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Summer-Winter 1992

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SPECIAL ISSUE
EARLY MODERN UKRAINE

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ОСВЯТИЛ ВСТЪ СВЯТЫЯ СВОЯ ВЫШНІЙ

Leontii Tarasevych. Dormition Cathedral of the Kievan Caves Monastery. *Paterik* of the Kievan Caves Monastery (Kiev, 1702).

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SPECIAL ISSUE

EARLY MODERN UKRAINE

Preface

The establishment of the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research has strengthened the study of early modern Ukraine at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The centre's major project, producing an English translation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, has focused its work on the medieval and early modern periods. Three scholarly associates of the centre—Zenon Kohut, Serhii Plokhy, and Frank Sysyn—are specialists in early modern Ukrainian history. In cooperation with Natalia Pylypiuk and Peter Rolland, faculty members of the university's Slavic Studies Department who specialize in the period, they have expanded research on and teaching about early modern Ukraine at the University of Alberta. Since its founding, the Jacyk Centre has sponsored guest lectures by noted scholars of early modern Ukraine, including David Frick of the University of California, Berkeley; Iaroslav Isaievych of the Institute of Social Sciences at the Academy of Sciences, Lviv; and Antoni Mączak of the University of Warsaw.

The Jacyk Centre has undertaken a number of projects to further the development of studies on early modern Ukraine. In conjunction with the Institute of Balkan and Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and the Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Lviv, it is publishing a series of sources on seventeenth-century Ukrainian history in Russian archives. The centre's English-language monograph series will include several volumes on the period, the first of which will be Ihor Ševčenko's *Ukraine between East and West: Essays in Cultural History (to the 1700s)*. The centre's Ukrainian-language monograph series, undertaken in conjunction with the Archaeographic Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, also concentrates on the early modern period. In 1994, it will publish a translation of Zenon Kohut's *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*. The centre has also been instrumental in enabling specialists on the early modern period from Ukraine to carry on archival projects in Poland.

This special volume of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* began as a project to publish the papers given at a panel on relations among Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Russians from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, sponsored by the Jacyk Centre at the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies at Harrogate, England, on 26 July 1990. When additional papers on the subject were received, it

became feasible to devote a double issue of the journal to early modern Ukraine. Dushan Bednarsky, a graduate student in Slavic Studies at the University of Alberta, undertook and accomplished the editing of the volume, together with Frank Sysyn and Zenon Kohut. The editors are grateful to the editorial board of *Zion* for permitting the publication of Shmuel Ettinger's article; we also thank Alan Rutkowski for translating the article from Hebrew into English, and Lynn Hirsch and Gershon Hundert for editorial advice. We thank Peter Rolland for his careful reading of the proofs of this volume. Uliana Pasicznyk has rendered editorial assistance in the production of the volume, and Nancy Misener has entered editorial corrections with care.

D.B.
Z.K.
F.S.

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Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century: An Agenda for the Study of Politics*

Zenon E. Kohut

The study of politics among the East Slavs has been coloured by a number of political and cultural presuppositions. In the nineteenth century, most Russian historians viewed Ukrainians and Belarusians as wayward branches of a single Russian nation and judged historical events and personalities from that perspective. Differences between Russians, on the one hand, and Ukrainians and Belarusians, on the other, were explained as the result of contamination by Polish influences. That view was brought to the West by Russian émigré historians after the Russian revolution and, to a remarkable extent, was accepted by their Western students.[1]

Ukrainian and Belarusian historians eventually created their own conception of national history. In the nineteenth century, however, Ukrainian historiography was dominated by populism. The populists made significant contributions to political history, but their primary interest was in social issues, such as the struggle of the masses for freedom and social justice against Polish and Russian landlords.

Only with the emergence of a "statist" orientation in the twentieth century did historical research focus on politics, particularly on indicators

* Although almost all works dealing with political affairs in early modern Ukrainian and, to a lesser degree, Belarusian history touch upon practical relations with Muscovy/Russia, relatively few analytical or thematic works on the topic exist. In general, historians of Russia paid little attention to the topic. By the 1930s, it was virtually taboo in Soviet historiography. In this essay only a few important and more recent works are mentioned.

of Ukrainian or Belarusian statehood. Some Belarusian and Ukrainian historians viewed the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as an embodiment of Belarusian and/or Ukrainian statehood. Much attention was paid to politics and foreign relations (e.g., the Ukrainian Cossack political entity). After the statist historical school was proscribed in the Soviet Union, it was continued by Ukrainian and Belarusian émigré historians.

