. 503–22; no. 11, pp. 328–48; no. 12, pp. 538–56. Also separately: Kyiv, 1883.

Pamiatniki, izdannye Kievskoi komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov (= *PKK*). 3 vols. Kyiv, 1897–8.

Pamiętniki do panowania Zygmunta III, Władysława IV i Jana Kazimierza. Ed. Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1846.

Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej r. 1621 Jana hrabi z Ostroroga, Prokopa Zbigniewskiego, Stanisława Lubomirskiego i Jakuba Sobieskiego. Comp. Żegota Pauli. Cracow, 1853.

Pastorius, Joachim. *Bellum scythico-cosacicum seu de coniuratione Tartarorum, Cosacorum et plebis Rusicae contra Regnum Poloniae*. Gdańsk, 1652.

——. *Historiae Polonae pars prior.* Gdańsk, 1680.

[Pastorius, Joachim]. 'Relatio gloriosissimae expeditionis'. In *DOV*, pp. 288–308.

Pateryk yly otechnyk pecherskyi. Kyiv, 1661. Critical edition: *Kyievo-Pechers'kyi Pateryk*. Ed. D. I. Abramovych. Kyiv, 1930. English translation: *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery* (= Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations, vol. 1). Trans. Muriel Heppel. Cambridge, Mass., 1989. Ukrainian translation: *Pateryk Kyievo-Pechers'kyi*. Ed. Iryna Zhylenko. Kyiv, 1998.

Paul of Aleppo. *Puteshestvie Antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makariia v Rossiiu v polovine XVII veka, opisannoe ego synom, arkhidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim.* Trans. G. A. Murkos. 5 vyps. Moscow, 1896–1900. Excerpts in Ukrainian translation: Pavlo Khalebs'kyi, 'Z podorozhnikh zapysok', *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 4 (1995): 45–52.

——. *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo*. Ed. and trans. Maria Kowalska. Warsaw, 1986.

Petrushevich, Antonii. *Dopolneniia k svodnoi Galitsko-Russkoi letopisi s 1600 po 1700 god*. Lviv, 1891.

Piasecki, Paweł. *Chronica gestorum in Europa singularium*. Cracow, 1645; 2nd edn. Cracow, 1646; 3rd edn. Cracow, 1648. Polish translation: *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego, biskupa przemyślskiego*. Ed. Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki. Cracow, 1870.

Pierling, Paul. 'Novi izvori o L. Komuloviću'. *Starine* 16 (1884): 209–41.

——. and Franjo Rački. 'L. Komulovića izvještaj i listovi o poslanstvu njegovu u Tursku, Erdelj, Moldavsku i Poljsku'. *Starine* 14 (1882): 83–124.

Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy, 1648–1668: publicystyka, eksorbitancje, projekty, memoriały. Vol. 1, *1648–1660*. Ed. Stefania Ochmann-Staniszewska. Wrocław, 1989.

Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego. Ed. August Bielowski. Lviv, 1861.

Pochas'kyi, Sofronii. *Eucharistērion albo vdiachnost' Iasneprevelebnïishomu v Khrystï Eho Mylosty Hospodynu Ottsu kyr Petru Mohylï*. Kyiv, 1632. Repr. in: S. T. Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, 1: 46–72. Kyiv, 1888; Kh. I. Tytov, *Materiialy dlia istorii knyzhnoï spravy na Vkraïni v XVI–XVIII vv. Vsezbirka peredmov do ukraïns'kykh starodrukiv*, pp. 291–305. Kyiv, 1924; *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, ed. O. V. Myshanych, pp. 239–56. Kyiv, 1987; *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna)*, comp. V. V. Iaremenko, pp. 221–50. Kyiv, 1988; *Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII st.*, comp. V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma, pp. 174–88. Kyiv, 1992; Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla*, 2nd edn., pp. 230–45. Kyiv, 1997. Facsimile edition: *HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 (December 1984): 251–88.

Possevino, Antonio. 'The *Missio Moscovitica*'. Trans. with an introduction by Hugh F. Graham. *Canadian–American Slavic Studies* 6 (1972): 437–77.

——. *The 'Moscovia' of Antonio Possevino, S. J.* Trans. with an introduction by Hugh F. Graham (=UCIS Series in Russian and East European Studies, no. 1). Pittsburgh, 1977.

Pravda pro uniiu. Dokumenty i materialy. Ed. V. Iu. Malanchuk *et al.* 2nd edn. Lviv, 1968.

Radziwiłł, Albrycht Stanisław. *Memoriale rerum gestarum in Polonia, 1632–1656*. Ed. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski. 5 vols. Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1968–75. Polish translation: *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*. Trans. and ed. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski. 3 vols. Warsaw, 1980.

Reiestr Viis'ka Zaporoz'koho 1649 roku. Transliteratsiia tekstu. Comp. O. V. Todiichuk *et al.* Kyiv, 1995.

'Relacja Sahajdacznego z wyprawy na Moskwę w r. 1618'. *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 8 (1935): 117–19.

Relacje nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do roku 1690. Comp. Jan Chrzciciel Albertrandy. Ed. Erazm Rykaczewski. 2 vols. Berlin and Poznań, 1864.

Riedlmayer, András, and Victor Ostapchuk. 'Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Porte: A Document from the Ottoman Archives'. *HUS* 8, nos. 3–4 (December 1984): 453–73.

Roksolański Parnas. Polskojęzyczna poezja ukraińska od końca XVI do początku XVIII wieku. Part 2, *Antologia*. Ed. Rostysław Radyszewśkyj. Cracow, 1998.

Russian Statecraft: The 'Politika' of Iurii Krizhanich. Ed. John M. Letiche and Basil Dmytryshyn. Oxford and New York, 1985.

Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka, izdavaemaia Arkheograficheskoi komissiei (= *RIB*). 39 vols. St Petersburg (Petrograd, Leningrad), 1872–1927.

Ruszel, Paweł. *Fawor niebieski . . . miastu Lublinowi czasu gwałtownego niebiezpieczeństwa od swawolnych Kozaków cudownym sposobem roku 1648 die 10 Novembr od Boga pokazany*. Lublin, 1648.

[Ruts'kyi, Iosyf Veliamyn]. *Examen Obrony, To jest Odpis na Skrypt Obrony Werifikatij nazwany*. Vilnius, 1621. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 1, vol. 8, pp. 562–96.

——. *Sowita wina. To jest Odpis na skrypt, Maiestat Krola Iego Mości honor y reputatią Ludzi Zacnych Duchownych y Świeckich obrażający nazwany, Verificatia Niewinności*. Vilnius, 1621. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1887): pt. 1, vol. 7, pp. 443–510.

Sakowicz, Kasjan (Kasiian Sakovych). *Epanorthōsis albo Perspectiwa y obiaśnienie błędów, herezyey y zabobonów w Greko–Ruskiey Cerkwi Disunitskiey*. Cracow, 1642.

——. *Sobór kijowski schyzmatycki przez ojca Piotra Mohiłę złożony i odprawowany*. Cracow, 1641; 2nd edn. Cracow, 1642. Repr. in *RIB*, vol. 4, pp. 21–48. St Petersburg, 1878.

——. *Vīrshī na zhalosnyi pohreb Zatsnoho Rytsera Petra Konashevycha Sahaidachnoho, Hetmana Voiska Eho Korolevskoi Mylosty Zaporozkoho*. Kyiv, 1622. Repr. in S. T. Golubev, *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, vol. 1, pp. 17–40. Kyiv, 1888; *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st.*, ed. O. V. Myshanych, pp. 220–38. Kyiv, 1987; *Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna)*, comp. V. V. Iaremenko, pp. 160–83. Kyiv, 1988.

Sbornik letopisei, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rusi. Ed. V. B. Antonovich (Antonovych). Kyiv, 1888.

Sinopsis. Kiev 1681. Facsimile mit einer Einleitung (=Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven, vol. 17). Ed. Hans Rothe. Köln, Vienna, and Bohlau, 1983.

Skarga, Piotr. *O iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym Pasterzem. Y o Greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu*. Vilnius, 1577; 2nd edn. *O rządzie i iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem y o greckim y ruskim od tey iedności odstąpieniu*. Cracow, 1590. Repr. in *RIB*, vol. 7, cols. 223–526. St Petersburg, 1882.

Slavynets'kyi, Iepifanii, and Arsenii Korets'kyi-Satanovs'kyi. *Leksykon latyns'kyi Ie. Slavynets'koho. Leksykon sloveno-latyns'kyi Ie. Slavynets'koho ta A. Korets'koho-Satanovs'koho*. Ed. V. V. Nimchuk. Kyiv, 1973.

Smotryts'kyi, Herasym. *Kliuch tsarstva nebesnoho*. (Includes *Kalendar' ryms'kyi novyi*). Ostrih, 1587. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1887): pt. 1, vol. 7, pp. 232–65.

Smotryts'kyi, Meletii. *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1). Cambridge, Mass., 1987.

——. *The 'Jevanhelije učytelnoje' of Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 2). Cambridge, Mass., 1987.

Sobieski, Jakub. *Commentarium Chotinensis belli libri tres*. Gdańsk, 1646. Polish translation: *Pamiętnik wojny chocimskiej*. Ed. Władysław Syrokomla. St Petersburg, 1854.

Sofonovych, Feodosii. *Khronika z litopystsiv starodavnikh*. Ed. Iurii Mytsyk and Volodymyr Kravchenko. Kyiv, 1992.

Starowolski, Szymon. *Eques Polonus*. Venice, 1628.

——. *Sarmatiae bellatores*. Köln, 1631. Polish translation: *Szymona Starowolskiego Wojownicy sarmaccy*. Trans., notes, and introduction by Jerzy Starnawski. Warsaw, 1978.

——. *Wybór z pism*. Ed. Ignacy Lewandowski. Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1991.

Stryjkowski, Maciej. *Która przedtym nigdy światła nie widziała, Kronika polska, litewska, zmodzka i wszystkiej Rusi*. Königsberg, 1582. Repr.: Ed. Mikołaj Malinowski. 2 vols. Warsaw, 1846.

Supplementum Synopsis. Vilnius, 1632. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1887): pt. 1, vol. 7, pp. 577–649.

Susza, Jakub (Iakiv Susha). *Cursus vitae et certamen martyrii B. Iosaphat Kuncevicii, Archiepiscopi Polocensis Episcopi Vitepscensis et Miscislauiensis*. Rome, 1665. Repr.: Ed. Jean Martinov. Paris, 1865.

——. *Saulus et Paulus Ruthenae Ecclesiae sanguine B. Josaphat transformatus*. Rome, 1666. Repr. Brussels, 1864. Ukrainian translation: *Zhyttia Meletiia Smotryts'koho, arkhyiepyskopa hiierapil's'koho, arkhymandryta dermans'koho, chynu sv. Vasyliia Velykoho*. Trans. Fr. Bohdan Kurylas. Biblioteka 'Logosu', no. 35. Yorkton, 1965.

Synopsis, albo krótkie spisanie praw, przywileiów, świebod y wolności. Vilnius, 1632. Repr. in *AIuZR* (1887): pt. 1, vol. 7, pp. 532–76.

Sysyn, Frank. 'A Speech before the Tsar: Adam Kysil's Oration on August 28,

1647 (N.S.)'. In *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel *et al.*, pp. 133–42. Warsaw, 1993.

Theiner, Augustinus, ed. *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*. 4 vols. Rome, 1860–4.

Tikhonravov, N. S., ed. *Letopisi russkoi literatury i drevnosti*. Vol. 2. Moscow, 1859.

Tomashivs'kyi, Stepan. 'Materiialy do istoriï Khmel'nychchyny'. *ZNTSh* 16 (1896): 1–14. Also separately.

Turgenev, A. I., ed. *Akty istoricheskie, otnosiashchiesia k Rossii, izvlechennye iz inostrannykh arkhivov i bibliotek* (= *AI*, 2 vols.) (= *Historica Russiae Monumenta*). St Petersburg, 1841–2.

Twardowski, Samuel. *Wojna domowa z Kozaki i Tatary, Moskwą potym Szwedami i z Węgry*. Kalisz, 1681.

Ukrainian Dumy. Editio Minor: Original Texts. Trans. George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina; introduction by Natalie K. Moyle. Toronto and Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

Ukraïns'ka literatura XIV–XVI st. Apokryfy. Ahiohrafiia. Palomnyts'ki tvory. Istoriohrafichni tvory. Polemichni tvory. Perekladni povisti. Poetychni tvory. Ed. V. L. Mykytas'. Kyiv, 1988.

Ukraïns'ka literatura XVII st. Synkretychna pysemnist'. Poeziia. Dramaturhiia. Beletrystyka. Ed. O. V. Myshanych, comp. V. I. Krekoten'. Kyiv, 1987.

Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st. Poetychni tvory. Dramatychni tvory. Prozovi tvory. Ed. V. I. Krekoten', comp. O. V. Myshanych. Kyiv, 1983.

Ukraïns'ka poeziia: kinets' XVI—pochatok XVII stolittia. Comp. V. P. Kolosova and V. I. Krekoten'. Kyiv, 1978.

Ukraïns'ka poeziia. Seredyna XVII stolittia. Comp. V. I. Krekoten' and M. M. Sulyma. Kyiv, 1992.

Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVI stolittia. Comp. V. V. Iaremenko. Kyiv, 1987.

Ukraïns'ka poeziia XVII stolittia (persha polovyna). Antolohiia. Comp. V. V. Iaremenko. Kyiv, 1988.

Ukraïns'ki humanisty epokhy Vidrodzhennia. Antolohiia. Ed. O. Kh. Moroz. 2 vols. Kyiv, 1995.

Universaly Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho, 1648–1657. Comp. Ivan Kryp"iakevych and Ivan Butych. Ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.* Kyiv, 1998.

Velychko, Samiilo. *Litopys*. Trans. Valerii Shevchuk. Kyiv, 1991.

Vigenère, Blaise de. *La description du Royaume de Pologne, et pays adiacens; avec les statuts, constitutions, moeurs, et façons de faire d'iceux*. Paris, 1573. Russian translation: E. Mel'nik, 'Izvlecheniia iz zapisok Bleza de Vizhener', *Memuary*, vyp. 1, pp. 59–88. Kyiv, 1890.

Vimina, Alberto. *Relazione dell'origine e dei costumi dei cosacchi, fatta l'anno 1656 da Alberto Vimina, Ambasciatore della Repubblica di Venezia*. Ed. G. Ferraro. Reggio nell'Emilia, 1890. Russian translation: N. V. Molchanovskii. 'Donesenie venetsiantsa Al'berto Vimina o kazakakh i B. Khmel'nitskom', *KS* 19 (1900): no. 1, pp. 62–75. Ukrainian translation (from another manuscript): Kseniia Konstantynenko, 'Reliatsiia pro pokhodzhennia ta zvychaï kozakiv', *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 5 (1999): 64–9.

Volumina legum. Przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów w Warszawie od r. 1732 do r. 1782. 10 vols. St Petersburg, Cracow, and Poznań, 1859–1952.

'Volynskaia kratkaia letopis''. In *PSRL* (= vol. 35, *Letopisi belorussko-litovskie*), pp. 118–27. Moscow, 1980.

Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei. Dokumenty i materialy (= *VUR*). Ed. P. P. Gudzenko *et al.* 3 vols. Moscow, 1954.

Vosstanie Ivana Bolotnikova. Dokumenty i materialy. Comp. A. I. Kopanev and A. G. Man'kov. Moscow, 1959.

Welykyj, Athanasius (Atanasii Velykyi), ed. *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantia*. 4 vols. Rome, 1953–5.

——. *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*. 2 vols. Rome, 1953–4.

——. *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590–1600)*. Rome, 1970.

——. *Epistolae Metropolitarum Kioviensium R. Korsak, A. Sieliava, G. Kolenda (1637–1674)*. Rome, 1956.

——. *Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes*. 13 vols. Rome, 1959–69.

——. *S. Josaphat Hieromartyr documenta Romana beatificationis et canonizationis* (= *Analecta OSBM*, series 2, section 3, Documenta Romana Ecclesiae Catholicae in Terris Ucrainae et Bielarusjae). 3 vols. Rome, 1952–67.

——. and Teodosii Halushchyns'kyi, ed. *Epistolae Josephi Velamin Rutskyj Metropolitae Kioviensis Catholici (1613–1637)*. Rome, 1956.

Wereszczyński, Józef. *Droga pewna do prędszego y snadnieyszego osadzenia w Ruskich krainach pustyń Królestwa Polskiego, jako też względem drożnieyszey obrony wszystkiego ukrainnego położenia od nieprzyiaciół Krzyża Świętego*. Cracow, 1590. Russian translation: A. V. Storozhenko, 'Starinnyi proekt zaseleniia Ukrainy (1590 g.). Perevod s pol'skogo s predisloviem A. S.' *KS* 14 (1895): no. 3, pp. 295–341.

——. *Pobudka* (Cracow, 1594). Repr. in *Roksolański Parnas. Polskojęzyczna poezja ukraińska od końca XVI do początku XVIII wieku*. Part 2, *Antologia*, pp. 36–46. Ed. Rostysław Radyszewśkyj. Cracow, 1998.

——. *Publika . . . tak z strony fundowania szkoły rycerskiej synom koronnym na Ukrainie, jako też Krzyżakom według reguły maltańskiej*. Cracow, 1594. Repr. Józef Wereszyński. *Pisma polityczne*. Ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski. Cracow, 1858.

Wielewicki, Jan. *Historici diarii domus professae Societatis Jesu Cracoviensis* (= *SRP*, vols. 7, 10, 14, 17). 4 vols. Cracow, 1881–9.

Zaborovskii, Lev, ed. *Katoliki, pravoslavnye, uniaty. Problemy religii v russko-pol'skikh otnosheniiakh kontsa 40-kh—80-kh gg. XVII veka*. Vol. 1, *Istochniki vremeni getmanstva B. M. Khmel'nitskogo*. Moscow, 1998.

Zherela do istorii Ukraïny–Rusy. 16 vols. Lviv, 1895–1924.

Zhukovich, P. N. 'Materialy dlia istorii Kievskogo i L'vovskogo soborov (1629 g.)'. *Zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo otdeleniia Imperatorskoi akademii nauk* 8, no. 15 (1911): 1–26.

——. 'Protestatsiia mitropolita Iova Boretskogo i drugikh zapadno-russkikh

ierarkhov, sostavlennaia 28 aprelia 1621 goda'. *Stat'i po slavianovedeniiu*, ed. V. I. Lamanskii, vyp. 3, pp. 135–53. St Petersburg, 1910.

Źródła do dziejów polskich. Vol. 1. Ed. Michał Grabowski and Aleksander Przeździecki. Vol. 2. Ed. Mikołaj Malinowski and Aleksander Przeździecki. Vilnius, 1843–44.

Źródła dziejowe. Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, Wydział 2: Nauk antropologicznych, społecznych, historii i filozofii. Komisja historyczna. 24 vols. Warsaw, 1876–1915.

Zyzanii, Lavrentii. *Leksys Lavrentiia Zyzaniia. Synonima slavenorosskaia*. Ed. V. V. Nimchuk. Kyiv, 1964.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

Abrahamowicz, Zygmunt. 'Comments on Three Letters by Khan Islam Gerey III to the Porte (1651)'. *HUS* 14, nos. 1–2 (June 1990): 132–43.

Allen, J. W. *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*. London and New York, 1961.

Ammann, Albert M. *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte*. Vienna, 1950.

Andrusiak, Mykola. *Istoriia kozachchyny (Kurs vykladiv)*. Vol. 1. Munich, 1946.

——. 'Sprawa patriarchatu kijowskiego za Władysława IV'. *Prace historyczne w 30-lecie działalności profesorskiej Stanisława Zakrewskiego*, pp. 269–85. Lviv, 1934.

Antonovich, V. B. (V. B. Antonovych). *Monografii po istorii Zapadnoi i Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*. Vol. 1. Kyiv, 1885.

——. 'Soderzhanie aktov o kazakakh. Issledovanie o kazachestve po aktam s 1500 po 1648 g.' *AIuZR* (1863): pt. 3, vol. 1, pp. 1–120.

Antonovych, Mykhailo. 'Pereiaslavs'ka kampaniia 1630 r.' *Pratsi Ukraïns'koho istorychno-filolohichnoho tovarystva v Prazi* 5 (1943): 5–41.

Antonow, Michał. 'Rola Stanisława Koniecpolskiego w przygotowaniu komisji kurukowskiej'. In *Prace historyczne wydane ku uczczeniu 50-lecia Akademickiego koła historyków Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza 1878–1928*, pp. 265–79. Lviv, 1929.

Anusik, Zbigniew. 'Struktura społeczna szlachty bracławskiej w świetle taryfu podymnego z 1629 roku'. *Przegląd Historyczny* 76, no. 2 (1985): 233–53.

Apanovych, Olena. *Ukraïns'ko-rosiis'kyi dohovir 1654 r. Mify i real'nist'*. Kyiv, 1994.

Auerbach, Inge. 'Identity in Exile: Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbskii and National Consciousness in the Sixteenth Century'. In *Culture and Identity in Muscovy, 1359–1584*, ed. A. M. Kleimola and G. D. Lenhoff, pp. 11–25. Moscow, 1997.

Banac, Ivo, and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., with the assistance of Uliana M. Pasicznyk. *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe* = *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986).

Bantysh–Kamenskii, N. N. *Istoricheskoe izvestie o vozniknshei v Pol'she unii, s pokazaniem nachala i vazhneishikh, v prodolzhenie onoi cherez dva veka,*

prikliuchenii, pache zhe o byvshem ot rimlian i uniatov na blagochestivykh tamoshnikh zhitelei gonenii. Moscow, 1805; 2nd edn. Vilnius, 1864.

Baran, Alexander (Oleksander Baran) and George Gajecky. *The Cossacks in the Thirty Years War* (= *Analecta OSBM*, section 1, vols. 24, 42). 2 vols. Rome, 1969–83.

Baran, Oleksander. 'Kozaky pid frantsuz'kym praporom v kuruts'kim povstanni'. *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 10, nos. 37–8 (1973): 107–11.

Baranovich, A. I. (O. I. Baranovych). 'Naselenie predstepnoi Ukrainy v XVI v.' *Istoricheskie zapiski* (Moscow) 32 (1950): 198–232.

——. *Ukraina nakanune osvoboditel'noi voiny serediny XVII veka (Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskie predposylki voiny)*. Moscow, 1959.

Baranowski, Bohdan. *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624–1629*. Łódź, 1948.

Bardach, Juliusz, Bogusław Leśnodorski, and Michał Pietrzak. *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*. Warsaw, 1979.

Baron, Salo Wittmayer. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion (1200–1650)*. Vol. 16, *Poland–Lithuania, 1500–1650*. New York and Philadelphia, 1976.

Barrett, Thomas M. *At the Edge of Empire: The Terek Cossacks and the North Caucasus Frontier, 1700–1860*. Boulder, Colo., 1999.

Barvins'kyi, Evhen. 'Prychynky do istoriï znosyn tsisaria Rudol'fa II i papy Klymentiia VIII z kozakamy r. 1593 i 1594'. *ZNTSh* 10 (1896): 1–34.

Basarab, John. *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study*. Edmonton, 1982.

Bednov, V. A. (Vasyl' Bidnov). *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve po 'Volumina Legum'*. Ekaterinoslav, 1908.

Belkin Stevens, Carol. *Soldiers on the Steppe: Army Reform and Social Change in Early Modern Russia*. DeKalb, Ill., 1995.

Bendza, Marian. 'Władysław IV a Kościół Prawosławny'. *Rocznik teologiczny Chrześcijańskiej Akademii Teologicznej* 20, no. 2 (1978): 27–77.

Bercé, Yves-Marie. *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: An Essay on the History of Political Violence*. Manchester, 1987.

Berindei, Mihnea. 'La Porte Ottomane face aux Cosaques Zaporogues, 1600–1637'. *HUS* 1, no. 3 (September 1977): 273–307.

Bibliografia literatury polskiej 'Nowy Korbut'. Piśmiennictwo staropolskie. Ed. Roman Pollak *et al.* 3 vols. Warsaw, 1963–5.

Biedrzycka, Agnieszka, and Janusz Kaczmarczyk. 'Kozacy zaporoscy w wojnie chocimskiej 1621 roku'. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 62–80. Kyiv, 1998.

Bieńkowski, Ludomir. 'Organizacja Kościoła Wschodniego w Polsce'. In *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski. 2 vols. Vol. 2, pp. 733–1050. [Cracow], 1969.

Black, Jeremy A. *A Military Revolution? Military Change and European Society, 1500–1800*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J., and Basingstoke, 1991.

Blažejowskyj, Dmytro. *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576–1983)*. Rome, 1984.

Boiko, I. D. *Selianstvo Ukraïny v druhii polovyni XVI—pershii polovyni XVII st.* Kyiv, 1963.

Boniecki, Adam. *Herbarz polski*. Pt. 1, *Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*. 16 vols. Warsaw, 1899–1913.

Boratyński, Ludwik. 'Kozacy i Watykan. Kartka z dziejów dyplomacji kozackiej za Stefana Batorego'. *Przegląd Polski* (October 1906): 21–40.

——. 'Studia nad nunciaturą polską Bologniettiego (1581–85)'. *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filologiczny* (Cracow) 49 (1907): 53–106.

Borovoi, S. Ia. 'Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia voina ukrainskogo naroda protiv pol'skogo vladychestva i evreiskoe naselenie Ukrainy'. *Istoricheskie zapiski* (Moscow) 9 (1940): 81–124.

Borshchak, Il'ko (Élie Borschak). 'Roky 1650 i 1651 na Ukraïni po "Frantsuz'kii hazeti"'. *Litopys polityky, pys'menstva i mystetstva* (Berlin) 2, nos. 15–16 (1924): 234–6.

——. 'Ukraïns'ki spravy 1649 r. po "Frantsuz'kii hazeti"'. *Litopys polityky, pys'menstva i mystetstva* (Berlin) 1, no. 6 (1924): 90.

Braudel, Fernand. *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*. Vol. 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*. Translation from the French revised by Siân Reynolds. New York, 1979.

Brekhunenko, Viktor. *Stosunky ukraïns'koho kozatstva z Donom u XVI—seredyni XVII st.* Kyiv and Zaporizhia, 1998.

Buchyns'kyi, Bohdan. 'Pochatky politychnoï kar"iery Ostafiia Dashkovycha'. *ZNTSh* 113 (1913): 23–43.

Budovnits, I. U. *Russkaia publitsistika XVII veka*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1947.

Buganov, V. I. *Krest'ianskie voiny v Rossii XVII–XVIII vv.* Moscow, 1976.

Bushkovitch, Paul. 'The Formation of a National Consciousness in Early Modern Russia'. *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 355–76.

——. *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York and Oxford, 1992.

Caccamo, Domenico. 'Alberto Vimina in Ucraina e nelle "Parti settentrionali": Diplomazia e cultura nel seicento veneto'. *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986): 233–83.

Cameron, Euan. *The European Reformation*. Oxford and New York, 1991.

Carynnyk-Sinclair, Natala. *Die Unterstellung der Kiever Metropolie unter das Moskauer Patriarchat*. Munich, 1970.

Cazacu, Matei. 'À propos de l'expansion lituanienne au nord de la Mer Noire aux XIVe–XVIe siècles: Czarnigrad, la "cité noire" de l'embouchure du Dniestr'. In *Passé turco-tatar, présent soviétique: Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, ed. Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, pp. 99–123. Louvain and Paris, 1986.

Cherepnin, L. V. *Zemskie sobory Russkogo gosudarstva v XVI–XVII vv.* Moscow, 1978.

Cherniavsky, Michael. *Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths*. New York, 1969.

Chistovich, I. A. *Ocherk istorii zapadno-russkoi tserkvi*. 2 vols. St Petersburg, 1882–4.

Chodynicki, Kazimierz. *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska. Zarys historyczny, 1370–1632*. Warsaw, 1934.

Chubatyi, Mykola. 'Pro pravne stanovyshche tserkvy v kozats'kii derzhavi'. *Bohosloviia* (Lviv) 3 (1925): 156–87.

Chynczewska-Hennel, Teresa. 'The National Consciousness of Ukrainian Nobles and Cossacks from the End of the Sixteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century'. *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 377–92.

——. 'Ostrogski, Konstanty Wasyl, książe (ok. 1526–1608)'. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, fasc. 3 (1979): 489–95.

——. *Świadomość narodowa kozaczyzny i szlachty ukraińskiej w XVII wieku*. Warsaw, 1985.

——. and Piotr Salwa. 'Alberta Viminy Relacja o pochodzeniu i zwyczajach Kozaków'. *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 30 (1985): 207–22.

Cynarski, Stanisław. 'Sarmatyzm—ideologia i styl życia'. In *Polska XVII wieku: państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. Janusz Tazbir, pp. 22–43. Warsaw, 1979.

Čyževs'kyj, Dmytro. *A History of Ukrainian Literature: From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century*. Littleton, Colo., 1975.

Czech, Mirosław. 'Świadomość historyczna Ukraińców pierwszej połowy XVII w. w świetle ówczesnej literatury polemicznej'. *Slavia Orientalis* 38, nos. 3–4 (1989): 563–84.

Czermak, Wiktor. *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV*. Cracow, 1895.

——. 'Polska wobec wyniku wojny 30-letnej'. In id., *Studia historyczne*, pp. 233–48. Cracow, 1901.

——. 'Wojna Smoleńska z r. 1633–34 w świetle nowych źródeł'. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10 (1896): 733–55.

Częścik, Łucja. *Sejm warszawski w 1649/1650 roku*. Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdańsk, 1978.

Czołowski, Aleksander. *Kudak, przyczynki do założenia i upadku twierdzy*. Lviv, 1926.

Dashkevych, Iaroslav. 'Rodynnyi klan Khmel'nyts'kykh'. *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 4 (1995): 95–101.

——. 'Ukraïns'ko-irans'ki perehovory naperedodni Khotyns'koï viiny'. *UIZh*, no. 9 (1971): 124–31.

Dmitriev, M. V. (Mikhail). 'Kontseptsiï uniï v tserkovnykh i derzhavnykh kolakh Rechi Pospolytoï kintsia XVI st.' In *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koï uniï i pershe pouniine pokolinnia*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 39–73. Lviv, 1995.

——. 'Posol'stvo Ipatiia Potiia i Kirilla Terletskogo v Rim v 1595–1596 gg.'. *Slavianovedenie* (Moscow), no. 2 (1996): 3–21.

——. *Pravoslavie i reformatsiia. Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v vostochnoslavianskikh zemliakh Rechi Pospolitoi vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka*. Moscow, 1990.

——. 'The Religious Programme of the Union of Brest in the Context of the Counter-Reformation in Eastern Europe'. *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (summer–winter 1992): 29–44.

——. B. N. Floria, and S. G. Iakovenko. *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorussii v kontse XVI—nachale XVII v.* Pt. 1, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. Istoricheskie prichiny*. Moscow, 1996.

——. L. V. Zaborovskii, A. A. Turilov, and B. N. Floria. *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorussii v kontse XVI—nachale XVII v.* Pt. 2, *Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. Istoricheskie posledstviia sobytiia.* Moscow, 1999.

Dobrianskii, Antonii (Antin Dobrians'kyi). *Istoriia episkopov trekh soedinennykh eparkhii, Peremyshl'skoi, Samborskoi i Sanotskoi, ot naidavneishikh vremen do 1794 g.* Lviv, 1893.

Domanyts'kyi, Vasyl'. 'Chy bula reforma Batoriia?' In *Naukovyi zbirnyk prysviachenyi profesorovi Mykhailovi Hrushevs'komu uchenykamy i prykhyl'nykamy z nahody ioho desiatylitn'oï naukovoï pratsi v Halychyni (1894–1904)*, pp. 237–48. Lviv, 1906.

——. 'Kozachchyna na perelomi XVI i XVII v. (1591–1603)'. *ZNTSh* 60 (1904): 1–32; 61 (1904): 33–64; 62 (1904): 65–114; 63 (1905): 115–36; 64 (1905): 137–71. Also separately, Lviv, 1905.

Doroshenko, Dmytro. *Het'man Petro Doroshenko. Ohliad ioho zhyttia i politychnoï diial'nosty*. New York, 1985.

——. *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*. Updated for the years 1917–56 by Olexander Ohloblyn. New York, 1957.

Dovbyshchenko, Mykhailo. 'Uniats'kyi nobilitet Volyni pershoï polovyny XVII st. (Pohliad na problemu z pozytsiï novykh metodolohichnykh pidkhodiv)'. In *Proseminarii: mediievistyka, istoriia tserkvy, nauky i kul'tury*, no. 1, ed. Vasyl' Ul'ianovs'kyi, pp. 52–64. Kyiv, 1997.

Downing, Brian M. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton, 1992.

Druzhinin, V. G. *Raskol na Donu v kontse XVII veka*. St Petersburg, 1889. Repr.: Slavic Printings and Reprintings. The Hague and Paris, 1969.

Dubrovs'kyi, V. V. 'Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i Turechchyna'. *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, nos. 3–4 (1975): 22–7.

——. 'Pro vyvchennia vzaiemyn Ukraïny i Turechchyny u druhii polovyni XVII st.' *Skhidnyi svit* (Kyiv) 5 (1928): 172–83.

Dunn, Richard S. *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559–1715*. 2nd edn. New York and London, 1979.

Dvoichenko-Markov, Demetrius. 'The Ukrainian Cossacks in the Early Anti-Ottoman Struggle for the Independence of Moldavia'. *East European Quarterly* 14 (1980): 241–50.

Dvornichenko, A. Iu. *Russkie zemli Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo (do nachala XVI veka). Ocherki istorii obshchiny, soslovii, gosudarstvennosti*. St Petersburg, 1993.

Dzięgielewski, Jan. *O tolerancję dla zdominowanych. Polityka wyznaniowa Rzeczypospolitej w latach panowania Władysława IV*. Warsaw, 1986.

Dzieje Polski. Ed. Jerzy Topolski. Warsaw, 1976.

Dzyra, Ia. I. 'Tataro-turets'ki napady na Ukraïnu XIII–XVI st.' In *Ukraïns'kyi istoryko-heohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, no. 1, ed. I. O. Hurzhii *et al.*, pp. 83–102. Kyiv, 1971.

Earle, Peter. *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary*. London, 1970.

Ėingorn, V. O. *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII veke. Snosheniia malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha*. Moscow, 1899.

Eleonskaia, A. S. *Russkaia publitsistika vtoroi poloviny XVII veka*. Moscow, 1978.

Elliott, J. H. *Europe Divided, 1559–1598*. London and Glasgow, 1972.

Encyclopedia of Ukraine. Ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyč and Danylo Husar Struk. 5 vols. Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1984–93.

Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana. Ed. Zygmunt Gloger. 4 vols. Warsaw, 1900–3. Repr. Warsaw, 1972.

Ettinger, Shmuel. 'Jewish Participation in the Settlement of Ukraine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'. In *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, pp. 23–30. 2nd edn. Edmonton, 1990.

——. 'The Legal and Social Status of the Jews of Ukraine from the Fifteenth Century to the Uprising of 1648'. *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (summer–winter 1992): 107–40.

Evennett, H. Outram. *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*. Notre Dame, Ind., 1970.

Fedoruk, Iaroslav. *Mizhnarodna dyplomatiia i polityka Ukraïny, 1654–57*. Vol. 1, *1654 r*. Lviv, 1996.

——. 'Monarkhizm Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho v otsintsi V"iacheslava Lypyns'koho: krytychna interpretatsiia'. In *V"iacheslav Lypyns'kyi. Istoryko-politolohichna spadshchyna i suchasna Ukraïna* (= Studiï, vol. 1), ed. Iaroslav Pelens'kyi (Jaroslaw Pelenski), pp. 228–31. Kyiv and Philadelphia, 1994.

——. *Zovnishn'opolitychna diial'nist' Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho i formuvannia ioho politychnoï prohramy (1648—serpen' 1649 rr.)*. Lviv, 1993.

Felmy, Karl Christian. 'Der Aufbruch der orthodoxen Laien in Polen–Litauen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 98 (1987): 37–85.

Fenomen Petra Mohyly. Biohrafiia, diial'nist', pozytsiia. Ed. Valerii Klymov. Kyiv, 1996.

Ferguson, Niall, ed. *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals*. London, 1998.

Figgis, John Neville. *The Divine Right of Kings*. Introduction by G. R. Elton. New York, Evanston, and London, 1965.

Floria, B. N. (Boris). 'Drevnerusskie traditsii i bor'ba vostochnoslavianskikh narodov za vossoedinenie'. In V. T. Pashuto, B. N. Floria, and A. L. Khoroshkevich, *Drevnerusskoe nasledie i istoricheskie sud'by vostochnogo slavianstva*, pp. 151–238. Moscow, 1982.

——. 'Nachalo Smolenskoi voiny i zaporozhskoe kazachestvo'. In *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu Iaroslava Dashkevycha z nahody ioho 70-richchia*, ed. Ihor Hyrych *et al*., pp. 443–50. Lviv, Kyiv, and New York, 1996.

——. 'Natsional'no-konfesiina svidomist' naselennia Skhidnoï Ukraïny v pershii polovyni XVII stolittia'. In *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 125–34. Lviv, 1997.

——. 'O nekotorykh osobennostiakh razvitiia ėtnicheskogo samosoznaniia vostochnykh slavian v ėpokhu srednevekov'ia—rannego novogo vremeni'. In *Rossiia–Ukraina: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii*, ed. A. I. Miller, V. F. Reprintsev, and B. N. Floria, pp. 9–27. Moscow, 1997.

——. *Russko-pol'skie otnosheniia i politicheskoe razvitie Vostochnoi Evropy vo vtoroi polovine XVI—nachale XVII vv.* Moscow, 1978.

Florovsky, Georges. *Ways of Russian Theology* (= *Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, vol. 5, pt. 1). Belmont, Mass., 1979.

Fram, Edward. 'Creating a Tale of Martyrdom in Tulczyn, 1648'. In *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honor of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach, John M. Efron, and David N. Myers, pp. 89–109. Hanover and London, 1998.

Franko, Ivan. 'Khmel'nychchyna 1648 do 1649 rr. u suchasnykh virshakh'. *ZNTSh* 23–4 (1898): 1–114. Excerpts in id., *Zibrannia tvoriv u p"iatdesiaty tomakh*, vol. 32, pp. 188–253. Kyiv, 1981.

——. 'Studiï nad ukraïns'kymy narodnymy pisniamy'. *ZNTSh* 75 (1907): 14–84; 76 (1907): 39–63; 78 (1907): 90–145; 83 (1908): 5–30. Also separately, Lviv, 1908. Repr. in id., *Zibrannia tvoriv u p"iatdesiaty tomakh*, vol. 42, pp. 7–491. Kyiv, 1984; vol. 43, pp. 7–193. Kyiv, 1986.

Frick, David A. 'The Circulation of Information about Ivan Vyhovs'kyj'. *HUS* 17, nos. 3–4 (December 1993): 251–78.

——. '"Foolish Rus'": On Polish Civilization, Ruthenian Self-Hatred, and Kasijan Sakovyč'. *HUS* 18, nos. 3–4 (December 1994): 210–48.

——. *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*. Cambridge, Mass., 1995.

——. 'Misrepresentations, Misunderstandings, and Silences: Problems of Seventeenth-Century Ruthenian and Muscovite Cultural History'. In *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann, pp. 149–68. DeKalb, Ill., 1997.

——. 'Zyzanij and Smotryc'kyj (Moscow, Constantinople, and Kiev): Episodes in Cross-Cultural Misunderstanding'. *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (summer–winter 1992): 67–94.

Gajecky, George. 'Church Brotherhoods and Ukrainian Cultural Renewal in the 16th and 17th Centuries'. In *Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine: A Symposium*, pp. 69–77. Ottawa, 1987.

——. *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1978.

Galadza, Petro. 'Liturhichne pytannia i rozvytok bohosluzhen' naperedodni Beresteis'koï uniï azh do kintsia XVII stolittia'. In *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 1–29. Lviv, 1997.

Galant, I. V. *Arendovali li evrei tserkvi na Ukraine?* Kyiv, 1909.

Giraudo, Gianfranco (Dzhianfranko Dzhiraudo). '"Russkoe" nastoiashchee i proshedshee v tvorchestve Innokentiia Gizelia'. *MU*, no. 1 (1992): 92–103.

Goldfrank, David M. 'Moscow, the Third Rome'. In *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. Joseph L. Wieczynski. Vol. 23, pp. 118–21. Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1981.

Golobutskii, V. A. (V. O. Holobuts'kyi). *Diplomaticheskaia istoriia osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg*. Kyiv, 1962.
——. *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo*. Kyiv, 1957.
Golubev, S. T. *Istoriia Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*. Vol. 1. Kyiv, 1888.
——. *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki (Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia)*. 2 vols. Kyiv, 1883–98.
Gordon, Linda. *Cossack Rebellions: Social Turmoil in the Sixteenth-Century Ukraine*. Albany, N.Y., 1983.
Govorskii, K. A. *Iosafat Kuntsevich, polotskii uniatskii arkhiepiskop, kanonizovannyi papoi Piem IX*. Vilnius, 1865.
Gudziak, Borys A. *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*. Cambridge, Mass., 1998.
——. 'How Did They Drift Apart?: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest'. *Logos* 34, nos. 1–2 (1993): 43–66.
——. 'The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy, 1588–1589: Some Comments concerning the Historiography and Sources'. *HUS* 19 (1995): 200–25.
——. 'The Union of Florence in the Kievan Metropolitanate: Did It Survive until the Times of the Union of Brest? (Some Reflections on a Recent Argument)'. *HUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (June 1993): 138–48.
——. and Oleh Turii, ed. *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti*. Materialy Chetvertykh 'Beresteis'kykh chytan''. Lviv, 1997.
——. and Oleh Turii, ed. *Derzhava, suspil'stvo i tserkva v Ukraïni u XVII stolitti*. Materialy Druhykh 'Beresteis'kykh Chytan''. Lviv, 1996.
——. and Oleh Turii, ed. *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koï uniï i pershe pouniine pokolinnia*. Materialy Pershykh 'Beresteis'kykh chytan''. Lviv, 1995.
Guépin, Alphonse. *Un apôtre de l'Union des Églises au XVII siècle: Saint Josaphat et l'Église Gréco-slave en Pologne et en Russie*. 2 vols. Paris and Poitiers, 1897–8.
——. *S. Iosaphat archevêque de Polock*. 2 vols. Poitiers, 1874. Polish translation: *Żywot św. Józafata Kuncewicza Męczennika, Arcybiskupa Połockiego rit. gr. opowiedziany na tle historii Kościoła Ruskiego według dzieła o. Alfonsa Guépin, Benedyktyna z Solesmes z przedmową X. Kalinki C. R.* Lviv, 1885; 2nd edn. Lviv, 1908.
Guldon, Zenon. 'Badania nad zaludnieniem Ukrainy w XVII wieku'. *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 13 (1965): 561–6.
Guslistyi, K. G. (K. H. Huslystyi). 'Krest'iansko-kazatskie vosstaniia na Ukraine v 30-kh godakh XVII veka'. In *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei, 1654–1954. Sbornik statei*, ed. A. I. Baranovich, pp. 54–77. Moscow, 1954.
Hale, J. R. *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450–1620*. Montreal, Kingston, London, and Buffalo, 1998.
Halecki, Oscar. *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)*. Hamden, Conn., 1968.
Halenko, Oleksandr. 'Luk ta rushnytsia v rytsars'kii symvolitsi ukraïns'koho kozatstva: paradoksy kozats'koï ideolohiï i problema skhidnoho vplyvu'. *MU*, no. 5 (1988): 93–110. Another version of this article: 'Luk ta rushnytsia v rytsars'kii symvolitsi ukraïns'koho kozatstva: do pytannia pro skhidno-zakhidni

vplyvy na Ukraïni v XVI–XVII st.'. *Naukovi zapysky. Natsional'nyi universytet 'Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia'* (Kyiv), no. 3, *Istoriia* (1998): 49–66.

Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge, UK, 1997.

Herasymchuk (Harasymchuk), Vasyl'. 'Vyhovshchyna i Hadiats'kyi traktat'. *ZNTSh* 87 (1909): 5–36; 88 (1909): 23–50; 89 (1909): 49–90.

Hering, Gunnar. *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik (1620–1638)*. Wiesbaden, 1968.

Holobuts'kyi, V. O. 'Problema kozatstva v ukraïns'kii ta inozemnii istoriohrafii'. *UIZh*, no. 1 (1960): 109–17.

Horin, Serhii. 'Pravo podavannia (na prykladakh volyns'kykh monastyriv XVI—pershoï polovyny XVII st.)'. *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 4 (1998): 3–11.