In the Soviet Union, Marxist historians of the 1920s viewed Russian expansion into Ukraine and Belarus as a manifestation of Russian imperialism. However, by the 1930s the old Russian school, with some new embellishments, emerged victorious once more. The Soviet scheme now posited the concept of an ancient unity of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian peoples in an "old Russian nation." According to the Soviet interpretation, after the breakup of the "old Russian nation" into three national components, the Ukrainians and Belarusians wanted nothing more than to "reunite" with their Russian "elder brother." The study of politics was fitted into this scheme. Only recently, as the result of openness and restructuring, have these dogmas come into question.[2]

Because of such views, political relations among Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians have been characterized largely as either "fraternal reunion" or "Russian imperialism." It is necessary to go beyond such slogans and attempt to see political relations among the East Slavs within the context of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century politics.

In the sixteenth century, Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus were hardly political equals. Russia, as represented by Muscovy, was a major political power, while Ukraine and Belarus were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Relations among the East Slavs, therefore, existed not on the level of state policy and diplomacy, but more in the realms of religion, trade, and culture. These seemingly unofficial relations, however, had political and international dimensions. In fact, what constituted "politics," "sovereignty," and "international affairs" in the sixteenth century is still open to question. Dependent political entities—protectorates, vassalages—and autonomous political bodies within states—estates, regional parliaments, free cities—were common in Europe. Estates and regional bodies were still assessing their "rights to resist" a sovereign and their ability to seek assistance from "foreign" rulers.

Poland-Lithuania did not experience a fully developed feudalism and therefore had fewer autonomous political bodies than other states. Nevertheless, its politics were complex and diffuse. The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were two separate states first joined in a personal union under a common monarch in 1385 and then brought together into a common state by the Union of Lublin in 1569. The unity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth rested in a common

king and in a Diet, a two-house legislature composed solely of nobles. Separate administrations, law, finances and armies continued to exist in the Kingdom of Poland and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Government structures were poorly developed and, to a substantial extent, merged with the corporate institutions of the nobility. Local dietines of nobles assumed more power. Some large landowners, called magnates, had their own armies and administrations, and even conducted their own foreign policy. Despite a gradual polonization of the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, separatist tendencies persisted into the eighteenth century.

Many scholars have viewed the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a successor state to Kievan Rus'. Nineteenth-century Russian scholars labelled the Grand Duchy as the "Lithuanian-Russian" state (they viewed the Ukrainian and Belarusian population of Lithuania as Russian). Ukrainian and Belarusian historians have referred to it as the Lithuanian-Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belarusian), Lithuanian-Ukrainian, or Lithuanian-Belarusian state. Such claims stem from the facts that the Grand Duchy adopted Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belarusian) as its official state language and that its law codes were greatly influenced by the laws of Kievan Rus'. The official title for the country, the "Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Rus', and Samogitia," supported the claim. Today, historians need to reexamine the East Slavic contribution to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Ukrainian and, in particular, Belarusian claims to statehood need to be fully explored.[3]

At the Union of Lublin, the Belarusian lands remained part of the Grand Duchy, while most of the Ukrainian lands were incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland. Within the Ukrainian lands the Ruthenian language was retained in administration, and the Lithuanian Statute continued to be the code of law. Such prerogatives, together with the Orthodox faith, differentiated Ukraine from Poland, and provided the basis for the emergence of a regional political grouping of the nobility, which referred to itself as the "Rus' nation."

The study of Belarusian and Ukrainian politics requires one to examine, first, the policies and outlook of the nobles in general, and then those of the great nobles or "magnates" in particular. As virtual "kinglets," these magnates were able to pursue political and foreign policies separately from, or even in opposition to, the Polish-Lithuanian government. Their actions, whether motivated by belief, personal ambition, court politics, or sheer adventurism, had far-reaching political and international repercussions. Two instances had particular significance for the politics of the East Slavs. In 1508, a Ruthenian princely family, the Hlynskys, led a revolt against the Polish-Lithuanian state in which they attempted unsuccessfully to sever the Ruthenian lands from Lithuania.

In the 1540s, Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky united and organized the Zaporozhian Cossacks, made bold raids against the Tatars, and laid the foundation for an independent Cossack military force. Scholarship has yet to discuss to what extent such activities can be considered an expression of specifically Ruthenian or Ukrainian politics and foreign policy.

The most important specifically Ruthenian institution was the Orthodox church. Apart from its religious, spiritual, and cultural dimensions, the Orthodox church has to be examined as a political institution within the context of the political structure of Eastern Europe. Although many aspects of the church's political role and ecclesiastical structures require study, the following topics need reexamination and elaboration:

1. The politics of the Union of Brest of 1596. With the approach of the four-hundredth anniversary of the union, dispassionate study is sorely needed and very much in order.

2. The Orthodox church and its search for a legitimate place within the increasingly intolerant Poland-Lithuania. The church under Metropolitan Peter Mohyla was perhaps the best example of a revived, vibrant, and tolerated Orthodox church.