Horn, Maurycy. 'Chronologia i zasięg najazdów tatarskich na ziemie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1600–1647'. *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 8, no. 1 (1962): 3–71.

——. *Powinności wojenne Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI i XVII wieku*. Warsaw, 1978.

——. *Skutki ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1605–1633 na Ruś Czerwoną*. Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1964.

Horobets', Viktor. *Prysmerk Het'manshchyny. Ukraïna v roky reform Petra I*. Kyiv, 1998.

——. 'Ukraïns'ko-rosiis'ki zmahannia za Bilorus' (1654–1659 rr.)'. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 112–30. Kyiv, 1998.

Hrabovets'kyi, V. V. 'Strata Pidkovy u L'vovi (1578 r.)'. *Zhovten'* (Lviv), no. 6 (1966): 128–31.

Hrabovych, Hryhorii (George G. Grabowicz). 'Do ideolohiï Renesansu v ukraïns'kii literaturi: "Vïrshï na zhalosnyi pohreb zatsnoho rytsera Petra Konashevycha Sahaidachnoho" Kasiiana Sakovycha'. In *Ukraïna XVII st. mizh Zakhodom i Skhodom Ievropy: Materialy I-ho ukraïns'ko-italiis'koho sympoziumu 13–16 veresnia 1996 r.*, ed. Sante Graciotti, Omeljan Pritsak *et al.*, pp. 277–97. Kyiv and Venice, 1996.

Hrushevs'kyi (Hrushevsky), Mykhailo. 'Baida-Vyshnevets'kyi v poeziï i istoriï'. *ZUNT* 3 (1909): 108–39.

——. *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*. Vol. 5. 2 vyps. Kyiv, 1926–7; repr. New York, 1960. Vol. 6. Kyiv, 1995.

——. *Istoriia Ukraïny–Rusy*. 10 vols. 1st edn. Lviv and Kyiv, 1898–1937. Repr. New York, 1954–8; Kyiv, 1991–8. English translation: *History of Ukraine–Rus'*. Ed. Frank E. Sysyn *et al.* Vols. 1, 7. Edmonton and Toronto, 1997–9.

——. 'Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraïni v druhii polovyni XVI v.' *LNV* 41–3, no. 2 (1908): 282–96; no. 3 (1908): 491–506; no. 4 (1908): 87–107; no. 8 (1908): 208–29; no. 9 (1908): 428–51. Separately as *Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraïni v XVI–XVII vitsi*, Kyiv and Lviv, 1912; 2nd edn. n.p. [Vienna], 1919. Repr. in M. S. Hrushevs'kyi, *Dukhovna Ukraïna. Zbirka tvoriv*, pp. 136–255. Kyiv, 1994.

Hrushevs'kyi (Hrushevsky), Mykhailo. 'Ukraïns'kyi rukh na skhid.—Rozselennia za moskovs'koiu hranytseiu do 1648 roku'. *Ukraïna*, no. 1 (1914): 20–53.

——. 'Velyka, Mala i Bila Rus''. *Ukraïna*, nos. 1–2 (1917): 7–19. Repr. in *UIZh*, no. 2 (1991): 77–85.

——. *Z istorii relihiinoï dumky na Ukraïni*. Lviv, 1925. Repr. in M. S. Hrushevs'kyi, *Dukhovna Ukraïna. Zbirka tvoriv*, pp. 5–135. Kyiv, 1994.

Hrushevs'kyi, O. S. 'Pytannia oborony zamkiv V. Kn. Lytovs'koho v XVI v.' *Zbirnyk Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 46 (1928): 1–9.

Hurbyk, Andrii. 'Boiovi diï na pivnochi Ukraïny ta bytva za Kyïv vlitku 1651 roku'. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 92–111. Kyiv, 1998.

Huslystyi, K. H. (K. G. Guslistyi). *Vyzvol'na borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu proty shliakhets'koï Pol'shchi v druhii polovyni XVI i pershii polovyni XVII st. Narysy z istoriï Ukraïny*. Kyiv, 1941.

Hvozdyk-Pritsak, Larysa. *Ekonomichna i politychna viziia Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho ta ïï realizatsiia v derzhavi Viis'ko Zaporoz'ke*. Kyiv, 1999.

Iakovenko, Natalia. *Narys istoriï Ukraïny z naidavnishykh chasiv do kintsia XVIII stolittia*. Kyiv, 1997.

——. 'Rodova elita—nosii "kontynuïtetu realii" mizh kniazhoiu Russiu i kozats'koiu Ukraïnoiu'. *Suchasnist'*, no. 1 (1994): 118–24.

——. 'Roztiatyi svit: kul'tura Ukraïny–Rusy v dobu Khmel'nychchyny'. *Suchasnist'*, no. 4 (1994): 59–70.

——. 'Symvol "Bohokhranymoho hrada" u kyïvs'kii propahandi 1620—1640-kh rokiv'. *MU*, no. 4 (1995): 52–75.

Jakowenko (Iakovenko), Natalia. 'Szlachcic "łaciński" czy "łatinizujący"? (Uwagi o polskojęzycznym poemacie z Wołynia z 1585 roku)'. *Łacina w Polsce. Zeszyty Naukowe*, ed. Jerzy Axer, pp. 55–9. Fasc. 1–2. Warsaw, 1995.

——. *Ukraïns'ka shliakhta z kintsia XIV do seredyny XVII st. (Volyn' i Tsentral'na Ukraïna)*. Kyiv, 1993.

——. 'Zdobutky i vtraty Liublins'koi uniï'. *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 3 (1993): 77–85.

——. Oleksii Tolochko *et al.*, ed. *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mental'nist' ta istoriia idei* (= *MU*). Nos. 1–5. Kyiv, 1992–8.

Iakovleva, Tetiana. *Het'manshchyna v druhii polovyni 50-kh rokiv XVII stolittia. Prychyny i pochatok Ruïny*. Kyiv, 1998.

Iakovliv, Andrii. *Dohovir Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho z Moskvoiu 1654 r*. New York, 1954.

Iarmus', Stepan. 'Petro Mohyla iak vyraznyk pryntsypiv khrystyians'koho dushpastyrstva'. In *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, ed. A. M. Kolodnyi and V. Klymov, pp. 38–46. Kyiv, 1997.

Iashchurinskii, Kh. P. 'Iuzhno-russkie plenniki v Krymu'. *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii* 47 (1912): 158–66.

Isaievych, Iaroslav. 'Between Eastern Tradition and Influences from the West: Confraternities in Early Modern Ukraine and Byelorussia'. *Ricerche slavistiche* 37 (1990): 269–93.

——. *Bratstva ta ïkh rol' u rozvytku ukraïns'koï kul'tury XVI–XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1966.
——. *Dzherela z istoriï ukraïns'koï kul'tury doby feodalizmu XVI–XVIII st.* Kyiv, 1972.
——. 'Greek Culture in the Ukraine: 1550–1650'. *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 6 (1990): 97–122.
——. 'Osvitnii rukh v Ukraïni XVII st.: Skhidna tradytsiia i zakhidni vplyvy'. *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 5 (1995): 2–9.
——. *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov i vynyknennia drukarstva na Ukraïni.* Lviv, 1983.
Istoriia Kyieva. Vol. 1. Ed. O. K. Kasymenko *et al.* Kyiv, 1960.
Istoriia mist i sil Ukraïns'koï RSR. Cherkas'ka oblast'. Ed. O. L. Steshenko *et al.* Kyiv, 1972.
Istoriia Ukraïns'koï RSR. Ed. Iu. Iu. Kondufor *et al.* 10 vols. Kyiv, 1977–9.
Jabłonowski, Aleksander. *Akademia Kijowsko–Mohilańska. Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacji zachodniej na Rusi.* Cracow, 1899–1900; 2nd edn., 1912.
——. *Historia Rusi południowej do upadku Rzeczy-Pospolitej Polskiej.* Cracow, 1912.
——. 'Kozaczyzna a legitymizm. Dwie legendy polityczno–historyczne Ukrainy—batoryańska i baturyńska'. *Ateneum* (Warsaw) 3 (1896): 246–70.
Jarosz, Włodzimierz (Volodymyr Iarosh). 'Legenda Batoryańska. Krytyczny szkic z dziejów Zaporoża'. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 17 (1903): 596–616.
Jasnowski, Józef. 'Problems of the Frontier with the Steppes of the North Black Sea'. *Antemurale* 2 (1955): 40–5.
Jedin, Hubert. *A History of the Council of Trent.* 2 vols. London, 1957–61.
Jobert, Ambroise. *De Luther à Mohila: La Pologne dans la crise de la chrétienté 1517–1648* (= Collection historique de l'Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 21). Paris, 1974.
Kabanets', Ievhen. 'Petro Mohyla i pechers'ka kanonizatsiia 1643 roku'. In *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, ed. A. M. Kolodnyi and V. Klymov, pp. 149–55. Kyiv, 1997.
Kaczmarczyk, Janusz. *Bohdan Chmielnicki.* Wrocław, 1988.
Kamanin, I. M. 'Dogovory Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo s Pol'shei, Shvetsiei i Rossiei'. In *Sbornik statei i materialov po istorii Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, vol. 2, issledovaniia, pp. 93–108. Kyiv, 1916.
——. 'K voprosu o kazachestve do Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo'. *ChIONL* 8 (1894): otd. 2, pp. 57–115. Also separately.
——. 'Ocherk getmanstva Petra Sagaidachnogo'. *ChIONL* 15 (1901): vyp. 1, otd. 2, pp. 3–32. Also separately.
——. 'Pokhodzhennia Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho'. *ZUNT* 12 (1913): 72–7.
——. 'Uchastie iuzhno-russkogo naseleniia v vosstanii Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo'. In *AIuZR* (1914): pt. 3, vol. 4, pp. 1–101.
Kamiński, Andrzej. 'The Cossack Experiment in *Szlachta* Democracy in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth: The Hadiach (*Hadziacz*) Union'. *HUS* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 178–97.
Kandel', Feliks. *Ocherki vremen i sobytii. Iz istorii rossiiskikh evreev (do vtoroi poloviny XVIII veka)*. Jerusalem, 1998.

Kapterev, N. F. *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh*. Sergiev Posad, 1885; 2nd edn. Sergiev Posad, 1914. Repr.: Slavic Printings and Reprintings. The Hague, 1968.

——. 'Snosheniia ierusalimskikh patriarkhov s russkim pravitel'stvom s poloviny XVI do kontsa XVIII stoletiia' (= *Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik*, vol. 15, pt. 1). St Petersburg, 1895.

Kargalov, V. V. *Na stepnoi granitse: oborona 'krymskoi ukrainy' Moskovskogo gosudarstva*. Moscow, 1974.

Karpov, G. F. 'Dionisii Balaban, mitropolit kievskii. Iz istorii otnoshenii kievskoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii k moskovskomu pravitel'stvu 1654–1661 gg.' *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie* (1874): bk. 1, pp. 103–45.

——. 'Kievskaia mitropoliia i moskovskoe pravitel'stvo vo vremia soedineniia Malorossii s Velikoi Rossiei'. *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie* (1871): bk. 8, pp. 172–95; bk. 9, pp. 308–27.

Kartashev, A. V. *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*. 2 vols. Paris, 1959.

Kashuba, M. V. 'Reformatsiini ideï v diial'nosti bratstv na Ukraïni'. In *Sekuliaryzatsiia dukhovnoho zhyttia na Ukraïni v epokhu humanizmu i Reformatsiï*, ed. Ie. A. Hryniv *et al.*, pp. 26–51. Kyiv, 1991.

Keenan, Edward L. 'Muscovite Perceptions of Other East Slavs before 1654—An Agenda for Historians'. In *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj *et al.*, pp. 20–38. Edmonton, 1992.

——. 'On Certain Mythical Beliefs and Russian Behaviors'. In *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr, pp. 19–40. Armonk, N.Y., and London, 1994. Ukrainian translation: 'Rosiis'ki mify pro kyïvs'ku spadshchynu'. *Krytyka* (Kyiv) 3, nos. 1–2 (January/February 1999): 4–10.

Kempa, Tomasz. *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525–1608). Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej*. Toruń, 1997.

——. 'Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski wobec katolicyzmu i wyznań protestanckich'. *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 40 (1996): 17–36.

——. 'Prawosławni a synod protestancki w Toruniu w 1595 roku: U początków współpracy dyzunitów z dysydentami'. *Zapiski Historyczne* 42 (1997): 39–52.

Kern, Fritz. *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*. Trans. with an introduction by S. B. Chrimes. Oxford, 1939.

Kharlampovich, K. V. (Kostiantyn Kharlampovych). *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'*. Kazan, 1914.

——. *Zapadno-russkie pravoslavnye shkoly XVI i nachala XVII veka, otnoshenie ikh k inoslavnym, religioznoe obuchenie v nikh i zaslugi ikh v dele zashchity pravoslavnoi very i tserkvi*. Kazan, 1898.

Khodarkovsky, Michael. 'Four Degrees of Separation: Constructing Non-Christian Identities in Muscovy'. In *Culture and Identity in Muscovy, 1359–1584*, ed. A. M. Kleimola and G. D. Lenhoff, pp. 248–66. Moscow, 1997.

Khyzhniak, Z. I. *Kyievo-Mohylians'ka Akademiia*. Kyiv, 1970; 2nd edn. Kyiv, 1981.

Kilesso, Serhii. 'Chyhyryn—het'mans'ka stolytsia'. *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 5 (1995): 6–12.

Kłoczowski, Jerzy. 'Catholic Reform in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Belarus)'. In *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guidebook to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley, pp. 83–111. St Louis, Mo., 1988.

Kohut, Zenon E. 'The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding'. *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 559–76.

——. *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s*. Cambridge, Mass., 1988. Ukrainian translation: Zenon Kohut, *Rosiis'kyi tsentralizm i ukraïns'ka avtonomiia*. Kyiv, 1996.

Koialovich, M. O. *Litovskaia tserkovnaia uniia*. Vol. 2. St Petersburg, 1861.

Kolankowski, Ludwik. 'Obrona Rusi za Jagiellonów na przełomie XV i XVI wieku'. In *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Bolesława Orzhechowicza*. Vol. 1, pp. 475–80. Lviv, 1916.

Kompan, O. S. 'Do pytannia pro zaselenist' Ukraïny v XVII st.' *UIZh*, no. 1 (1960): 65–77.

——. *Mista Ukraïny v druhii polovyni XVII st.* Kyiv, 1963.

Konstantynenko, Kseniia. '"Reliatsiia pro pokhodzhennia ta zvychaï kozakiv" Al'berto Viminy: istoriia, uiava, real'nist'. *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 5 (1999): 50–64.

Korduba, Myron (Miron). 'Borot'ba za pol's'kyi prestil po smerti Volodyslava IV'. In *Zherela* (Lviv) 12 (1911): 1–60.

——. 'Die Entstehung der ukrainischen Nation'. In *Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VIIe Congrès international des sciences historiques*, pp. 19–67. Lviv, 1933.

——. 'Proba avstriis'koho poserednytstva mizh Khmel'nyts'kym i Pol'shcheiu'. *ZNTSh* 84 (1908): 5–32.

——. 'Venets'ke posol'stvo do Khmel'nyts'koho 1650 r.' *ZNTSh* 78 (1907): 51–89.

Koroliuk, V. D. 'K voprosu o posol'stve v Moskvu ot zaporozhskogo getmana Petra Sagaidachnogo v 1620 g.' *Slavianskii arkhiv* (Moscow), no. 1 (1958): 34–8.

——. *Livonskaia voina*. Moscow, 1954.

Korolko, Mirosław. *Klejnot swobodnego sumienia. Polemika wokół konfederacji warszawskiej w latach 1573–1658*. Warsaw, 1974.

——. and Janusz Tazbir, ed. *Konfederacja warszawska 1573 roku, wielka karta polskiej tolerancji*. Warsaw, 1980.

Korzo, M. A. *Obraz cheloveka v propovedi XVII veka*. Moscow, 1999.

Kostomarov, N. I. (Mykola Kostomarov). *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii* (= *Istoricheskie monografii*, vols. 9–11). St Petersburg, 1884.

——. *O prichinakh i kharaktere unii v Zapadnoi Rossii*. Kharkiv, 1842.

Kot, Stanisław. *Georges Niemirycz et la lutte contre l'intolérance au 17-e siècle*. The Hague, 1960.

——. *Jerzy Niemirycz w 300-lecie ugody hadziackiej*. Paris, 1960.

——. *Socinianism in Poland: The Social and Political Ideas of the Polish Antitrinitarians in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Trans. Earle Morse Wilbur. Boston, 1957.

Kotarski, Henryk. 'Lanckoroński Przecław (Krzesław)'. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 16 (1971): 449–50.

Koval'skii, N. P. (M. P. Koval's'kyi), and Iu. A. Mytsyk. *Analiz arkhivnykh istochnikov po istorii Ukrainy XVI–XVII vv.* Dnipropetrovsk, 1984.

—— and S. N. Plokhii (Serhii Plokhy). 'Istochniki o deiatel'nosti germanskoi i vatikanskoi diplomatii na Ukraine v 90-kh godakh XVI veka'. In *Voprosy germanskoi istorii*, ed. A. S. Zav'ialov, pp. 21–7. Dnipropetrovsk, 1983.

Koval's'kyi, M. P. (N. P. Koval'skii). 'Ostroz'kyi kn. Vasyl'-Kostiantyn Kostiantynovych (1526 (1527)–1608)'. In *Ostroz'ka Akademiia XVI–XVII st.*, ed. Ihor Pasichnyk *et al.*, pp. 129–30. Ostrih, 1997.

Krajcar, Jan. 'Jesuits and the Genesis of the Union of Brest'. *OCP* 44 (1978): 131–53.

——. 'Konstantin Basil Ostrozskij and Rome in 1582–1584'. *OCP* 35 (1969): 193–214.

——. 'The Ruthenian Patriarchate: Some Remarks on the Project for its Establishment in the 17th Century'. *OCP* 30 (1964): 65–84.

Krekoten', Volodymyr. 'Osvitnia reforma Petra Mohyly i utverdzhennia barokko v ukraïns'kii poezii'. In id., *Vybrani pratsi*, ed. Oleksa Myshanych, pp. 273–99. Kyiv, 1999.

Kriegseisen, Wojciech. *Sejmiki Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*. Warsaw, 1991.

Krom, M. M. *Mezh Rus'iu i Litvoi: zapadnorusskie zemli v sisteme russko-litovskikh otnoshenii kontsa XV—pervoi treti XVI v.* Moscow, 1995.

——. '"Starina" kak kategoriia srednevekovogo mentaliteta (po materialam Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo XIV—nachala XVII vv.)'. *MU*, no. 3 (1994): 68–87.

Krykun, M. H. *Administratyvno-terytorial'nyi ustrii Pravoberezhnoï Ukraïny v XV–XVIII st. Kordony voievodstv u svitli dzherel*. Kyiv, 1992.

——. 'Dokumenty TsDIA URSR u m. Kyievi iak dzherelo do vyvchennia mihratsiï naselennia na Ukraïni u pershii polovyni XVII st.' *Arkhivy Ukraïny*, no. 5 (1985): 49–57.

——. 'Naselennia podil's'koho voievodtsva v pershii polovyni XVII st.'. In *Ukraïns'kyi istoryko-heohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, no. 1, ed. I. O. Hurzhii *et al.*, pp. 115–35. Kyiv, 1971.

Krylovskii, A. S. *L'vovskoe stavropigial'noe bratstvo (Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia)*. Kyiv, 1904.

Kryp"iakevych, Ivan. *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*. Kyiv, 1954; 2nd edn. Lviv, 1990.

——. 'Do pytannia pro natsional'nu svidomist' ukraïns'koho narodu v kintsi XVI—na pochatku XVII st.' *UIZh*, no. 2 (1966): 82–4.

——. 'Kozachchyna i Batoriievi vol'nosti'. In *Zherela* (Lviv) 8 (1908) (= Materialy do istoriï ukraïns'koï kozachchyny, vol. 1, Dokumenty po rik 1631): 1–46.

——. 'Kozachchyna v politychnykh kombinatsiiakh 1620–1630 rr.' *ZNTSh* 117/118 (1913): 65–114.

——. 'Studiï nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho'. *ZNTSh* 138–40 (1925): 67–81; 144–5 (1926): 109–40; 147 (1927): 55–80; 151 (1931): 111–50.

Kryzhanivs'kyi, Oleh, and Serhii Plokhii. *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoï dumky v Ukraïni*. Vol. 3, *Kinets' XVI—seredyna XIX stolittia*. Kyiv, 1994.

Kucherniuk, Mykola. 'Pidpil'nyi front Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho'. *Zhovten'* (Lviv), no. 10 (1987): 137–42.

Kulakovs'kyi, Petro. 'Pekalid (Penkalia, Penkal's'kyi), Symon'. In *Ostroz'ka Akademiia XVI–XVII st.*, ed. I. Pasichnyk *et al.*, pp. 135–6. Ostrih, 1997.

Kulish, P. A. *Istoriia vossoedineniia Rusi*. 3 vols. St Petersburg, 1874–77.

——. *Otpadenie Malorossii ot Pol'shi (1340–1654 gg.)*. 3 vols. Moscow, 1888–9. Reprint from *ChOIDR* (1888): vyp. 2, pp. 1–283; (1888): vyp. 4, pp. 1–39; (1889): vyp. 1, pp. 1–415.

Kumke, Carsten. *Führer und Geführte bei den Zaporoger Kosaken: Struktur und Geschichte kosakischer Verbände im polnisch–litauischen Grenzland (1550–1648)*. Berlin, 1993.

Lappo, I. I. *Ideia edinstva russkogo naroda v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v ėpokhu prisoedineniia Malorossii k Russkomu gosudarstvu*. Praga, 1929.

Lemercier-Quelquejay, Chantal. 'Un condottiere lithuanien du XVIe siècle le prince Dimitrij Višneveckij et l'origine de la seč zaporogue d'après les archives ottomanes'. *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 10, no. 2 (1969): 258–79.

Lempicki, Stanisław. *Mecenat Wielkiego Kanclerza. Studia o Janie Zamoyskim*. Warsaw, 1980.

Lep"iavko, Serhii. *Kozats'ki viiny kintsia XVI st. v Ukraïni*. Chernihiv, 1996.

——. *Ukraïns'ke kozatstvo u mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh (1561–1591)*. Chernihiv, 1999.

Levitskii, O. I. (Orest Levyts'kyi). 'Sotsiniantsvo v Pol'she i iugo-zapadnoi Rusi'. *KS* 1 (1882): no. 4, pp. 25–57; no. 5, pp. 193–225; no. 6, pp. 401–32.

——. 'Vnutrennee sostoianie zapadno-russkoi tserkvi v Pol'sko-Litovskom gosudarstve v kontse XVI veka i uniia'. *AIuZR* (1884): pt. 1, vol. 6, pp. 1–182.

Lewandowski, Ignacy. 'Introduction' to Szymon Starowolski, *Wybór z pism*, ed. Ignacy Lewandowski, pp. xxxi–xxxvii. Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1991.

Likowski, Edward. *Historia unii Kościoła Ruskiego z Kościołem Rzymskim*. Poznań, 1875.

——. *Unia brzeska (r. 1596)*. Poznań, 1896; 2nd edn. Warsaw, 1907.

Lindberg, Carter. *The European Reformations*. Oxford, UK, and Cambridge, Mass., 1996.

Lipiński, Wacław (V"iacheslav Lypyns'kyi). 'Dwie chwile z dziejów porewolucyjnej Ukrainy'. In *Z dziejów Ukrainy. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Włodzimierza Antonowicza, Paulina Święcickiego i Tadeusza Rylskiego*, ed. Wacław Lipiński, pp. 514–617. Kyiv and Cracow, 1912.

——. 'Stanisław-Michał Krzyczewski'. In *Z dziejów Ukrainy. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Włodzimierza Antonowicza, Paulina Święcickiego i Tadeusza Rylskiego*, ed. Wacław Lipiński, pp. 145–513. Kyiv and Cracow, 1912.

Litwin, Henryk. 'Catholicization among the Ruthenian Nobility and Assimilation Processes in the Ukraine during the Years 1569–1648'. *Acta Poloniae Historica* 55 (1987): 57–83.

——. 'Katolizacja szlachty ruskiej, 1569–1647: Stosunki wyznaniowe na Kijowszczyźnie i Bracławszczyźnie'. *Przegląd Powszechny* 10 (1985): 58–70.

Litwin, Henryk. *Napływ szlachty polskiej na Ukrainę, 1569–1648*. Warsaw, 2000.
Longworth, Philip. *The Cossacks*. New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, 1969.
——. 'Ukraine: History and Nationality'. *Slavonic and East European Review* 78, no. 1 (January 2000): 115–24.
Luber, Susanne. *Die Herkunft von Zaporoger Kosaken des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Personennamen*. Wiesbaden, 1983.
——. and Peter Rostankowski. 'Die Herkunft der im Jahre 1581 registrierten Zaporoger Kosaken'. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s. 28 (1980): 368–90.
Lur'e, Ia. S. *Ideologicheskaia bor'ba v russkoi publitsistike kontsa XV—nachala XVI v.* Moscow and Leningrad, 1960.
Luzhnyi, Ryshard (Ryszard Łużny). 'Relihiina publitsystyka Ipatiia Potiia v rozvytku Starorus'koï tradytsiï ('Poselstwo do Papieża Rzymskiego Syksta IV' ta 'Parenetyka jednego do swej Rusi')'. *MU*, no. 2 (1993): 49–68.
Łużny, Ryszard. 'Księdza Piotra Skargi S.J. widzenie Wschodu chrześcijańskiego'. In *Polska–Ukraina: 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*. Vol. 2, *Studia z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na pograniczu kulturowym i etnicznym*, ed. Stanisław Stępień, pp. 69–75. Przemyśl, 1994.
Luzhnyts'kyi, Hryhor. *Ukraïns'ka tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom. Narys istoriï Ukraïns'koï tserkvy.* Philadelphia, 1954.
Lypyns'kyi, V"iacheslav (Wacław Lipiński). *Ukraïna na perelomi, 1657–1659*. Kyiv and Vienna, 1920.
Lyzlov, G. M. 'Pol'sko-russkie otnosheniia v nachal'nyi period osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg. (do Zborovskogo mira)'. *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta slavianovedeniia AN SSSR* (Moscow) 24 (1957): 58–82.
——. 'Pol'sko-russkie otnosheniia v period ot Zborovskogo mira do Zemskogo sobora 1651 g.'. *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta slavianovedeniia AN SSSR* (Moscow) 27 (1959): 45–61.
Macha, Josef. *Ecclesiastical Unification: A Theoretical Framework together with Case Studies from the History of Latin–Byzantine Relations* (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta, vol. 198). Rome, 1974.
Maciszewski, Jarema. *Polska a Moskwa, 1603–1618. Opinie i stanowiska szlachty polskiej*. Warsaw, 1964.
Mączak, Antoni. 'The Structure of Power in the Commonwealth of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'. In *A Republic of Nobles: Studies in Polish History to 1864*, ed. J. K. Fedorowicz, pp. 109–34. Cambridge, UK, 1982.
Magosci, Paul Robert. *A History of Ukraine*. Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1996.
Majewski, Ryszard. *Cecora. Rok 1620*. Warsaw, 1970.
Majewski, Wiesław. 'Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV a rzekome przymierze kozacko-tatarskie z 1645 r.' *Przegląd Historyczny* 64, no. 2 (1973): 267–82.
Makarii, metropolitan (M. P. Bulgakov). *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*. 12 vols. St Petersburg, 1864–86. Repr. Düsseldorf, 1968–9; Moscow, 1994–7. Internet: http://www.magister.msk.ru/library/history/makary.
Makhnovets', L. Ie., comp. *Ukraïns'ki pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*. Vol. 1, *Davnia ukraïns'ka literatura (XI–XVIII st.)*. Kyiv, 1960.

Maksimovich, M. A. (Mykhailo Maksymovych). 'Ob upotreblenii nazvaniia Rossiia i Malorossiia v Zapadnoi Rusi'. In his *Sobranie sochinenii*, 2: 307–11. Kyiv, 1877.

——. *Sobranie sochinenii.* Ed. V. B. Antonovich, P. G. Lebedintsev, I. I. Malyshevskii, and S. I. Ponomarev. 3 vols. Kyiv, 1876–1900.

Mal'chenko, O. 'Oboronna systema Podillia, Bratslavshchyny, Kyïvshchyny ochyma suchasnykiv (XV–XVIII st.): ohliad naratyvnykh dzherel'. *Naukovi zapysky. Zbirnyk prats' molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv* (Kyiv), no. 1 (1996): 24–48.

——. 'Typolohiia zamkovykh ta mis'kykh fortyfikatsiinykh system na pivdennoskhidnomu ukraïns'komu porubizhzhi (kinets' XIV—seredyna XVII st.)'. *Naukovi zapysky. Zbirnyk prats' molodykh vchenykh ta aspirantiv* (Kyiv), no. 1 (1996): 5–23.

Mal'chevs'kyi, Oleh. 'Polonizatsiia ukraïns'koï shliakhty (1569–1648 rr.)'. *Ukraïna v mynulomu* (Kyiv and Lviv), no. 1 (1992): 37–53.

Malvy, Antoine, and Marcel Viller. *La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila, Métropolite de Kiev (1633–1646), approuvée par les Patriarches grecs du XVII s. Texte latin inédit publié avec introduction et notes critiques* (= Pont. Inst. Studiorum Orientalium, *Orientalia Christiana* 10, no. 39). Ed. Gabriel Beauchesne. Paris, 1927.

Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu Iaroslava Dashkevycha z nahody ioho 70-richchia. Ed. Ihor Hyrych *et al.* Lviv, Kyiv, and New York, 1996.

March, G. Patrick. *Cossacks of the Brotherhood. The Zaporog Kosh of the Dnieper River*. New York, 1990.

Martel, Antoine. *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (= Travaux et mémoires de l'Université de Lille. Nouvelle série: Droit et lettres, 20). Lille, 1938.

McNeill, William H. *The Age of Gunpowder Empires*. Washington, D.C., 1989.

——. *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800*. Chicago, 1964.

Medlin, William K., and Christos G. Patrinelis. *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia: Western and Post-Byzantine Impacts on Culture and Education (16th–17th Centuries)* (= Études de philologie et d'histoire, 18). Foreword by Sir Steven Runciman. Geneva, 1971.

Meyendorff, Paul. 'The Liturgical Reforms of Peter Mogila: A New Look'. *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1985): 101–14. Ukrainian translation: 'Liturhiini reformy Petra Mohyly: novyi pohliad'. In *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, ed. A. M. Kolodnyi and V. Klymov, pp. 61–73. Kyiv, 1997.

Minenkov, N. A. *Donskoe kazachestvo na zare svoei istorii.* Rostov-na-Donu, 1992.

Mironowicz, Antoni. *Prawosławie i unia za panowania Jana Kazimierza.* Białystok, 1997.

Mochalova, V. V. 'Evrei v Pol'she: istoriia v zerkale literatury'. In *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, vol. 5, *Evreiskoe naselenie v Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope. Srednie veka—Novoe vremia*, ed. G. G. Litavrin, pp. 136–8. Moscow, 1994.

Mokhov, N. A. *Ocherki istorii moldavsko-russko-ukrainskikh sviazei*. Chişinău, 1961.

Momryk, Anatolii. 'Bibliina heneolohiia v etnohenetychnykh kontseptsiiakh pol's'kykh ta ukraïns'kykh litopystsiv i khronistiv (do postanovky problemy)'. *MU*, no. 5 (1998): 111–18.

Mončak, Ihor. *Florentine Ecumenism in the Kyivan Church* (= Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae, nos. 53–4). Rome, 1987.

Moroziuk, Russel P. 'The Role of Patriarch Jeremiah II in the Reformation of the Kievan Metropolia'. *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 5, no. 2 (1986): 104–27.

Mukhin, N. F. 'Kievo-bratskii uchilishchnyi monastyr' '. *TKDA* 5 (1893): 15–69.

Mykhailyna, P. V. *Vyzvol'na borot'ba trudovoho naselennia mist Ukraïny (1569–1654)*. Kyiv, 1975.

Myl'nikov, A. S. *Kartina slavianskogo mira: vzgliad iz Vostochnoi Evropy. Predstavleniia ob ėtnicheskoi nominatsii i ėtnichnosti XVI—nachala XVII veka*. St Petersburg, 1999.

Mytsko, I. Z. (I. Z. Myts'ko). 'K voprosu o prebyvanii Ivana Fedorova v Belorussii'. In *Ivan Fedorov i vostochnoslavianskoe knigopechatanie*, pp. 73–7. Minsk, 1984.

Myts'ko, I. Z. *Ostroz'ka slov"iano-hreko-latyns'ka akademiia (1576–1636)*. Kyiv, 1990.

Mytsyk, Iu. A. (Iurii). *Analiz istochnikov po istorii Osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg.* Dnipropetrovsk, 1983.

——. 'Dyplomatychne lystuvannia Osmans'koï imperiï, iak dzherelo do istoriï Vyzvol'noï viiny ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII st.' In *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia i gosudarstvennye struktury v Tsentral'noi, Vostochnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope*, pp. 42–9. Zaporizhia, 1993.

——. *Dzherela z istoriï Natsional'no-vyzvol'noï viiny ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII st.* Dnipropetrovsk, 1996.

——. 'Na turets'kykh galerakh'. In *Zaporozhtsi. Do istoriï kozats'koi kultury*, ed. Iurii Kosenko *et al.*, pp. 232–42. Kyiv, 1993.

——. 'Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu 1648–1658 rr. (pidsumky, problemy i perspektyvy doslidzhennia)'. In *Bytva pid Korsunem i natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina seredyny XVII stolittia*, pp. 27–59. Korsun'–Shevchenkivs'kyi, 1998.

——. 'Novye dannye o chernomorskikh pokhodakh zaporozhskogo kazachestva protiv Osmanskoi imperii i Krymskogo khanstva v kontse XVI—pervoi polovine XVII v. (na materialakh arkhivokhranilishch PNR)'. In *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v basseine Chernogo moria v drevnosti i srednie veka*, ed. Iu. Korolev, pp. 126–37. Rostov-na-Donu, 1986.

——. 'Politychni kontseptsiï Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho: deiaki aspekty realizatsiï'. In *Doba Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*, ed. Valerii Smolii *et al.*, pp. 25–39. Kyiv, 1995.

——. 'Povstannia kozakiv-nevil'nykiv na turets'kykh halerakh'. In Iurii Mytsyk, Serhii Plokhii, and Ivan Storozhenko, *Iak kozaky voiuvaly. Istorychni rozpovidi pro zaporiz'ke kozatstvo*, pp. 181–9. 2nd edn. Dnipropetrovsk and Kyiv, 1991.

——. *Ukrainskie letopisi*. Dnipropetrovsk, 1978.

Nadav, Mordekhai. 'The Jewish Community of Nemyriv in 1648: Their Massacre and Loyalty Oath to the Cossacks'. *HUS* 8, nos. 3–4 (December 1984): 376–95.

Nalyvaiko, Dmytro. *Kozats'ka khrystyians'ka respublika*. Kyiv, 1992.

——. *Ochyma Zakhodu: Retseptsiia Ukraïny v Zakhidnii Ievropi XI–XVIII st*. Kyiv, 1998.

Nazarko, Irynei. 'Iakiv Susha—iepyskop Kholms'kyi (1610–1687)'. *Analecta OSBM* 7 [13] (1971): 22–83.

Nemirovskii, E. L., ed. *Nachalo knigopechataniia v Moskve i na Ukraine. Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' pervopechatnika Ivana Fedorova. Ukazatel' literatury, 1574–1974*. Moscow, 1975.

—— *et al.*, comp. *Pervopechatnik Ivan Fedorov. Opisanie izdanii i ukazatel' literatury o zhizni i deiatel'nosti*. Lviv, 1983.

Nichyk, V. M., V. D. Lytvynov, and Ia. M. Stratii. *Humanistychni i reformatsiini ideï na Ukraïni (XVI—pochatok XVII st.)*. Kyiv, 1990.

Nichyk, Valeriia. *Petro Mohyla v dukhovnii istoriï Ukraïny*. Kyiv, 1997.

Niesiecki, Kasper. *Herbarz polski*. Ed. Jan Nep. Bobrowicz. 10 vols. Leipzig, 1839–49. Repr. Warsaw, 1979.

Nigro, Salvatore S. 'The Secretary'. In *Baroque Personae*, ed. Rosario Villari, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, pp. 82–99. Chicago and London, 1995.

Nikiforov, V. 'Kurukovskii dogovor kazakov s poliakami 1625 goda'. *KS* 4 (1885): no. 4, pp. 767–73.

Nikitenko, Nadiia. 'Datuvannia Sofiï Kyïvs'koï u svitli novykh doslidzhen''. In *Chetvertyi mizhnarodnyi konhres ukraïnistiv. Istoriia*, pt. 1, pp. 23–30. Odesa, Kyiv, and Lviv, 1999.

——. *Rus' i Vizantiia v monumental'nom komplekse Sofii Kievskoi*. Kyiv, 1999.

——. 'Volodymyrs'kyi memorial u Sofiï Kyïvs'kii chasiv Petra Mohyly'. In *P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach*, ed. A. M. Kolodnyi and V. Klymov, pp. 159–67. Kyiv, 1997.

Novosel'skii, A. A. *Bor'ba Moskovskogo gosudarstva s tatarami v pervoi polovine XVII veka*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1948.

Ochmański, Jerzy. 'Organizacja obrony w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim przed napadami tatarów krymskich w XV–XVI wieku'. *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 5 (1960): 349–98.

Ohloblyn, Oleksander. *Dumky pro Khmel'nychchynu*. New York, 1957.

——. 'Problema derzhavnoï vlady na Ukraïni za Khmel'nychchyny i Pereiaslavs'ka uhoda 1654 roku'. *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 2, nos. 1–2 (1965): 5–13; nos. 3–4 (1965): 1–16.

——. *Ukraïns'ko-moskovs'ka uhoda, 1654*. New York and Toronto, 1954.

Okenfuss, Max J. *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism in Early-Modern Russia: Pagan Authors, Ukrainians, and the Resiliency of Muscovy*. Leiden, New York, and Köln, 1995.

Okinshevich, Leo (Lev Okinshevych). *Ukrainian Society and Government, 1648–1781*. Munich, 1978.

Olin, John C. *Catholic Reform: From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495–1563*. New York, 1990.

Opaliński, Edward. *Kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej w latach 1587–1652. System parlamentarny a społeczeństwo obywatelskie*. Warsaw, 1995.

Oparina, T. A. '"Da v liudi tu knigu kazat' ne dlia chego": biblioteka Simona Azar'ina i otnoshenie kukrainsko-belorusskoi knizhnosti v Rossii pervoi poloviny XVII v.' *MU*, no. 4 (1995): 86–102.

——. *Ivan Nasedka i polemicheskoe bogoslovie kievskoi mitropolii*. Novosibirsk, 1998.

——. 'K voprosu ob ispol'zovanii III knigi Ezdry v russkoi publitsistike XVI–XVII vv.' In *Obshchestvennoe soznanie, knizhnost', literatura perioda feodalizma*, ed. D. S. Likhachev, pp. 143–9. Novosibirsk, 1990.

——. 'Spryiniattia uniï v Rosiï XVII stolittia'. In *Derzhava, suspil'stvo i tserkva v Ukraïni u XVII stolitti*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 131–64. Lviv, 1996.

Opisanie dokumentov Arkhiva zapadno-russkikh uniatskikh mitropolitov. Comp. S. G. Runkevich. 2 vols. St Petersburg, 1895.

Orlovskii, P. I. 'Kievskii sobor v 1629 godu'. *KS* 24 (1905): no. 7–8, pp. 166–73.

——. 'Uchastie zaporozhskikh kazakov v vosstanovlenii (ierusalimskim patriarkhom Feofanom) pravoslavnoi iuzhno–russkoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii v 1620 godu'. *KS* 24 (1905): no. 10, pp. 113–41.

Ostapchuk, Victor (Viktor). 'An Ottoman *Ġazānāme* on Halīl Paša's Naval Campaign against the Cossacks (1621)'. *HUS* 14, nos. 3–4 (December 1990): 482–521.

—— and Oleksandr Halenko. 'Kozats'ki chornomors'ki pokhody u mors'kii istoriï Kiatiba Chelebi "Dar velykykh muzhiv u voiuvanni moriv" '. In *Mappa Mundi. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu Iaroslava Dashkevycha z nahody ioho 70-richchia*, ed. Ihor Hyrych *et al.*, pp. 341–426. Lviv, Kyiv, and New York, 1996.

Ostrowski, Donald. *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589*. Cambridge, UK, 1998.

P. Mohyla: bohoslov, tserkovnyi i kul'turnyi diiach. Ed. A. M. Kolodnyi and V. Klymov. Kyiv, 1997.

Padokh, Iaroslav. *Sudy i sudovyi protses staroï Ukraïny. Narys istoriï*. New York, Paris, Sydney, Toronto, and Lviv, 1990.

Panashenko, V. V. 'Dopomoha ukraïns'kykh kozakiv bratn'omu moldavs'komu narodovi v borot'bi proty turets'kykh ponevoliuvachiv (XVI st.)'. In *Feodalizm: Ekonomika. Klasova borot'ba. Kul'tura*, pp. 42–59. Kyiv, 1986.

Parker, Geoffrey. *Europe in Crisis, 1598–1648*. London, 1979.

Pashuto, V. T., B. N. Floria, and A. L. Khoroshkevich. *Drevnerusskoe nasledie i istoricheskie sud'by vostochnogo slavianstva*. Moscow, 1982.

Pasichnyk, Ihor, Mykola Koval's'kyi *et al.*, ed. *Ostroz'ka Akademiia XVI–XVII st. Entsyklopedychne vydannia*. Ostrih, 1997.

Patrylo, Isydor. *Dzherela i bibliohrafiia istoriï Ukraïns'koï Tserkvy*. 3 vols. Rome, 1975–95.

Pelenski, Jaroslaw. 'The Cossack Insurrections in Jewish–Ukrainian Relations'. In *Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, pp. 31–42. 2nd edn. Edmonton, 1990.

——. 'The Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands of Old Rus' into Crown Poland (1569): Socio-Material Interest and Ideology—A Reexamination'. In *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists (Warsaw, August 21–27, 1973)*. Vol. 3, pp. 19–52. The Hague and Paris, 1973.

——. *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology, 1438–1560s*. The Hague, 1974.

Peleshenko, Iu. V. *Rozvytok ukraïns'koï orators'koï ta ahiohrafichnoï prozy kintsia XIV—pochatku XVI st.* Kyiv, 1990.

Pelesz, Julian (Iuliian Pelesh). *Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*. 2 vols. Vienna, 1878–80; 2nd edn. Würzburg and Vienna, 1881.

Peltz, Wojciech. *Suwerenność państwa w praktyce i doktrynie politycznej Rusi Moskiewskiej (XIV–XVI w.)*. Zielona Góra, 1994.

Pernal, Andrew B. 'An Analysis of Disbursements for Diplomacy during the Ratification of the Hadiach Union Treaty at the Warsaw Diet of 1659'. *HUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (June 1993): 72–109.

Petrov, N. I. (M. I. Petrov). *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii, nakhodiashchikhsia v g. Kieve*. Vyp. 1. Moscow, 1891.

Picheta, V. I. 'Pol'sha na putiakh k kolonizatsii Ukrainy i Belorussii. Liublinskaia uniia i ee politicheskie posledstviia'. *Istoricheskie zapiski* (Moscow) 7 (1940): 59–90.

Pidruchnyi, Porfirii. 'Pochatky Vasyliians'koho chynu i Beresteis'ka uniia'. In *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 79–101. Lviv, 1997.

Pidrutchnyj (Pidruchnyi), Porfirii. 'Pietro Arcudio—promotore dell'unione'. *Analecta OSBM* 8 [14] (1973): 254–77.

Pierling, Paul. *La Russie et le S. Siège. Études diplomatiques*. Vol. 3. Paris, 1896.

Platonov, S. F. *The Time of Troubles: A Historical Study of the Internal Crisis and Social Struggle in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Muscovy*. Lawrence, Manhattan, and Wichita, 1970.

Platt, Richard. 'Corsairs of the Mediterranean'. In *Pirates: Terror on the High Seas—from the Caribbean to the South China Sea*, consulting ed. David Cordingly, pp. 76–99. North Dighton, Mass., 1998.

Plewczyński, Marek. 'Udział jazdy obrony potocznej w walkach na południowowschodnim pograniczu Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1531–1573'. *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 26 (1983): 111–42.

Pliukhanova, M. B. *Siuzhety i simvoly Moskovskogo tsarstva*. St Petersburg, 1995.

Plokhii, Serhii (Serhii Plokhy, S. N. Plokhii). 'Bozhestvenne pravo het'maniv: Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i problema lehitymnosti het'mans'koï vlady v Ukraïni'. *MU*, vol. 3 (1994): 86–110.

——. 'Do istoriï formuvannia politychnoho sekuliaryzmu na Ukraïni (Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i Syl'vestr Kosov)'. In *Sekuliaryzatsiia dukhovnoho zhyttia na Ukraïni v epokhu humanizmu i Reformatsiï*, ed. Ievhen Hryniv, pp. 76–91. Kyiv, 1991.

——. 'Historical Debates and Territorial Claims: Cossack Mythology in the Russian–Ukrainian Border Dispute'. In *The Legacy of History in Russia and the*

New States of Eurasia, ed. S. Frederick Starr, pp. 147–70. Armonk, N.Y., and London, 1994.

——. 'Khmel'nychchyna i ievrei. Prychynky do ideolohiï povstannia'. In *Prosphonema. Istorychni ta filolohichni rozvidky, prysviacheni 60-richchiu akademika Iaroslava Isaievycha*, pp. 475–87. Lviv, 1998.

——. 'Kryla protektsiï: do vyznachennia pravovoho zmistu Pereiaslavs'koi uhody 1654 roku'. *MU*, vol. 4 (1995): 76–85.

——. 'Papskie diplomaty o chernomorskikh pokhodakh zaporozhtsev nakanune i v khode Khotinskoi bitvy'. In *Torgovlia i moreplavanie v basseine Chernogo moria v drevnosti i v srednie veka*, ed. Iu. Korolev, pp. 101–7. Rostov-na-Donu, 1988.

——. *Papstvo i Ukraina. Politika rimskoi kurii na ukrainskikh zemliakh v XVI–XVII vekakh*. Kyiv, 1989.

——. 'Politika Vatikana v Severnom Prichernomor'e i ukrainskoe kazachestvo v kontse XVI veka'. In *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v basseine Chernogo moria v drevnosti i srednie veka*, ed. Iu. Korolev, pp. 117–26. Rostov-na-Donu, 1986.

——. 'Revisiting the Golden Age: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Early History of the Ukrainian Cossacks'. Introduction to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine–Rus'*, vol. 7, *The Cossack Age to 1625*, ed. Frank E. Sysyn *et al.*, pp. xxvii–lii. Edmonton and Toronto, 1999.

——. 'Sviashchenne pravo povstannia: Beresteis'ka uniia i relihiina lehitymatsiia Khmel'nychchyny'. In *Derzhava, suspil'stvo i tserkva v Ukraïni u XVII stolitti*, pp. 1–13. Ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii. Lviv, 1996.

——. 'The Symbol of Little Russia: The Pokrova Icon and Early Modern Ukrainian Political Ideology'. *JUS* 17, nos. 1–2 (summer–winter 1992): 171–88.

——. 'Vid kniazia do het'mana. Obraz "protektora" v ukraïns'komu pravoslavnomu pys'menstvi (druha polovyna XVI—pershi desiatylittia XVII st.)'. In *Osiahnennia istorii. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats' na poshanu profesora Mykoly Pavlovycha Koval's'koho z nahody 70-richchia*, pp. 425–36. Ostrih and New York, 1999.

Pociecha, Władysław. 'Daszkiewicz (Daszkowicz), Eustachy (Ostafij)'. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4 (1938): 444–7.

Podhorodecki, Leszek. *Chocim 1621*. Warsaw, 1988.

—— and Noj Raszba (Noi Rashba). *Wojna chocimska 1621 roku*. Cracow, 1979.

Polski słownik biograficzny. Ed. Władysław Konopczyński *et al.* Cracow and Wrocław, 1935 ff.

Porshnev, B. F. *Frantsiia, Angliiskaia revoliutsiia i evropeiskaia vneshniaia politika v seredine XVII veka*. Moscow, 1970.

——. 'K kharakteristike mezhdunarodnoi obstanovki osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–54 gg.' *Voprosy istorii*, no. 5 (1954): 44–58.

——. *Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, 1630–1635*. Ed. Paul Dukes. Trans. Brian Pearce. Cambridge, UK, 1995.

Pritsak, Omeljan. 'The Hypatian Chronicle and Its Role in the Restoration of Ukrainian Historical Consciousness'. In *Chomu katedry ukraïnoznavstva v*

Harvardi? Vybir stattei na temu nashoï kul'turnoï polityky (1967–1973), pp. 54–60. Cambridge, Mass., and New York, 1973.

——. 'Kiev and All of Rus': The Fate of a Sacral Idea'. *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 279–300.

——. 'Shche raz pro soiuz Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho z Turechchynoiu'. *Ukraïns'kyi arkheohrafichnyi shchorichnyk* (Kyiv), no. 2 (1993): 177–92.

——. 'Soiuz Khmel'nyts'koho z Turechchynoiu 1648 r.'. *ZNTSh* 156 (1948): 143–64.

Prosphonema. Istorychni ta filolohichni rozvidky, prysviacheni 60-richchiu akademika Iaroslava Isaievycha (= *Ukraïna: kul'turna spadshchyna, natsional'na svidomist', derzhavnist'. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*) (Lviv), no. 5 (1998). Ed. Bohdan Iakymovych *et al.*

Pugacheva, N. T. 'Ideino-polemicheskii smysl restavratsionnoi deiatel'nosti Petra Mogily'. In *Chelovek i istoriia v srednevekovoi filosofskoi mysli russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, ed. V. S. Gorskii, pp. 132–9. Kyiv, 1987.

Pushkarev, L. N. *Iurii Krizhanich: ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva*. Moscow, 1984.

——. *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia mysl' Rossii: vtoraia polovina XVII veka. Ocherki istorii*. Moscow, 1982.

Pylypiuk, Natalia. '*Eucharistērion. Albo, Vdjačnost'*. The First Panegyric of the Kiev Mohyla School: Its Content and Historical Context'. *HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 (June 1984): 45–70.

——. 'Golden Liberty: Kasiian Sakovych's Understanding of Rhetoric and Preparation for the Civic Life' (forthcoming).

Raba, Joel. *Between Remembrance and Denial: The Fate of the Jews in the Wars of the Polish Commonwealth during the Mid-Seventeenth Century as Shown in Contemporary Writings and Historical Research*. Boulder, Colo., 1995.

Radians'ka entsyklopediia istorii Ukraïny. Ed. A. D. Skaba *et al.* 4 vols. Kyiv, 1969–72.

Rawita-Gawroński, Franciszek. *Kozaczyzna ukrainna w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej do końca XVIII wieku. Zarys polityczno-historyczny*. Warsaw, 1922.

——. 'Zaludnienie i jego charakter w granicach tworzącej się kozaczyzny'. *Biblioteka Warszawska* 73, no. 4 (1913): 352–76.

Rediker, Marcus. 'Libertalia: The Pirate's Utopia'. In *Pirates: Terror on the High Seas—from the Carribean to the South China Sea*, consulting ed. David Cordingly, pp. 124–39. North Dighton, Mass., 1998.

Robinson, A. N. *Bor'ba idei v russkoi literature XVII veka*. Moscow, 1974.

Rogov, A. I. *Russko-pol'skie kul'turnye sviazi v ėpokhu Vozrozhdeniia. Stryikovskii i ego 'Khronika'*. Moscow, 1966.

Rosiis'ko-ukraïns'kyi dohovir 1654 r.: novi pidkhody do istorii mizhnarodnykh stosunkiv. Kyiv, 1995.

Rostankowski, Peter. *Die Entwicklung osteuropäischer ländlicher Siedlungen und speziell der Chutor-Siedlungen*. Berlin, 1982.

——. *Siedlungsentwicklung und Siedlungsformen in den Ländern der russischen Kosakenheere*. Berlin, 1969.

Rotar, I. *Epifanii Slavinetskii, literaturnyi deiatel' XVII v.* Kyiv, 1900. First appeared in *KS* 19 (1900): no. 10, pp. 1–38; no. 11, pp. 189–217.

Rothenberg, G. E. *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522–1747*. Urbana, Ill., 1960.

Rudnyts'kyi, Stepan. 'Kozats'ko-pol's'ka viina r. 1625. Istorychna rozvidka'. *ZNTSh* 17 (1897): 1–42.

——. 'Ukraïns'ki kozaky v 1625–30 rr. Krytychno-istorychna rozvidka'. *ZNTSh* 31 (1899): 1–76.

Rusyna, Olena. *Ukraïna pid tataramy i Lytvoiu* (= *Ukraïna kriz' viky*, vol. 6). Kyiv, 1998.

Sahanovich, Henadz'. *Neviadomaia vaina, 1654–1667*. Minsk, 1995.

Sanin, G. A. *Otnosheniia Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim khanstvom v seredine XVII veka*. Moscow, 1987.

Sas, P. M. (Petro). *Feodal'nye goroda Ukrainy v kontse XV—60kh godakh XVI v.* Kyiv, 1989.

——. *Politychna kul'tura ukraïns'koho suspil'stva (kinets' XVI—persha polovyna XVII st.)*. Kyiv, 1998.

——. 'S. Orikhovs'kyi, I. Vereshchyns'kyi: Polityko-pravovi kontseptsiï derzhavnoho ustroiu'. In *Pol's'ko-ukraïns'ki studiï*. Vol. 1, *Ukraïna–Pol'shcha: istorychna spadshchyna i suspil'na svidomist'*, pp. 62–8. Kyiv, 1993.

——. 'Tsinnisni oriientatsiï zaporoz'koho kozatstva do Vyzvol'noï viiny: "prava", "svobody", "vol'nosti" '. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 46–52. Kyiv, 1998.

Savych, Oleksander. *Narysy z istoriï kul'turnykh rukhiv na Vkraïni ta Bilorusi v XVI–XVIII v.* Kyiv, 1929.

Sbornik statei i materialov po istorii Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii. 2 vols. Kyiv, 1911–16.

Schilling, Heinz. 'Confessional Europe'. In *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, vol. 2, *Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, pp. 641–82. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1995.

——. 'The Reformation and the Rise of the Early Modern State'. In *Luther and the Modern State in Germany*, ed. James D. Tracy, pp. 21–30. Kirksville, Mo., 1986.

Seaton, Albert. *The Horsemen of the Steppes: The Story of the Cossacks*. London, 1985.

Seniutovych-Berezhnyi, V"iacheslav. 'Ostap Dashkovych (Dashkevych)—vozhd' kozats'kyi'. *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 6, nos. 1–3 (1969): 118–26.

Senyk, Sofiia (Sophia Senyk). 'Beresteis'ka uniia i svits'ke dukhovenstvo: naslidky uniï u pershykh desiatylittiakh'. In *Beresteis'ka uniia i vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 55–67. Lviv, 1997.

——. 'Dva mytropolyty—Potii i Ruts'kyi'. In *Istorychnyi kontekst, ukladennia Beresteis'koï uniï i pershe pouniine pokolinnia*, ed. Borys Gudziak and Oleh Turii, pp. 137–48. Lviv, 1995.

——. 'Rutskyj's Reform and Orthodox Monasticism: A Comparison. Eastern Rite Monasticism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Seventeenth Century'. *OCP* 48, no. 2 (1982): 406–30.

——. 'The Sources of the Spirituality of St Josaphat Kuncevyč'. *OCP* 51, no. 2 (1985): 425–36.
——. *Women's Monasteries in Ukraine and Belorussia to the Period of Supressions* (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta, vol. 222). Rome, 1983.
Serczyk, Władysław. 'The Commonwealth and the Cossacks in the First Quarter of the Seventeenth Century'. *HUS* 2, no. 1 (March 1978): 73–93.
——. *Na dalekiej Ukrainie. Dzieje Kozaczyzny do 1648 roku*. Cracow, 1984.
——. *Na płonącej Ukrainie. Dzieje Kozaczyzny, 1648–1651*. Warsaw, 1998.
Seredyka, Jan. 'Nieudana próba włączenia w 1650 r. Kozaków Zaporoskich do antyrosyjskiego sojuszu polsko-tatarskiego'. In *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. Rzeczpospolita XVI–XVII w. Studia ofiarowane Zbigniewowi Wójcikowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel *et al.*, pp. 125–32. Warsaw, 1993.
——. *Rzeczpospolita w ostatnich latach panowania Zygmunta III (1629–1632). Zarys wewnętrznych dziejów politycznych*. Opole, 1978.
Seton-Watson, Hugh. *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*. Boulder, Colo., 1977.
Ševčenko, Ihor. '"Ljubomudrějšij Kÿr" Agapit Diakon: On a Kiev Edition of a Byzantine *Mirror of Princes*'. In his *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture*, pp. 497–57. Cambridge, Mass., and Naples, 1991.
——. 'The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla'. *HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 (June 1984): 9–44.
——. *Ukraine between East and West: Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century*. Edmonton and Toronto, 1996.
Shabul'do, F. M. *Zemli Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v sostave Velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo*. Kyiv, 1987.
Shcherbak, Vitalii. 'Dynamika zrostannia chysel'nosti ukraïns'koho kozatstva do seredyny XVII st.' In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 53–61. Kyiv, 1998.
——. *Formuvannia kozats'koho stanu v Ukraïni (druha polovyna XV—seredyna XVII st.)*. Kyiv, 1997.
——. 'Ivan Sulyma'. In *Volodari het'mans'koï bulavy*, pp. 141–51. Kyiv, 1994.
——. 'Kozatstvo i pravoslav'ia'. *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 5 (1993): 71–7.
——. 'Osobovyi ta etnichnyi sklad zaporozhtsiv ta reiestrovykh'. In *Naukovi zapysky. Natsional'nyi universytet 'Kyievo-Mohylians'ka akademiia',* ed. Iurii Mytsyk *et al.*, no. 3, *Istoriia*, pp. 75–80. Kyiv, 1998.
Shevchenko, F. P. 'Istorychne mynule v otsintsi Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho'. *UIZh*, no. 12 (1970): 126–32.
——. *Politychni ta ekonomichni zv"iazky Ukraïny z Rosiieiu v seredyni XVII st.* Kyiv, 1959.
Shmurlo, E. F. *Rimskaia kuriia na russkom pravoslavnom vostoke (1609–1654)*. Prague, 1929.
Shutoi, V. E. 'Kanun osvoboditel'noi voiny ukrainskogo naroda 1648–54 gg.: krest'iansko-kazatskoe vosstanie na Ukraine 1637–38 gg.' *Istoricheskie zapiski* (Moscow) 46 (1954): 23–77.
Sichyns'kyi, Ievfym. 'Oboronni zamky zakhidn'oho Podillia XIV–XVII

st. Istorychno-arkheolohichni narysy'. *Zapysky Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu VUAN* 17 (1928): 64–160.

Sinitsyna, N. V. *Tretii Rim: istoki i ėvoliutsiia russkoi srednevekovoi kontseptsii (XV–XVII vv.)*. Moscow, 1998.

Skrynnikov, R. G. *Samozvantsy v Rossii v nachale XVII veka*. Novosibirsk, 1987.

——. *Sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba v Russkom gosudarstve v nachale XVII veka*. Leningrad, 1985.

Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich. Ed. Filip Sulimierski, Bronisław Chlebowski, and Władysław Walewski. 15 vols. Warsaw, 1880–1902.

Smirnov, Ia. I. 'Risunki Kieva 1651 goda po kopiiam ikh kontsa XVIII veka'. In *Trudy XIII arkheologicheskogo s"ezda v Ekaterinoslave*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 197–512. Moscow, 1908.

Smirnov, V. D. *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoi Porty do nachala XVIII veka*. St Petersburg, 1887.

Smolii, Valerii. 'Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina v konteksti ukraïns'koho derzhavotvorennia'. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 53–61. Kyiv, 1998.

—— and Valerii Stepankov. *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. Sotsial'no-politychnyi portret*. Kyiv, 1993.

————. *Ukraïns'ka derzhavna ideia XVII–XVIII stolit': problemy formuvannia, evoliutsiï, realizatsiï*. Kyiv, 1997.

————. *Ukraïns'ka natsional'na revoliutsiia (1648–1676 rr.)* (= *Ukraïna kriz' viky*, vol. 7). Kyiv, 1999.

Solov'ev, A. V. 'Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus''. *Voprosy istorii*, no. 7 (1947): 24–38.

Solov'ev, S. M. *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*. 8 vols. Moscow, 1854–8. Repr. Moscow, 1959–66.

Solovii, Meletii, and Atanasii Velykyi (Welykyj). *Sviatyi Iosafat Kuntsevych. Ioho zhyttia i doba*. Toronto, 1967.

Stanislavskii, A. L. *Grazhdanskaia voina v Rossii: kazachestvo na perelome istorii*. Moscow, 1990.

Stepankov, Valerii. 'Kam"ianets'ka uhoda i Pereiaslavs'ka rada: sproba doslidzhennia politychnykh naslidkiv zhvanets'koï kampaniï'. In *Rosiis'ko-ukraïns'kyi dohovir 1654 r.: novi pidkhody do istoriï mizhnarodnykh stosunkiv*, pp. 6–13. Kyiv, 1995.

——. 'Ukraïns'ka natsional'na revoliutsiia XVII st.: prychyny, typolohiia, khronolohichni mezhi (dyskusiini notatky)'. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 53–61. Kyiv, 1998.

Stökl, Günter. *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums* (= Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München, no. 3). Munich, 1953.

Storozhenko, A. V. *Stefan Batorii i dneprovskie kazaki: issledovanie, pamiatniki, dokumenty i zametki*. Kyiv, 1904.

Storozhenko, Ivan. *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i voienne mystetstvo u vyzvol'nii viini*

ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia. Vol. 1, *Voienni dii 1648–52 rr.* Dnipropetrovsk, 1996.

——. *Bytva na Zhovtykh vodakh*. 2nd edn. Dnipropetrovsk, 1997.

——. 'Ukraïns'ko-kryms'ko-tatars'kyi soiuz 1648 roku'. In *Natsional'no-vyzvol'na viina ukraïns'koho narodu seredyny XVII stolittia: polityka, ideolohiia, viis'kove mystetstvo*, ed. V. A. Smolii *et al.*, pp. 81–91. Kyiv, 1998.

Stow, Kenneth R. *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555–1593*. New York, 1977.

Strukevych, Oleksii. 'Ukraïns'ka "natsiia do natsionalizmu": poshuky kryteriïv identychnosti v Ukraïni-Het'manshchyni XVIII st.' *UIZh*, no. 6 (1999): 17–33.

Studyns'kyi, Kyrylo. 'Panehiryk "Evfonia veselobrmiachaia" posviachenyi Petrovi Mohyli v r. 1633'. *ZNTSh* 8 (1895): 1–14.

Studziński, C. (Kyrylo Studyns'kyi). *Pierwszy występ literacki Hipacjusza Pocieja*. Lviv, 1902.

Subtelny, Orest. *The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century*. Boulder, Colo., 1981.

——. *Ukraine: A History*. Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1988; 2nd edn., 1994.

Sumtsov, N. F. (Mykola Sumtsov). *Ioannikii Galiatovskii (K istorii iuzhno-russkoi literatury XVII veka)*. Kyiv, 1884.

——. 'Istoricheskii ocherk popytok katolikov vvesti v Iuzhnuiu i Zapadnuiu Rossiiu grigorianskii kalendar''. *KS* 7 (1888): no. 5, pp. 235–72.

Sushko, Oleksander. 'Predtecha tserkovnoï uniï 1596 r. Benedykt Herbest'. *ZNTSh* 53 (1903): 1–71; 55 (1903): 72–125; 61 (1904): 126–77.

——. 'Prychynky do studii nad tekstom *Palinodii*'. *ZNTSh* 54 (1903): 1–40.

Sydorenko, Alexander. *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century*. Ottawa, 1977.

Sydorenko, Olena. *Ukraïns'ki zemli u mizhnarodnii torhivli (IX—seredyna XVIII st.)*. Kyiv, 1992.

Sysyn, Frank E. 'Adam Kysil and the Synods of 1629: An Attempt at Orthodox–Uniate Accommodation in the Reign of Sigismund III'. *HUS* 3–4 (1979–1980): 826–45.

——. *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653*. Cambridge, Mass., 1985.

——. 'The Changing Image of the Hetman'. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 46, no. 4 (1998): 531–45. Ukrainian version: 'Minlyvyi obraz het'mana'. *Krytyka* (Kyiv) 2, no. 14 (December 1998): 4–8.

——. 'Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620–1690'. *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 393–423.

——. 'The Cossack Chronicles and the Development of Modern Ukrainian Culture and National Identity'. *HUS* 14, nos. 3–4 (December 1990): 593–607.

——. 'The Cultural, Social and Political Context of Ukrainian History-Writing: 1620–1690. *Europa Orientalis* (Rome), no. 5, ed. Giovanna Brogi Bercoff (1986): 285–310.

——. 'A Curse on Both Their Houses: Catholic Attitudes towards Jews and Eastern Orthodox during the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising in Father Paweł Ruszel's

Fawor niebieski'. In *Israel and the Nations: Essays Presented in Honor of Shmuel Ettinger*, ed. Shmuel Almog *et al.*, pp. ix–xxiv. Jerusalem, 1987.

Sysyn, Frank E. 'The Jewish Factor in the Khmelnytsky Uprising'. In *Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster, pp. 43–54. 2nd edn. Edmonton, 1990.

——. 'The Jewish Massacres in the Historiography of the Khmelnytsky Uprising'. *JUS* 23, no. 1 (summer 1998): 83–9.

——. 'Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture'. *HUS* 8, nos. 1–2 (June 1984): 155–87.

——. 'The Problem of Nobilities in the Ukrainian Past: The Polish Period, 1569–1648'. In *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, pp. 29–102. Edmonton, 1981.

——. 'Recent Western Works on the Ukrainian Cossacks'. *Slavonic and East European Review* 64, no. 1 (1986): 100–16.

——. 'The Reemergence of the Ukrainian Nation and Cossack Mythology'. *Social Research* 58, no. 4 (winter 1991): 845–64.

——. 'Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641'. *HUS* 6, no. 2 (June 1982): 167–90.

——. 'Seventeenth-Century Views on the Causes of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising: An Examination of the "Discourse on the Present Cossack or Peasant War" '. *HUS* 5, no. 4 (December 1981): 430–66.

——. 'Ukrainian–Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Role of National Consciousness and National Conflict in the Khmelnytsky Movement'. In *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj, pp. 58–82. Edmonton and Toronto, 1980.

——. 'War der Chmel'nyćkyj-Aufstand eine Revolution? Eine Charakteristik der "grossen ukrainischen Revolte" und der Bildung des Kosakischen Het'manstaates'. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 43, no. 1 (1995): 1–18. Ukrainian version: 'Chy bulo povstannia Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho revoliutsiieiu? Zauvahy do typolohiï Khmel'nychchyny'. In *Prosphonema. Istorychni ta filolohichni rozvidky, prysviacheni 60-richchiu akademika Iaroslava Isaievycha*, ed. Bohdan Iakymovych *et al.*, pp. 571–8. Lviv, 1998.

Szegda, Mirosław. *Działalność prawno organizacyjna metr. Józefa IV Welamina Rutskiego (1613–1637)*. Warsaw, 1967.

——. 'Sakowicz (Isakowicz) Kalikst'. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 34 (1992–3): 343–5.

Tanczuk, D. 'Quaestio patriarchatus Kioviensis tempore conaminum Unionis Ruthenorum (1582–1632)'. *Analecta OSBM* 1 [7] (1949): 128–46.

Tazbir, Janusz. 'Obshchestvennye i territorial'nye sfery rasprostraneniia pol'skoi reformatsii'. In *Kul'turnye sviazi narodov Vostochnoi Evropy*, pp. 114–31. Moscow, 1976.

——. *Państwo bez stosów. Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce XVII wieku*. Warsaw, 1967.

——. *Piotr Skarga. Szermierz kontrreformacji*. Warsaw, 1978.

——. 'Polish National Consciousness in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century'. *HUS* 10, nos. 3–4 (December 1986): 316–35.
——. 'The Political Reversals of Jurij Nemyryč'. *HUS* 5, no. 3 (September 1981): 306–19.
——. *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy. Mity a rzeczywistość historyczna*. Warsaw, 1987.
——. *A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Warsaw, 1973.
Thomson, Francis J. 'Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian Culture. A Critique of Georges Florovsky's Theory of "The Pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy"'. *Slavica Gandensia* 20 (1993): 67–119.
Tolet, Daniel. 'La littérature antisémite polonaise de 1588 à 1668. Auteurs et éditions'. *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 14 (1977): 73–105.
Tolochko, Oleksii. 'Obraz derzhavy i kul't volodaria v davnii Rusi'. *MU*, no. 3 (1994): 17–46.
——. '"Rus'" ochyma "Ukraïny": v poshukakh samoidentyfikatsiï ta kontynuïtetu'. *Suchasnist'*, no. 1 (1994): 111–17.
Tolochko, Petro. 'Rus'—Mala Rus'—Rus'kyi narod v druhii polovyni XIII–XVII st.' *Kyïvs'ka starovyna*, no. 3 (1993): 3–14.
Tomashivs'kyi, Stepan. 'Mizh Pyliavtsiamy i Zamostiam'. *Zherela* (Lviv) 6 (1913): 1–144.
——. 'Narodni rukhy v Halyts'kii Rusi 1648 r.' *ZNTSh* 23–4 (1898): 1–138. Also separately.
——. 'Odyn moment pid Zborovom 1649 r. Krytychnyi narys'. *ZNTSh* 117 (1914): 115–25. Also separately.
——. *Pershyi pokhid Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho v Halychynu (Dva misiatsi ukraïns'koï polityky, 1648 r.)*. Lviv, 1914.
——. 'Z zhyttia halyts'ko-rus'kykh soimykiv 1648–49 rr.' *Zherela* (Lviv) 4 (1898): 1–36. Also separately.
Tomczak, Andrzej. 'Memoriał Bernarda Pretwicza do króla z 1550 r.' *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 6, no. 2 (1960): 328–57.
——. 'Pretwicz (Pretfic) Bernard'. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 28 (1984–5): 433–5.
Tomkiewicz, Władysław. 'Bitwa pod Kumejkami (16.XII.1637)'. *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 9 (1937): 239–61.
——. 'Czetwertyński-Światopełk Eliasz'. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4 (1938): 361.
——. *Kozaczyzna ukrainna*. Lviv, 1939.
——. 'O składzie społecznym i etnicznym kozaczyzny ukrainnej na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku'. *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 249–60.
——. 'Ograniczenie swobód kozackich w roku 1638'. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 44 (1930): 125–75.
——. 'Powstanie kozackie w r. 1630'. *Przegląd Powszechny* 187 (1930): 104–28.
Torke, Hans-Joachim. 'The Unloved Alliance: Political Relations between Muscovy and Ukraine in the Seventeenth Century'. In *Ukraine and Russia in*

Their Historical Encounter, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj *et al.*, pp. 39–66. Edmonton, 1992.
Tretiak, Józef. *Historia wojny chocimskiej*. Lviv, 1889.
Tripol'skii, N. *Uniatskii mitropolit Ipatii Potsei i ego propovednicheskaia deiatel'nost'*. Kyiv, 1878.
Tselevych, Oleh. 'Uchast' kozakiv v Smolens'kii viini 1633–4 rr.' *ZNTSh* 28 (1899): 1–72.
Turilov, A. A. 'K istorii proektov likvidatsii Brestskoi unii (neizvestnoe poslanie kniazia K. K. Ostrozhskogo patriarkhu Iovu)'. In *Slaviane i ikh sosedi* (Moscow) 3 (1991): 128–40.
Tushin, Iu. P. *Russkoe moreplavanie na Kaspiiskom, Azovskom i Chernom moriakh*. Moscow, 1978.
Tyszkowski, Kazimierz. 'Aleksander Lisowski i jego zagony na Moskwę'. *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 5 (1932): 1–28.
——. 'Kozaczyzna w wojnach moskiewskich Zygmunta III (1605–1618)'. *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 8 (1935): 37–85.
Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter. Ed. Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski, and Gleb N. ekulin. Edmonton, 1992.
Ulewicz, Tadeusz. *Sarmacja: Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI w.* Cracow, 1950.
Ul'ianovs'kyi, V. I. (V. I. Ul'ianovskii). *Istoriia tserkvy ta relihiinoï dumky v Ukraïni*. Vols. 1–2. Kyiv, 1994.
——. comp. *Kolektsiia ta arkhiv iepyskopa Pavla Dobrokhotova*. Kyiv, 1992.
——. 'Lzhedmitrii I i Ukraïna (politychni aspekty)'. In *Ukraïna i Pol'shcha v period feodalizmu*, pp. 73–85. Kyiv, 1991.
——. *Lzhedmitrii I i Ukraina. Ukazatel' arkhivnykh istochnikov i materialov*. Kyiv, 1991.
——. *Rossiia v nachale smuty: ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii i istochnikovedeniia*. 2 vols. Kyiv, 1993.
Uspenskii, B. A. 'Raskol i kul'turnyi konflikt XVII veka'. In his *Izbrannye trudy*, vol. 1, *Semiotika istorii. Semiotika kul'tury*, pp. 333–67. Moscow, 1994.
——. *Tsar' i patriarkh. Kharizma vlasti v Rossii (Vizantiiskaia model' i ee russkoe pereosmyslenie*. Moscow, 1998.
—— and V. M. Zhivov. 'Tsar' i Bog. Semioticheskie aspekty sakralizatsii monarkha v Rossii'. In his *Izbrannye trudy*, vol. 1, *Semiotika istorii. Semiotika kul'tury*, pp. 110–218. Moscow, 1994.
Utechin, S. V. *Russian Political Thought: A Concise History*. New York and London, 1963.
Val'denberg, V. E. *Drevnerusskie ucheniia o predelakh tsarskoi vlasti. Ocherki russkoi politicheskoi literatury ot Vladimira Sviatogo do kontsa XVII veka*. Petrograd, 1916.
Veinstein, Gilles. 'Les "çiftlik" de colonisation dans les steppes du nord de la Mer Noire au XVIe siècle'. In *Ömer ütfi Barkan Armağani, Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmausi, Istanbul* 41, nos. 1–4 (1982–4): 177–210.
——. 'L'occupation ottomane d'Očakov et le problème de la frontière lituano-tatare'. In *Passé turco-tatar, présent soviétique: Études offertes à Alexandre*

Bennigsen, ed. Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, pp. 123–55. Louvain and Paris, 1986.

Velychenko, Stephen (Stepan). 'The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas on the Politics of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Cossack Officers between 1648 and 1657'. Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics, University of London, 1980.

——. *National History as Cultural Process: A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914*. Edmonton, 1992.

——. 'Volodari i kozaky: zamitky do problemy istorychnoï lehitymnosti i tiahlosti v ukraïns'kii istoriohrafiï XVII–XVIII st.' *MU*, no. 1 (1992): 117–21.

Velykyi, Atanasii (Athanasius Welykyj). 'Anonimnyi proiekt Petra Mohyly po z"iedynenniu ukraïns'koï tserkvy 1645 r.' *Analecta OSBM* 4 [10], nos. 1–4 (1963): 484–97.

——. *Z litopysu Khrystyians'koï Ukraïny*. Vols. 4–6. Rome, 1971–3.

Vladimirskii-Budanov, M. F. 'Tserkovnye imushchestva v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii XVI veka'. *AIuZR* (1907): pt. 8, vol. 4, pp. 3–224.

Vlasovs'kyi, Ivan. *Narys istoriï Ukraïns'koï pravoslavnoï tserkvy*. 4 vols. (5 bks.). New York, 1955–66. English translation: I. Wlasowsky, *Outline History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*. 2 vols. New York and South Bound Brook, N.J., 1974–9.

Voitovych, Lev. 'Rodyna kniaziv Ostroz'kykh'. *ZNTSh* 231 (1996): 355–67.

Vozniak, Mykhailo. *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury*. Vol. 2, pt. 1. Lviv, 1922.

——. *Pys'mennyts'ka diial'nist' Ivana Borets'koho na Volyni i u L'vovi*. Lviv, 1954.

Vynar, Liubomyr (Lubomyr Wynar). 'Dyplomatychna misiia Komulovycha v Ukraïnu 1594 roku'. *Analecta OSBM* 4, nos. 3–4 (1963): 513–26.

——. *Kniaz' Dmytro Vyshnevets'kyi*. Munich, 1964.

——. 'Ohliad istorychnoï literatury pro pochatky ukraïns'koï kozachchyny'. *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 2, nos. 5–6 (1965): 28–37; nos. 7–8 (1965): 17–38.

——. *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594* (= Ukrainian Historical Association Papers, no. 1). New York, 1965.

Weinryb, Bernard D. 'The Hebrew Chronicles on Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Cossack-Polish War'. *HUS* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 153–77.

——. *The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800*. Philadelphia, 1972.

Williams, George H. 'Protestants in the Ukraine during the Period of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth'. *HUS* 2, no. 1 (March 1978): 41–72; no. 2 (June 1978): 184–210.

Winter, Eduard. *Byzanz und Rom im Kampfe um die Ukraine: 955–1939*. Leipzig, 1942.

Wisner, Henryk. *Rozróżnieni w wierze. Szkice z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej schyłku XVI i połowy XVII wieku*. Warsaw, 1982.

Wójcik, Zbigniew. *Dzikie Pola w ogniu. O Kozaczyźnie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Warsaw, 1968.

Wojtyła, A. 'De tentaminibus novae Unionis Universalis in Polonia–Lithuania anno 1636 factis'. *OCP* 18 (1952): 158–97.

Wolff, Józef. *Kniaziowie litewsko-ruscy od końca czternastego wieku*. Warsaw, 1895.
Woś, Krystyna. 'Pękalski, Szymon'. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 25 (1980): 727–9.
Zaborovskii, L. V. 'Bor'ba russkoi i pol'skoi diplomatii i pozitsiia Osmanskoi imperii v 1653–54 gg.' In *Osvoboditel'nye dvizheniia na Balkanakh*, pp. 63–75. Moscow, 1978.
——. 'Krymskii vopros vo vneshnei politike Rossii i Rechi Pospolitoi v 40-kh—seredine 50-kh godov XVII veka'. In *Rossiia, Pol'sha i Prichernomor'e v XV–XVIII vekakh*, pp. 263–75. Moscow, 1979.
——. 'Pereiaslavskaia rada i moskovskie soglasheniia 1654 goda: problemy issledovaniia'. In *Rossiia–Ukraina: istoriia vzaimootnoshenii*, ed. A. I. Miller, V. F. Reprintsev, and B. N. Floria, pp. 39–49. Moscow, 1997.
Zagorin, Perez. *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660*. 2 vols. Cambridge, UK, 1984.
Zaikin, Viacheslav. *Uchastie svetskogo ėlementa v tserkovnom upravlenii. Vybornoe nachalo i sobornost' v Kievskoi mitropolii v XVI–XVII v.* Warsaw, 1930.
Zaklyns'kyi, Kornylo. 'Znoshennia tsisaria Rudol'fa II z kozakamy i ïkh uchast' u viini uhors'ko-turets'kii v r. 1594 i 1595'. In *Spravozdannia dyrektsiï Ts. K. gimnaziï akademichnoï vo L'vovi na rik shkil'nyi 1881/1882*, pp. 1–38. Lviv, 1882.
Załęski, Stanisław. *Jezuici w Polsce*. 5 vols. Lviv, 1900–6.
Zapasko, Ia. P., and Ia. D. Isaievych, comp. *Pam"iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Kataloh starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni*. Vol. 1 (*1574–1700*). Lviv, 1981.
Zavitnevich, V. Z. *'Palinodiia' Zakharii Kopystenskogo i ee mesto v istorii zapadno-russkoi polemiki XVI i XVII vv.* Warsaw, 1883.
Zhukovich, P. N. 'Arkhiepiskop Meletii Smotritskii v Vil'ne v pervye mesiatsy posle svoei khirotonii'. *KhCh* 221 (1906): pt. 2, pp. 533–51, 697–715, 858–77.
——. 'Istoricheskie obstoiatel'stva, predshestvovavshie vosstanovleniiu patriarkhom Feofanom zapadno-russkoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii'. *KhCh* 219 (1905): pt. 2, pp. 634–57, 755–77.
——. 'Kazatskii razgrom i kurukovskii dogovor 1625 goda'. *KhCh* 230 (1909): pt. 2, pp. 515–32, 769–98.
——. 'Kievskii sobor 1629 goda (po novym materialam)'. *KhCh* 235 (1911): pt. 1, pp. 74–92, 353–69.
——. 'Kobrinskii sobor i torunskii seim 1626 goda'. *KhCh* 233 (1910): pt. 1, pp. 14–35.
——. 'L'vovskii sobor 1629 goda v sviazi s politicheskimi obstoiatel'stvami vremeni'. *KhCh* 235 (1911): pt. 2, pp. 661–84.
——. 'Moskovskaia smuta nachala XVII veka i ee otrazhenie v Litovsko-Pol'skom gosudarstve'. *KhCh* 213 (1902): pt. 2, pp. 629–64, 820–45.
——. 'Pered kazatskim razgromom (varshavskii seim 1625 goda)'. *KhCh* 228 (1908): pt. 1, pp. 1111–47.
——. 'Pervoe vmeshatel'stvo zaporozhskikh kazakov v seimovuiu bor'bu s tserkovnoi uniei'. *KhCh* 223 (1907): pt. 1, pp. 54–75, 167–89, 300–23.
——. 'Pervyi pol'skii seim posle kurukovskogo razgroma kazakov'. *KhCh* 231 (1909): pt. 1, pp. 907–32.
——. 'Pervyi pol'skii seim posle ubiistva Iosafata Kuntsevicha'. *KhCh* 225 (1908): pt. 1, pp. 27–41, 385–401.

——. 'Pervyi pol'skii seim posle vosstanovleniia patriarkhom Feofanom pravoslavnoi tserkovnoi ierarkhii'. *KhCh* 220 (1905): pt. 2, pp. 580–97, 723–47.
——. 'Poslednii seim v tsarstvovanie Sigizmunda III'. *KhCh* 237 (1912): pt. 2, pp. 517–45.
——. 'Pravoslavno-tserkovnyi vopros na predposlednem seime tsarstvovaniia Sigizmunda III'. *KhCh* 237 (1912): pt. 1, pp. 72–87, 225–46.
——. 'Religiozno-tserkovnyi ėlement v kazatskom vosstanii 1630 goda (pod predvoditel'stvom Tarasa)'. *KhCh* 236 (1911): pt. 1, pp. 777–802, 987–1007.
——. *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (do 1608 g.)*. St Petersburg, 1901.
——. *Seimovaia bor'ba zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei (s 1609 g.)*. Vyps. 1–6. St Petersburg, 1901–12.
——. 'Ubiistvo Iosafata Kuntsevicha'. *KhCh* 225 (1908): pt. 1, pp. 277–312.
——. 'Varshavskii seim 1627 goda i ego znachenie v istorii bor'by pravoslavnykh s uniei'. *KhCh* 233 (1910): pt. 1, pp. 173–92, 334–50; pt. 2, pp. 675–88.
——. 'Varshavskii seim 1628 goda i krushenie unional'nykh planov Meletiia Smotritskogo'. *KhCh* 234 (1910): pt. 1, pp. 935–59.
——. 'Vopros o primirenii pravoslavnykh s uniatami na Varshavskom seime 1629 goda'. *KhCh* 234 (1910): pt. 1, pp. 1122–35; pt. 2, pp. 1233–48.
——. 'Za moskovskim rubezhom posle velikoi moskovskoi smuty'. *KhCh* 216 (1903): pt. 2, pp. 630–51.
——. 'Zaporozhskie getmany Borodavka i Sagaidachnyi v svoikh poslednikh tserkovnykh i politicheskikh delakh'. *KhCh* 222 (1906): pt. 1, pp. 189–212, 341–69.
——. 'Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo v smutnuiu ėpokhu'. *KhCh* 215 (1903): pt. 2, pp. 570–94.
Zhukovs'kyi, Arkadii. *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov*. Paris, 1969; 2nd edn. Kyiv, 1997.
Zimin, A. A. *I. S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki. Ocherki po istorii russkoi obshchestvenno-pravovoi mysli serediny XVII veka*. Moscow, 1958.
Zolotukhina, N. M. *Razvitie russkoi srednevekovoi politiko-pravovoi mysli*. Moscow, 1985.

Index

Afanasii (Puzyna), bishop 183
Agapetus, *Hortatory Chapters* 244
Aleksei Mikhailovich, tsar 204, 225, 233, 254, 285, 303–5, 307, 308, 310, 311, 316, 319, 320, 325, 326, 330
Alexandria, patriarchate of 83
Algiers 20
Andreas 301
Anglicanism 10
Apostol 71
Arcudio, Pietro 82
Arianism 297
Armashenko, Ivan 224
Armenians 204, 205
Arseniev, Fedor 226
Arsenios of Elasson 280
Artamon 260
Astrakhan, khanate of 16
Athanasios III Patelaros, patriarch of Constantinople 256
Augsburg, Council of 148, 339
Avramii 183
Azarii, *Book of Faith* 303
Azov, fortress of 40, 51
Azov, Sea of 40

Badowski, Jan 27
Baida-Vyshnevetsky, Dmytro 276
Balaban, Dionysii, bishop 215, 235, 261, 280, 281, 331
Balaban, Hedeon, bishop 79, 83, 84, 86, 87
Balaban, Isaia 88
Baltic region 16, 17, 34
Bandini, Ottavio, cardinal 93
Bar 55, 120
Barabash, Iakiv 270–2
Baranovych, Lazar, archbishop 224, 233, 260, 289, 331
Barbary Coast 20
Barberini, Maffeo, cardinal 93
Bartoszewicz, Julian 7
Basilian monks 90, 91
Batih, Battle of 57
de Beauplan, Guillaume Le Vasseur 142, 215, 265
  Description d'Vkranie 19, 142
Belarus 22, 24, 33, 36, 41, 42, 66, 72, 85, 86, 91, 94, 99, 104, 106, 117, 147, 149, 251, 259, 283, 299, 330, 331, 333, 337
Belz, Synod of 76
Beniowski, Stanisław 231
Berdychiv 182
Berestechko, Battle of 56, 57, 212, 216, 226, 227, 251, 254, 255, 266, 270, 313
Berynda, Pamva 147, 148, 297
  Leksikon 147
Bevzo, Oleksandr 137, 138
Biarezina River 23, 332
Biba, Mefodii 331
Bila Tserkva 32, 56, 113, 115, 117, 120, 194, 195, 212
Bila Tserkva, Treaty of 56, 57
Bilhorod (Akkerman) 120
Black Sea 18, 20, 35, 37, 40, 165
  region 1, 17, 19, 21, 34, 39
Bobrykovych, Iosyf, bishop 123
Bogdanov, Grigorii 213, 266, 314
Bohdanovych-Zarudny, Samiilo 218
Bohun (Fedorenko), Ivan 217, 266, 326, 329
Boksa Radoszewski, Bogusław, bishop 262
Bolesław the Brave, king of Poland 170
Bolharynovych, Iosyf, metropolitan 69
Bolkhovsky, Semen 225, 226, 306, 307
Bolognetti, Alberto, nuncio 21, 66, 74, 75
Bolotnikov, Ivan 292
Boretsky, Andrii 301
Boretsky, Iov, metropolitan 89, 94, 95, 114–19, 121–7, 129, 130, 133, 134, 139, 140, 150, 151, 158, 161–4, 167, 171, 178, 194, 204, 236–8, 240, 241, 262–4, 266, 279, 281, 282, 285, 286, 288–91, 297, 301, 329, 334
  Protestation 291
  Warning 286
Borodavka, Iakiv 115–19, 194, 271
Boryskovych 181
Boryskovych, Isaakii, bishop 115, 126, 281, 282, 300, 301
Bourbons 177
boyars 26, 45, 47, 174, 210, 326
Bratslav 24, 55
  palatinate 55, 56, 63, 188, 265, 271, 272
  region 17, 57
Braudel, Fernand 16
Brégy, Nicolas de 176
Brest 68, 82, 83
  councils of 82–6, 156, 190, 279
  Union of 3, 8, 13, 77, 78, 86, 89, 93, 106,

Brest (*cont.*):
109, 129, 148, 149, 151, 156, 158, 278–80, 283, 284, 293, 295, 335, 344
brotherhood:
Kyiv 96, 109, 113
Lutsk 67, 135
Lviv 70, 71, 79, 87, 88, 192, 248, 261, 280, 283, 286–90
Vilnius 67, 79, 87, 106, 117, 124, 164, 281
brotherhoods 11, 70, 78, 80, 85, 96, 113, 127, 153, 163, 245, 299
Brown, Edward 145
Buh, Southern 20, 52
Bulavin, Kondrat 2
Bulgarians 310
burghers 23, 45, 47, 51, 57, 110, 164, 167, 181, 339
and Cossacks 23, 24, 33, 36, 45, 119, 135, 164, 179, 270
and Orthodoxy 71, 78, 83, 92, 93, 106, 109, 110, 123, 126, 128, 131, 157, 163, 245, 335, 338
Burliai, Kindrat 316
But, Pavlo 37, 141, 194
Buturlin, Andrei 232
Buturlin, Vasilii 227, 257, 259, 267, 317–27
Byczyna, Battle of 101
Bykhaŭ 23
Byzantium 165

Calvin, John 73
Calvinism 10, 73, 74
Capua, Annibale di 77
Carmelites 182, 183
Catherine II, tsarina 2
Catholic Church 3, 69, 71, 73, 81, 82, 86, 93, 96, 138, 144, 149, 187, 296, 336, 337
Catholicism 3, 7, 10, 12, 74, 75, 103, 126, 143, 149, 162, 169, 172, 182, 194, 275, 280, 294, 295, 332, 334, 337, 338, 344
conversions to 143, 149, 150, 162, 173, 192, 245
Catholics 14, 66, 74–6, 80, 92, 95, 102, 120, 133, 152, 171, 172, 177, 179, 181, 182, 190, 192, 193, 198, 203, 238, 295, 296, 308, 313, 336, 337
Charles X, king of Sweden 231
Cherkassky, Ivan 298, 300
Cherkasy 18, 19, 23, 33, 45, 140, 299
Cherniakhivska Dibrova 301
Chernihiv 130, 155, 294, 301, 326
eparchy 331
palatinate 49, 55, 56, 63, 188, 265, 271, 272
Chetvertynsky, Illia 246, 252
Chetvertynsky, Stepan Sviatopolk 185, 231
Chevalier, Pierre 21, 145
A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners 145
China 16
Chodynicki, Kazimierz 112, 113, 136
Chorny, Hryhorii 36, 135–7, 240
Christians:
Eastern 205
Western 191, 192, 205
Chudov Monastery, Moscow 305
Chyhyryn 45, 48, 55, 56, 59, 218–21, 232, 237, 252, 254, 255, 261, 266–73, 340
regiment 182
starosta district 61
Chynczewska-Hennel, Teresa 10
Circassians 100
Clement VIII, pope 77, 79, 101, 276
clergy 11, 91, 136, 330, 331, 339
Catholic 181–3, 187, 192
Eastern Orthodox (Greek) 68, 83, 283, 294
Muscovite 235, 291, 318, 324
Uniate 85, 99
clergy, Orthodox 5–14 *passim*, 69, 70, 85, 88, 99, 108–13, 119, 125–49 *passim*, 162, 165, 178, 181–6, 191, 195, 203, 235, 238, 246–60 *passim*, 272, 280, 281, 301, 304, 313, 319, 330, 333, 340, 342, 344
and Jews 192–3, 201, 339
and Muscovy 257, 282, 290, 291, 305, 318, 326, 329, 330; *see also* Muscovy: and Ukrainian Orthodox
and Union 76, 80, 127, 129, 157, 183
higher 48, 135, 138, 215, 248, 260, 336
Kyivan 107, 108, 109, 112, 118, 122, 123, 129, 138, 139, 162, 165, 184, 186, 239, 251, 253, 257–60, 269, 270, 273, 277, 282, 290, 291, 300, 301, 304, 324, 326, 329, 330, 332, 336, 340
lower 137, 201
Commonwealth, Polish–Lithuanian 2, 3, 6, 240, 262, 288, 300, 302, 324, 338
and Cossacks 22, 24, 31, 32, 34, 37–41, 47, 48, 56, 58, 62, 64, 92, 102–6, 134, 135, 171, 173–5, 190, 220, 235, 274, 275, 277, 336–8
and Counter-Reformation 65–7, 86, 103, 169, 172, 249, 262, 340
and Khmelnytsky Uprising 49, 51–4, 56, 61–4, 181, 185–7, 189, 207, 215, 228, 231, 234, 236, 247, 254, 258, 267, 268, 314
and Muscovy 37, 60, 186, 205, 252, 257, 276–81, 283, 285, 289, 292, 298, 301, 302, 305–7, 309, 311–14, 316, 317, 321, 323, 327, 332
and Orthodoxy 53, 54, 63, 69, 70, 73, 80, 87, 93–5, 98, 110, 113, 117, 119, 121,

130, 131, 133–5, 144, 153, 158, 161, 165, 179, 184, 253, 278–80, 294–7, 299, 300, 302, 331–3
and Reformation 73, 149
and Union 73, 75, 82, 83, 148
foreign policy of 34, 35, 37, 60, 117, 140, 171, 172, 205, 209, 257, 277, 283, 285, 289, 298, 301, 302, 306, 309, 311, 312, 314–16, 317, 321, 323, 326, 327, 332
Orthodox of 11, 66, 70, 130, 179, 278–80, 294–6, 299, 300, 332, 333
religious policy of 177, 178, 295, 296, 299, 300, 313, 338, 339, 342, 344
confessionalization 3, 10–14, 65, 70, 82, 96, 97, 99, 149, 152, 172, 194, 208, 274, 303, 342, 344
Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith 93, 98, 125
Constantine the Great, Byzantine emperor 156, 178, 228
Constantinople 67, 68, 165, 166
patriarchate 67–70, 77, 80, 83, 84, 88, 94, 98, 112, 114, 125, 260, 279, 284, 330
Cossacks:
Don 20, 40, 60, 61, 277, 299, 315
of the settled area 36, 43, 111, 141
Podilian 102
rank-and-file 33, 61, 143, 167, 213, 216, 218, 219, 247, 270
registered 29, 32, 34–8, 40–6, 55, 62, 130, 135, 137, 182, 185, 301
Russian 2, 31, 299, 343
Slavic 18
Turkic 18
unregistered 132, 137
Cracow 53, 105, 187, 266
Crimea 17, 18, 19, 26, 30, 34, 37, 39, 58, 60–2, 123, 214, 220, 274–6, 308, 314, 315, 327, 338, 340
Crimean Khanate 1, 17, 18, 112, 270, 275–7
Croatia 28
Cyril of Jerusalem 293
Czaplińska, Helena 219, 228, 268
Czapliński, Daniel 185

Dąbrowski, Jan 262
Camoenae Borysthenides 262
Damaskin, Jan 97
Daniil, metropolitan 177
Danilov 255
Danube River 1, 101
Danylovych, Sofiia 139
Dashkovych, Ostafii 25, 170, 171, 276
Didactic Gospel 72
Dionysios of Tŭrnovo, metropolitan 280, 283
Divochka, Onysyfor, metropolitan 67
Dmitriev, Mikhail 9
Dmitrii, First False (Grigorii Otrepev) 280, 292, 296
Dnipro River 1, 19, 20, 23, 25, 27, 31–3, 36, 37, 40, 44, 55, 110, 144, 180, 249, 262
rapids 19, 25, 207
region 1, 22–6, 29, 32, 35, 36, 42, 43, 49, 52, 55, 64, 102, 108, 110, 122, 133, 139, 141, 168, 179, 247, 267, 271, 281
Dnister River 16, 17, 52, 55
Dolgorukii, Iurii 242
Dominicans 97, 133, 182
Don River 17, 37, 40
region 343
Dormition Cathedral (Moscow) 304
Dormition Cathedral (Volodymyr) 90
Dormition Church (Kyivan Cave Monastery) 233
Dormition Church (Lviv) 280
Dormition Church, Pereiaslav 324, 325
Dorofeiovych, Havryil 297
Dorohobuzh 131, 132
Doroshenko, Mykhailo 35, 36
Doroshenko, Petro 340
Drevynsky, Lavrentii 158, 159, 203
Dubno 183
Dubovych, Ivan 124
Dunai-horod 183
Dvina River 92
Dvoretsky, Vasyl 260

Elliott, J. H. 73, 153
England 28
Ettinger, Shmuel 192
Evangelicals 204
Eyewitness Chronicle 176, 179, 180, 195–7, 200, 201, 214, 215, 219

Fastiv 119
Fedor Ivanovich, tsar 286, 288, 289
Fedorov, Ivan 72
Fedorovych (Triasylo), Taras 36, 37, 135, 173
Ferrara 28
Filaret (Romanov), patriarch of Moscow 88, 112, 279, 281, 282, 285, 286, 290, 294–8, 301, 302, 317
Filofei, monk 294
Florence, Council of 103
Florence, Union of 3, 68, 75, 81, 125
Floria, Boris 10, 287, 295, 301
Fomin, Ivan 213, 216, 218, 219
France 21, 73, 149, 177
Fylymonovych, Maksym, metropolitan 321

Gabriel of Nazareth, metropolitan 232, 254, 314
Galiatovsky, Ioanikii 340

Galicia 17, 30, 69, 147, 261, 262
Galicia–Volhynia, Principality of 284
Gamberini, Carlo 21, 100, 101
Gembicki, Wawrzyniec, archbishop 124
Geneva 70, 74
Germans 3, 21, 143, 144, 149
Germogen, patriarch of Moscow 292, 293
Gizel, Inokentii 260, 330
Glad-Sounding Euphony 264
Gladky, Grigorii 301
Godunov, Boris, tsar 286
Golden Horde 16
Goliński, Marcin 228
  notes of 52, 183, 253, 267
Gorchakov, Ilia 292
Gordon, Linda 24
Grądzki (Grondski), Samuel 198
Gramotin, Ivan 299, 300
Greek College (Rome) 66
Greek Congregation (Rome) 66
Greeks 21, 165, 254, 290, 310, 319
Gregory XIII, pope 65, 66, 77
Gregory XV, pope 93
Gudziak, Borys 9

Habsburgs 77, 275, 276
Hadiach, Treaty of 62, 63, 175, 182, 211, 231, 268
Hale, J. R. 42
Halych 53, 265
Hanover, Nathan 107, 192, 198–200, 202, 206, 221
  Yeven Metzulah 107, 202, 206
Hanzha 180
Harbuz, Demian 238
Havrylovych (Didenko), Andrii 132
Hebrews 202
Henri III, king of France and Poland 177
von Herberstein, Sigismund 100
  Rerum moscovitarum commentarii 100
Herbest, Benedykt 3, 75, 150
Herburt, Jan Szczęsny 158
Heroic Verses on the Glorious Martial Deeds 203
Hetmanate (Cossack state) 1, 9, 14
Hlynsky, Mykhailo 170
Hobsbawm, Eric 20
Holobutsky, Volodymyr 26
Holub, Olyfer 122
Holubok, Havrylo 170
Holy Savior, Church of the (Berestovo) 144, 242, 243, 248
Horyn River 23, 54, 55
Hosius, Stanisław, cardinal 103
Hrabianka, Hryhorii 222
Hrekovych, Antonii 107–10
Hrushevsky, Mykhailo 7, 8, 19, 22, 103, 104, 111, 112, 114, 115, 119, 131, 145, 146, 159, 160, 193, 209, 210, 228, 238, 245
Hryhorii, archpriest 318, 320, 327
Huguenots 177
Hunashevsky, Mykhailo 137
Hungary, Hungarians 21, 33
Hunia, Dmytro 37, 141
Hustynia Chronicle 113, 114, 117, 168
Hustynia Monastery 113, 143, 181, 194
Hymnal 241

Iakovenko, Natalia 9, 175
Iakovenko, Petro 226
Ialovytsia River 213
Iaroslav the Wise, grand prince of Kyiv 118, 155, 166, 242, 243
Iaşi 331
Ierlych, Ioakym 181, 201, 224, 239
Inoe skazanie 292
Iosif, patriarch of Moscow 303, 304, 311
Iosyf Sviatohorets 297
Ipolytovych, Paisii, bishop 115, 126
Isaia of Kamianets, monk 297
Islam 103, 169, 194, 200, 334, 340
Islam Giray III, khan of the Crimea 49
Istanbul 19, 25, 34, 191
Istoriia Rusov 103
Italy, Italians 22, 199
Iurii-Boleslav, prince of Galicia–Volhynia 284
Iuzefovych, Ivan 134
Ivan III, tsar 287
Ivan IV the Terrible, tsar 16, 75, 289
Ivanov, Almaz 312
Ivanovych, Leon 128, 129
Ivonea 102

Jabłonowski, Aleksander 7
Jan II Kazimierz, king of Poland 49, 52, 55, 57, 183, 186, 187, 200, 209, 223, 226, 252, 253, 255, 260, 310, 317, 318, 324
Jehiel, Michael 198, 199
Jeremiah II, patriarch of Constantinople 67, 68, 75, 77, 78, 88, 280, 284, 286
Jerusalem 155, 178, 263, 264, 266, 279, 321
  patriarchate 114, 331
Jesuits 66, 86, 90, 140, 183, 187, 188, 280, 337
Jews 14, 107, 143, 144, 179, 180, 190–8, 200–6, 336–9
Joasaph of Corinth, metropolitan 222, 232, 254, 255
John Chrysostom, St:
  Besidy na Diianiia Sviatykh Apostol 297
Jordan Monastery (Kyiv) 138
Judaism 191, 192, 200, 334

Kaffa 172

Kaharlyk 119
Kalinowski, Marcin 57
Kalnofoisky, Atanasii 264
  Teratourgēma 246, 264
Kamianets(-Podilskyi) 54, 55, 82, 84, 113, 120, 183, 280
Kaniv 23, 24, 36
Karpov, Gennadii 320
Karpovych, Leontii 281
Kazan, khanate of 16
Kazanskoe skazanie 292
Keenan, Edward 287
Kerch, Strait of 40
Kern, Fritz 227
Khadkevich, Ryhor 72
Kharlampovych, Kostiantyn 303
Khilkov, Fedor 256
Khitrovo, Bogdan 214, 271, 312, 314
Khmelnytsky, Bohdan:
  alliance with Tatars and Ottomans 49, 58, 275, 314, 315
  and Eastern hierarchs 214–15, 230, 234, 235, 253–6, 256, 266, 308, 314
  and Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov 236, 246–53, 255, 257–9, 260, 261, 273
  and Orthodox clergy 235, 257, 270
  and Protestants 338
  articles of 59, 61, 268, 327
  christening of 222
  consecration of, as hetman 228, 229, 231–3, 235, 247
  death of 62, 214, 217, 261
  'divine election' of 12, 220–7, 233
  legitimacy as Zaporozhian hetman 207–9, 211, 217–19
  posthumous cult of 225
  religious agenda of 190, 249, 251
  title of 186, 229–31
Khmelnytsky, Iurii 214, 217, 219, 233–5
Khmelnytsky, Tymish 58, 213, 214, 219, 223, 232, 254, 276
Khodyka, Fedir 129, 134
Kholm 53, 265
  eparchy 251
Khortytsia Island 25
Khotyn 83
  Battle of 34, 39, 44, 93, 120, 130, 169, 171, 172
  Cossack demands (1621) 39, 121, 122
Khotyn War 35, 42–4, 46, 48, 120–2, 130, 335
Khreptovych, Adam 160
Khvorostinin, Ivan 303
Kikin, Vasilii 328, 329, 333
Klonowic, Sebastian 263
  Roxolania 263
Kochowski, Wespazjan 202, 222
Kodak, fortress of 26, 37, 40, 51, 142, 160, 245, 268
Kohut, Zenon 10
Komulović, Aleksandar 77, 101
Konashevych-Sahaidachny, *see* Sahaidachny, Petro
Koniecpolski, Stanisław 36, 46, 121, 136–40, 142, 173, 240
Kontsevych, Iarema 183
Kopynsky, Isaia, bishop, metropolitan 95, 96, 115, 116, 125, 130, 132, 143, 238–40, 281, 282, 290, 300–2
Kopystensky, Mykhail, bishop 79, 83, 84, 86–8
Kopystensky, Zakhariia 123, 134, 156, 168, 178, 262, 280, 281, 286, 290, 297, 303
  Palinode 152, 156, 286, 290, 297, 303
Korobka, Fedir 226, 233, 234, 268
Korsak, Rafail, metropolitan 91
Korsun 36, 45
  Battle of 36, 49, 179, 186, 196, 212
  councils of 214, 217, 232
Kosov, Sylvestr, metropolitan 186, 201, 222, 227–9, 234–6, 243, 246–55, 257–61, 264, 267, 270, 285, 304, 320, 329–31
Kostomarov, Mykola 7, 136
Kosynsky, Kryshtof 32, 33, 40, 42, 50, 103, 277
Kosynsky uprising 3, 34, 40, 41, 104, 165
Krasnostav 186
Krekhiv 183
Krevza, Lev, bishop 152, 286
  A Defense of Church Unity 152, 286
Krupetsky (Shyshka), Atanasii, bishop 159
Krychevsky, Mykhailo 182
Krynytsky, Makarii 260, 329
Krypiakevych, Ivan 8, 210–13, 215, 223, 270, 322
Kryvonis, Maksym 180, 183, 195, 203, 204, 218
Kulaha-Petrazhytsky, Ivan 130, 132, 240
Kulischer, Alexandre 16
Kulischer, Eugène 16
Kulish, Panteleimon 7, 112
Kumeiky, Battle of 37
Kuntsevych, Iosafat, archbishop, St 92–4, 110, 123, 159, 163, 184, 243
Kurakin 326
Kurtsevych, Iosyf (Iezekyil) 114–16, 119–21, 282, 298, 299
Kurukove campaign and agreement 35, 39, 44, 47, 134, 135, 174
Kuszewicz, Samuel 181, 183, 248
Kutskovych, Ivan 42, 173
Kvasnytsky-Zloty, Andrei, bishop 331
Kyiv 12, 23, 49, 77, 88, 89, 96, 107–29 *passim*, 133–5, 137–9, 144, 153–65 *passim*,

Kyiv (*cont.*):
181–8 *passim*, 221, 228, 229, 232–73 *passim*, 279, 284, 287, 289, 302, 303, 320–31 *passim*, 335
Brotherhood Monastery 115, 233, 324
Brotherhood School 115, 122, 165, 221, 264
metropolitanate 3, 11, 49, 54, 59, 65, 67–70, 75, 77, 86, 88, 89, 112, 125, 129, 130, 132, 144, 148, 150, 156, 173, 239, 240, 243, 246, 247, 253, 261, 263, 273, 282, 284, 290, 297, 299, 302, 303, 331, 335, 336, 339, 344
palatinate 23, 49, 54–7, 63, 64, 107, 109, 159, 160, 188, 238, 265, 268, 271, 272
principality 158, 265
region 17, 33, 42, 107, 130, 133
Kyivan Cave Monastery 85, 87, 88, 95, 96, 110, 113, 116, 123–5, 129, 134, 137, 233, 239, 241, 245, 264, 267
Kyivan Cave Patericon 244, 264
Kyivan College (Academy) 96, 202, 221, 224, 225, 262, 289
Kysil, Adam 98, 128, 129, 142, 180, 181, 186, 187, 189, 198, 212, 218, 229, 239, 240, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249–52, 265, 267, 268, 304, 314, 326
Kyzarevych, Filotei 238
Kyzym, Bohdan 114, 117, 118

Lanckoroński, Przecław 25
Lasko, Petronii 181, 212, 233
Łaszcz, Samuel 138
Lavryniv Kut 183
Leontii, monk 192
Lepiavko, Serhii 47, 106
Leshcha, monastery of 251
Letter to the Monks of the Monastery of Vilnius 160, 161
Lipsius, Justus 28
Lisnytsky, Hryhorii 324
Lithuania, Grand Duchy of 1, 17–19, 22, 23, 25, 27, 47, 48, 52, 55, 73, 85, 113, 114, 130, 131, 139, 147, 150, 154–8, 174, 188, 198, 259, 270, 285, 287, 291, 296, 327, 330
Lithuanian Statute 47, 177
Lithuanians 158, 268
Liubech 55
Livonian War 16, 17, 22, 23, 27, 29, 87, 283, 287
Loboda, Hryhorii 33, 41, 43, 105, 170, 171
Loukaris, Kyrillos I, patriarch of Constantinople 83, 141
Luber, Susanne 22, 200
Łubieński, Maciej, archbishop 212, 249
Lublin 53, 186, 187, 313
Orthodox monastery of 313
Union of 17, 27, 47, 69, 147, 153, 157, 158, 170
Lubny 195, 271, 281
Lupu, Vasile, hospodar of Moldavia 58, 228, 254, 275, 276
Luther, Martin 68
Lutheranism 10
Lutsk 105, 120, 135, 138, 193, 260
eparchy 85, 90, 251
Lviv 49, 53, 66, 67, 79, 101, 128, 183, 204, 205, 228, 239, 248, 262, 265, 266, 284, 312, 313, 331, 335
eparchy 85, 98
Jesuit College 183, 248
metropolitanate 284
Lviv Chronicle 137–9, 173
Lypynsky, Viacheslav 210, 211

Maciejowski, Bernard, archbishop 78, 82
magnates 26, 33, 69, 80, 83, 85, 91, 209
Magni, Walerian 98
Mahilioŭ 42, 259, 326
eparchy 331
Makarios III, patriarch of Antioch 201, 233, 256, 257
Maksim Grek 72, 297
Malaspina, Germanico, nuncio 77, 78
Malta, knights of 20, 21, 102
Mandelkern, Solomon 107
Manuilov 255
Maria Ludwika Gonzaga de Nevers, queen of Poland 209
Matiash 218
Matveev, Artamon 213, 216, 218, 219, 259, 331
Maximilian von Habsburg, archduke 101
Mazepa, Ivan 2
Mazyr 23
Mediterranean Sea 20, 39, 245
Meir ben Shmuel of Szczebrzeszyn 199, 200
Meleshko, Iurii 160
Meletios of Antioch 293
Meshchersky, Nikita 180
Mezhyhiria Monastery 137, 138
Mhar Monastery 281, 329
Miaskowski, Łukasz 188
Miaskowski, Wojciech 181, 202, 210, 221
Mieszko I, king of Poland 166, 170
Mikhail Fedorovich, tsar 88, 113, 279, 286, 288, 289, 292, 293, 299, 316, 317, 329
Mohyla, Petro, metropolitan 236–46
and confessionalization 12, 96
and Cossacks 144, 173
and Isaia Kopynsky 95, 96, 130
and Kyiv College 96, 189, 221

Brief Compendium of Teachings about the Articles of the Faith 12, 303
Euchologion 244, 245
Homiliary Gospel 244
Orthodox–Uniate relations 97, 98, 124–6, 129, 184
reform of the Orthodox Church 96, 97, 144, 193
Moldavia 19, 25, 29, 33, 39, 41, 58, 60, 62, 83, 102, 105, 106, 113, 117, 167, 228, 230, 274–6, 314
Moldavians 21, 167, 310
Moscow 59, 61–3, 112, 132, 180, 233, 234, 255, 279, 289, 297–9, 301–3, 306, 307, 317, 322
Antonio Possevino's mission to 66
Commonwealth envoys to 304, 311, 314
Eastern clergymen's visits to 67, 76, 88, 113, 254, 256, 280–3, 286, 308, 332
Moscow sobor (1620) 295, 296
Mstsislaŭ eparchy 331
Muscovites 21, 167, 275, 291
Muscovy:
and the Hetmanate 100, 220, 231, 233, 272, 277, 306–18 *passim*, 336, 340
and Pereiaslav Agreement 14, 58, 62, 185, 235, 257, 318–33 *passim*, 342; *see also* Pereiaslav Agreement
and steppe borderland 1, 16, 17, 24, 31
and Ukrainian Orthodox 112, 115, 239, 240, 258, 278–305 *passim*, 330, 342
early contacts with the Cossacks of 19, 22, 34, 100, 167, 274, 276–8, 293
border of 138, 142, 143, 148
diplomats of 210, 218, 227, 228
political and religious ideas in 12, 177, 208, 233, 291–305 *passim*
Time of Troubles in 34, 280, 292
wars of 27, 35, 37, 44, 46, 60, 109, 118, 130, 132, 154, 190, 205, 283, 292, 309, 316, 321, 335
Muzhylovsky, Andrii 117, 119–24, 126, 128, 133, 134, 151
Muzhylovsky, Syluian 180, 202, 203, 213, 308, 316
Myshka-Kholonevsky, Mykhailo 108

Nalyvaiko, Demian 105, 106
Nalyvaiko, Severyn 33, 41, 42, 52, 77, 102–7
Nalyvaiko uprising 33, 34, 36, 43, 47, 104, 107, 135, 173, 277
Navahrudak 89
Neapolitan revolt (1647) 53
Nebaba, Martyn 56
Nemyriv 199
Nemyrych, Iurii 182, 231, 269, 338
Neronov, Grigorii 309, 315
Neta Kahana, Nathan 199
Netherlands 41, 53
Nikephoros, protosyncellus 83, 84, 87
Nikon, patriarch of Moscow 233, 258, 259, 303, 305, 321, 331
nobility 11, 24, 26, 32, 44, 47, 51, 52, 54, 56, 59, 63, 64, 109, 110, 134, 143, 144, 153, 163, 164, 167, 177, 179, 210, 237, 335, 338, 339
nobility, Orthodox 48, 55–7, 63, 82, 87, 88, 96, 109, 126–8, 131, 150, 152, 157–9, 161, 162, 164, 174, 178, 181, 239, 240, 243, 245, 246, 304, 335, 338
Noghays 16
Nomocanon 302
Novhorod-Siverskyi 132
Novhorod-Siverskyi Monastery 260

Obornicki 114, 119, 120
Odynets, Petro 299
Ohloblyn, Oleksander 8, 247, 248
Old Believers 343
Oleh, grand prince of Kyiv 118, 165, 166
Olekshych, Pavlo 217, 329
Olyka 183
Oparina, Tatiana 296
Orendarenko, Tymofii 301
Orikhovsky, Stanislav 75, 103, 148
Orsha 23
eparchy 331
Orthodox 11, 12, 63, 70, 74–6, 80, 86, 87, 95, 97, 98, 102, 103, 110, 123–5, 128, 150, 161, 172, 179, 184, 190, 191, 205, 308, 312, 327
Orthodox Church 3, 5, 54, 140, 152, 156, 157, 165, 166, 189, 192, 206, 240, 335
Orthodox faith 307–9, 315, 316, 318
Orthodoxy 74, 103, 126, 149, 182
Osman II, Ottoman sultan 35
Ossoliński, Jerzy 187, 218, 219
Oster 23
Ostrianytsia, Iakiv 37
Ostrih 72, 74, 105, 153, 199
Ostrih Bible 71, 155, 163, 288
Ostrih College 74
Ostrogski, Janusz 32, 104
Ostrozky, Kostiantyn 29, 33, 68, 72–6, 78–81, 83–5, 88, 104–7, 109, 129, 154–7, 165, 242, 261, 279, 281, 283, 285, 286, 288, 291, 335
Ostrozky, Kostiantyn Ivanovych 154, 155
Ostrozky (Surazky), Vasyl 72
Little Book 72
Ottoman Empire 1, 17, 19–21, 28, 32, 35, 40, 61, 64, 93, 115, 212, 219, 220, 252, 274, 336

Ottomans 30, 34, 35, 40, 51, 100–3, 117–19, 161, 275, 276, 278, 334, 338
Ovruch, Orthodox monastery of 181

Pachynsky, Pavlo 116
Paisios, patriarch of Jerusalem 186, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234, 235, 247, 253, 266, 268, 308, 309, 314, 336
Parthenios, archimandrite 282
Parthenios II, patriarch of Constantinople 254
Passeri Aldobrandini, Cinzio, cardinal 78
Paul IV, pope 193
Paul V, pope 245
Paul of Aleppo 201, 205, 222, 230, 233, 256, 270
Pavliuk uprising 41, 194
peasants 16, 24, 28, 33, 36, 39, 47, 51, 57, 102, 119, 135, 136, 142, 179, 180, 184, 185, 190, 193, 195, 197, 206, 247, 339, 341
Pękalski, Szymon 104, 165, 166
  De bello Ostrogiano ad Piantcos cum Nisoviis 104, 165
Penna, Concini della 101
Pereiaslav 32, 36, 53, 187, 239, 246, 252, 267, 271, 272
  Agreement 44, 58, 59, 182, 190, 213, 216, 223, 235, 247, 257, 268, 289, 318–22, 324, 325, 330, 339
  commission 53, 55, 56, 252
  Jesuit College 182
Peremyshl (Przemyśl) 79, 160
  eparchy 85, 90, 114, 251, 281
Peter I, tsar 2
Petr of Mstsislaŭ 72
Petrovsky, Mykola 272
Petrykaŭ 23
Piasecki, Paweł 137
  Chronica 137
Piatka, 32
  Battle of 33, 104, 165
Pidkova, Ivan 29, 101, 102, 121
Piedmont 28
Pigas, Meletios I, patriarch of Alexandria 83, 192
Pinsk 105, 164
Pleshcheev, Nikifor 307
Pletenetsky, Ielysei 88, 110, 134
Pochaiv 216
Pochasky, Sofronii
  Eucharistērion 24
Poczanowski, Szczęsny 113, 114, 117, 118
Podilia 17, 22, 24, 26, 30, 33, 57, 147, 179, 265, 340
Poland, Kingdom of 1, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 27, 30, 49, 55, 60, 62, 73, 85, 113, 130, 131, 139, 147, 148, 157, 158, 188, 198, 200, 219, 224, 266, 267, 270, 285, 296, 326
Polatsk, Orthodox eparchy 89, 92, 124, 331
  Uniate eparchy 110
polemical literature 72, 89, 91, 118, 154, 162, 183, 184
Poles 21, 39, 51, 55, 56, 105, 106, 113, 138, 141–9 *passim*, 158, 173–84 *passim*, 191, 196, 198, 204–6, 210, 213, 228, 229, 238, 249, 253, 255, 257, 266–75 *passim*, 281, 296–304 *passim*, 307–11, 314–16, 333, 336, 342
Polish Brethren 149
Polisia 23
Polonization 86, 149, 150, 162
Possevino, Antonio 66, 74, 75
Potii, Ipatii, metropolitan 68, 75–82, 89, 90, 106–8, 110, 152, 279, 283
Potocki, Mikołaj 37, 143, 184, 196, 197, 213, 219, 246
Potocki, Stanisław 143
Pretwicz, Bernard 25
Primer 71
princes 11, 16, 73, 109, 110, 150, 153, 156, 163, 210, 244, 287, 294
  Kyivan Rus' 155–7, 165, 242, 263, 287, 321
  Ruthenian (Ukrainian) 32, 61, 111, 118, 156, 158, 163, 164, 166, 168, 169, 189, 209, 299, 320, 335, 344
Prokopovych, Zosyma, bishop 304
Protestantism 76, 149, 275, 295, 308, 334, 338
Protestants 71, 79, 86, 87, 103, 106, 123, 128, 131, 172, 177, 181, 295, 296, 335, 338, 339
  Lithuanian 117, 126, 133, 275, 338
Pryluky 181
Prypiat River 22, 23, 54, 55, 120
  Psalter with Horologion 72
Ptytsky, Damaskyn 305, 324
Pugachev, Emelian 2
Pushkar, Martyn 215, 226
Pushkin, Grigorii 218
Pushkin, Stepan 218
Putyvl 139, 281, 301
Pykiv 40
Pyliavtsi 228
  Battle of 49, 51, 179

Radziwiłł, Albrycht Stanisław 173, 174
Radziwiłł, Janusz 184, 229, 253, 259, 267, 270, 275, 276, 333, 338
Radziwiłł, Krzysztof 114, 117, 123, 126, 128, 133, 134, 150, 151, 271
Rákóczi, György II, prince of Transylvania 229, 266, 272

Rákóczi, Zsigmond 229
Rakushka-Romanovsky, Roman 195
Ratchenko, Mykhailo 226
Rawita-Gawroński, Franciszek 7
Reformation 3, 11
Repnin-Obolensky, Boris 312, 317
Reszka, Stanisław 101
Riga 140
Riurykides 156, 288, 289
Rohoza, Mykhail, metropolitan 67, 80, 84, 89, 280
Rome 3, 12, 65, 66, 70, 77–81, 97, 98, 101, 105, 132, 263, 305
Romodanovsky, Grigorii 333
Rostankowski, Peter 22
Rostowicz, Stanisław 117
Rudnicki, Światosław 183
Rudolf II, emperor 276
Rus' 13, 53, 54, 73, 93, 104, 105, 111, 113, 139, 148, 187
  'all Rus'' 114, 285
  'Great and Little Rus'' 320, 325, 326, 328, 329, 331
  'Great Rus'' 284, 285, 290
  'Little Rus'' 271, 272, 283–5, 290, 319, 320, 327, 328
  Muscovite 14, 147, 283, 284, 288, 291
  nobiliary conception of 153, 154, 157–61, 163, 261, 265, 273
  old Rus', cultural and political traditions of 236, 237, 241, 273
  Orthodox 54, 116, 122, 126, 149, 172, 243, 245, 262, 281, 283, 290, 291
  Polish–Lithuanian 14, 147, 288–91, 295–9, 307, 318, 326, 327, 333
  Uniate 126, 279
  'White' 285, 327
Rus' identity 13, 150, 151
Rus' nation 54, 80, 115, 118, 130, 138, 288
Rus' people 74, 94, 104, 126, 138, 148, 189, 202–4, 290; *see also* Ruthenians
Russia 49, 232, 274, 287, 333, 343
Russian Empire 1, 342
Ruszel, Paweł 191, 204
Ruthenians 21, 23, 139, 149, 151, 157, 158, 162, 171, 184, 191, 202, 245, 279, 283, 285, 286, 291, 306, 314, 333, 341; *see also* Rus' people
Rutsky, Iosyf, metropolitan 89–91, 94, 96, 98, 124, 125, 137, 152, 335

Sahaidachny (Konashevych-Sahaidachny), Petro 35, 36, 46, 88, 93, 109, 113–17, 119–22, 130, 144, 165–7, 170–2, 194, 236, 245, 277, 278, 293, 299
St Aleksei, metropolitan of Moscow 294, 323
St Antonii of Kyiv 322, 323
St Barbara 323
St Feodosii of Kyiv 322, 323
St Filip, metropolitan of Moscow 323
St Iona, metropolitan of Moscow 294, 323
St Michael's Church (Lavryniv Kut) 183
St Michael's Church (Vydubychi Monastery, Kyiv) 242
St Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery (Kyiv) 89, 96, 110, 238, 240, 259, 260
St Nicholas's Church (Brest) 84
St Nicholas's Monastery (Kyiv) 96, 138, 139, 330
St Peter 243
St Peter's Monastery (Minsk) 313
St Petr, metropolitan of Moscow 294, 323
St Sophia's Cathedral (Kyiv) 231, 267
St Stephen, Knights of 20
St Theodosius' Church 139
Sakovych, Kasiian 91, 115, 117, 121, 126, 150, 162, 165–9, 171–3, 278
  Verses on the Sorrowful Obsequy 165–8, 171, 172, 278
Sanguszko, Aleksander 97, 143
Sapieha, Lew 249, 294
Sarmatism 168–70, 173
Sarnicki, Stanisław 100
  Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae 100
Sas, Petro 9
Satanovsky, Arsenii 304, 305, 324
Seliava, Antonii, metropolitan 89, 91
Semashko, Oleksander 104–6
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus 171
Serbs 310
Sereda, Hryhorii 109
Service Book 302
Ševčenko, Ihor 10, 146, 243
Shahin Giray 123
Shaula, Matvii 33
Shchelkalov, Andrei 286
Shcherbak, Vitalii 24
Shcherbatov, Timofei 56, 225
Sheremetiev, Vasilii 272, 333
Shorter Volhynian Chronicle 154
Shuisky, Vasilii, tsar 292
Shyshka, *see* Krupetsky, Atanasii
Sienkiewicz, Henryk 2
Siverian land, region 130, 277
Sixtus V, pope 101
Skarga, Piotr 66, 71, 74–6, 148, 150, 281
  On the Unity of God's Church 71, 74
Skumyn-Tyshkevych, Ianush (Janusz Tyszkiewicz) 160, 182, 187, 238
Skydan, Karpo 141, 142
Slavynetsky, Iepyfanii 304, 305, 324
Sluch River 23, 55
Slutsk 128

Smolensk 60, 259, 260, 281, 287, 294, 330, 331
Smolensk War 132, 240, 277, 278, 285, 301, 302, 309
Smolii, Valerii 60
Smotrytsky, Herasym 71, 72, 155, 163, 288
The Key to the Kingdom of Heaven 71, 72
Smotrytsky, Meletii 89, 91, 92, 94, 113–16, 122, 124–9, 148, 149, 151, 156, 158, 160–2, 173, 178, 237, 280, 281, 303
An Apology 126
Threnos 149, 161, 280
Verification of Innocence 160
Sobieski 209, 210
Socinians 182, 204, 338
Sofonovych, Feodosii 260, 289, 318, 324
Sokal 186
Solenyk 127
Solikowski, Jan Dymitr, archbishop 78
Solonytsia River 33, 271
Song of Lord Mikołaj Potocki 224
Sozh River 23
Spaniards 21, 41
Speshnev, Mikhail 293
Starets River 37
Starodub 55
Starokostiantyniv 55
starostas 19, 25, 26, 43–5, 50, 56, 64, 226
Starowolski 182
Starowolski, Szymon 170–3, 215
Eques Polonus 170
Sarmatiae bellatores 170, 171
True Knight 172
Starushych, Klymentii 246, 251, 252
Stefan Batory, king of Poland 27–9, 42–4, 46, 67, 157, 170, 177
Stepankov, Valerii 60
Streshnev, Vasilii 8, 317, 326
Stryjkowski, Maciej 262, 287
Chronicle of Poland 287
Subotiv 271
Sukha Dibrova 114, 119–21
Sukhanov, Arsenii 232, 254, 308, 310, 315, 327
Sulyma, Ivan 1, 37, 245
Supplication of Residents of the Noble Order 157–9, 161
Susha, Iakiv, bishop 190, 255
Sweden 37, 140, 209, 231, 274, 275, 305, 317, 338
Sysyn, Frank 10

Talducci, Filippo 101, 102
Taphlari, Joannes 254
Tatars 17, 19–21, 25, 26, 29–31, 39, 40, 52, 167, 171, 179, 183, 191, 198, 204, 262, 272, 274–6, 308, 314–16, 326, 333, 340, 342
Tazbir, Janusz 149, 170
Terletsky, Iarosh 105, 106
Terletsky, Kyryl, bishop 67, 78, 79, 81, 82, 104–6
Teteria, Pavlo 217, 218, 227, 319, 324
theologians 297, 303, 305, 327
Theophanes, metropolitan 303
Theophanes III, patriarch of Jerusalem 88, 89, 111–15, 117–19, 135, 140, 153, 159, 167, 194, 237, 263, 278, 281, 282, 284, 290, 291, 294, 297, 301, 308, 336
Thevet, André 100
La Cosmographie universelle 100
Thirty Years' War 35, 140, 149, 274, 276, 277, 319, 338, 339
Three Saints, Church of the (Kyiv) 242
Tighina 120
Time of Troubles 34, 277, 278, 280, 283, 291, 292, 294, 305, 317
Tithes, Church of the (Kyiv) 243
Tolochko, Oleksii 10
Torchyn 78
Torres, Juan de 249
Toruń, convention of 79
Trakhtemyriv 56, 113, 115
Trakhtemyriv Monastery 110, 114, 119, 133
Tranquillon-Stavrovetsky, Kyryl 91, 298, 299
Didactic Gospel 298, 299
Transylvania 62, 274, 275, 336, 338
Trent, Council of 3, 68, 103
Trofymovych-Kozlovsky, Isaia 303
Brief Compendium of Teachings about the Articles of the Faith 12, 303
Tryzna, Mykola 160
Tughay Bey 49
Tukalsky, Iosyf, metropolitan 261
Tulchyn 180, 198
Tupeka, Ivan 90
Tur, Nykyfor 85
Turkey, Turks 12, 21, 29, 32, 34, 39, 40, 101–3, 113, 154, 167, 171, 187, 191, 275, 276, 314, 316, 340, 342
Ţuţora, Battle of 34, 35, 93, 114, 117, 118, 161, 171
Tysarovsky, Ieremiia (Ostafii), bishop 88, 335
Tyshkevych, Herman 238
Tyskynevych, Hryhorii 108, 111

Ulewicz, Tadeusz 170
Uman 180
Uniate Church 12, 55, 81, 86, 87, 89–93, 96, 99, 131, 150, 157, 172, 192, 206, 239, 251, 252, 260, 263, 294, 335, 337

Uniates 11, 86, 89–94, 98, 99, 108, 110, 114, 117, 123–8, 131–5, 137, 150–2, 161, 171, 184, 186–8, 190, 191, 206, 228, 238–40, 242, 249, 251, 279, 293, 296, 313, 332, 333, 335–7, 339
Unkovsky, Grigorii 210, 221, 268, 310
Unkovsky, Vasilii 248, 315
Urban VIII, pope 98
Urbino 28

Vasylevych, Feodosii 259
Veichyk, Sakhno 56, 225, 226
Velychenko, Stephen 9, 207, 232
Velychko, Samiilo 222
Venice 79
Veshniak, Fedir 246
Vilnius 90, 93, 108, 110, 203, 262, 272, 280, 281, 332
  Treaty of 60
Vimina, Alberto 275
Vinnytsia 24, 55, 228
Visconti, Honoratio, nuncio 132
Vistula 54, 56, 195, 203, 226
Vitsebsk 94, 110, 123
Vitsebsk (Vitsebsk–Mstsislaŭ), eparchy 251, 331
Vladimir on the Kliazma 287
voevodas 60, 139, 140, 142, 143, 225, 226, 257–60, 268, 270, 298–301, 304, 326, 327, 329, 330, 333
Volga River 16
Volhynia 17, 22, 23, 32, 33, 41, 85, 86, 105, 106, 149, 165, 179, 246, 261, 265, 338
  eparchy 330
Volkonsky 326
Volodymyr 94, 119
  eparchy 114
Volodymyr the Great, grand prince of Kyiv 118, 154–6, 165, 166, 170, 242, 243, 262, 272, 273, 282, 286–9, 320, 326, 329
Volotskii, Iosif 177
Vonifatiev, Stefan 303
Vydubychi Monastery 110, 242
Vyhovsky, Danylo 218
Vyhovsky, Ivan 62, 64, 175, 182, 185, 186, 214–18, 222, 223, 231–5, 252, 258, 260, 261, 266, 270–2, 320, 322, 328, 332, 333, 338
Vyshnevetsky, Dmytro 25, 26
Vyshnevetsky, Mykhailo 27
Vyshnevetsky, Oleksander 32, 33, 38, 43

Wallachia 39, 58, 60, 62, 167, 275
Wallachians 21, 167, 310
Warsaw 33, 37, 50, 66, 93, 101, 118, 132, 176, 182, 186, 187, 209, 218, 245, 250–2, 266, 268
Warsaw Confederation (1573) 177, 317
Weinryb, Bernard 191
Wereszczyński, Józef, bishop 38, 52, 102
Westphalia, Peace of 339
Wężyk, Jan, archbishop 130, 131
Wild Fields 18, 26
Wiśniowiecki, Jeremi 181, 185, 195, 203, 229
Witowski, Stanisław 311
Władysław IV, royal prince, king of Poland 34, 48, 95, 97, 98, 121, 132, 174, 183, 209, 219, 223, 224, 238, 239, 302, 310, 312, 317

Yaik River 343
Ymnolohia 192, 241

Zamość 49, 51, 183
Zamoyski Academy 263
Zamoyski, Jan 38, 77, 78, 101, 167
Zamoyski, Tomasz 113, 116
Zaporizhia 23, 32, 36, 37, 48, 51, 116, 118, 136, 141, 162, 213–15, 271; *see also* Cossacks
Zasławski, Dominik 195, 203
Zavaliv 183
Zbaraski, Jerzy 133
Zboriv, Battle of 55, 210
  Treaty of 55–7, 62, 63, 185, 188, 201, 212, 216, 249–51, 312, 313
Zebrzydowski, Mikołaj 87
Zemka, Tarasii 241
Zhdanovych, Antin 219, 266
Zhelyborsky, Arsenii, bishop 261
Zhovti Vody, Battle of 49, 179, 186, 212
Zhukovich, Platon 115, 136, 164
Zhvanets 57
Zhydychyn, monastery of 251
Zhyvotiv 57, 115
Żółkiewski, Stanisław 33, 47, 107
Zygmunt I, king of Poland, grand prince of Lithuania 155
Zygmunt II August, king of Poland, grand prince of Lithuania 25, 27–9, 42–4, 46, 157
Zygmunt III, king of Poland 21, 47, 52, 78, 86, 94, 95, 107, 120, 130, 131, 173, 238, 280, 335
Zyzanii, Lavrentii 126, 296–8
  Confession of Faith 298
Zyzanii, Stefan 152, 178, 293