3. The Orthodox church's relationship with the Cossacks and, subsequently, with the Hetman state. From the 1620s the Orthodox church maintained complex and at times very close relations with the Zaporozhian Cossacks and, subsequently, with the semi-independent political entity, the Hetman state.

4. The church's attempt to maintain a united ecclesiastical structure despite the partitioning of Ukraine into Muscovite, Polish, and Ottoman parts.

5. The subordination of the Kievan metropolitan to the Moscow patriarch (1686).

6. The gradual absorption of the Ukrainian and Belarusian eparchies into the imperial Russian Orthodox church.[4]

In addition to the church, the Cossacks formed another centre of autonomous politics in Ukraine. Cossacks were not unique to Ukraine, but emerged somewhat spontaneously in the no-man's-land between the sedentary states and the nomads of the steppe. Cossack hosts existed on the borders of the Muscovite state—the Don, Iaik, and Volga—providing the basis for the great uprisings of Razin, Bulavin, and Pugachev. Similarly, the Zaporozhian Cossacks living on the borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were a source of social discontent. In

the sixteenth century, the Zaporozhian Cossacks carried out a foreign policy increasingly independent of Poland: they made agreements with Muscovy, Crimea, the Ottoman Empire, and Moldavia. Thus, from the sixteenth century, the Ukrainian Cossacks played a role in the politics of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the international order.[5]

In the 1620s, the Zaporozhian Cossacks intervened on behalf of the Orthodox in their struggle against the Uniates and Roman Catholics. An Orthodox church hierarchy was reestablished under Cossack protection. From the 1620s, the Cossacks' demands to the Poles consistently included the recognition of the Orthodox church and the abolition of the Union of Brest. The "nationalization" of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (i.e., the process of merging social and religious concerns) needs to be more thoroughly researched.[6]

With the emergence of a semi-independent Cossack political entity in the seventeenth century, it is possible to talk of political relations between Ukraine and Muscovy/Russia in the usual sense of state policy, diplomacy, and military affairs. As a first step, I propose reexamining these relations within a larger geopolitical context. A call for traditional political history hardly seems to qualify as a new agenda. However, the study of politics has been so coloured by the end result—Russia's absorption of both Ukraine and Belarus—that the place of the East Slavs in the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century international order remains somewhat obscured.

In sixteenth- through eighteenth-century Eastern Europe, four major powers were engaged in a play of alliances, counter-alliances, major and minor coalitions, and warfare. On the Baltic littoral was Protestant Sweden, which had territorial ambitions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and was engaged in territorial conflict with Muscovy. To the south was the predominantly Catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—in actuality, two states with varying foreign orientations: Lithuania was very concerned about the expansion of Muscovy and Sweden, whereas Poland was turned more toward the steppe, against the Tatars and the Ottoman Empire. Northeast of Poland-Lithuania was Orthodox Muscovy, which was pursuing a policy of expansion at the expense of Lithuania and attempting to forge a path to the Baltic Sea, an effort being blocked by Sweden. The Black Sea littoral was, through intermediaries, under the control of the Ottoman Empire, itself frequently preoccupied with Persia and the Habsburgs.

Between the sedentary states of Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy, and the Ottoman Empire there was a belt of autonomous states and steppe peoples—Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Crimea, and the Don Cossacks. The existence of this frontier belt between major powers

allowed a Ukrainian Cossack state to emerge. One unfulfilled task of historical scholarship is to study the Cossack Hetmanate within the context of the steppe frontier, following the "frontier" thesis of McNeill.[7]

Survival as a semi-independent political entity required that the Cossack Hetmanate have good relations with at least two of its three powerful neighbours—a position that frequently proved impossible to hold. The Cossack polity had constantly to balance the conflicting pressures from the regional powers. As a result, at various times Cossack Ukraine sought protection from all the major powers: Muscovy, Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, and the Ottoman Empire. In order to gain a new perspective on Ukrainian-Russian relations, one must first reconsider Ukraine's non-Russian options.

Sweden, a non-neighbour of Ukraine, did not represent a real, long-term alternative on which to base the political future of the Cossack polity. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 1600s—Sweden's century of greatness—two Cossack hetmans, Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa, turned to that country for support in their attempt to ensure the viability of their polity. To understand why that occurred, we must more carefully examine Sweden's policies and goals toward Ukraine in this period, when political relations expanded into a network from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

The most obvious non-Russian political option for Cossack Ukraine was to reach an accommodation with its chief antagonist, Poland-Lithuania. Only four years after Hetman Khmelnytsky concluded the Pereiaslav Agreement with Muscovy (1654), his successor, Ivan Vyhovsky, attempted to reach an accommodation with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The resulting Treaty of Hadiach (1658) brought the Cossack polity, as the Princedom of Rus', into a tripartite federation with Poland and Lithuania. Hetman Vyhovsky at the head of a combined Polish-Cossack army defeated the Muscovites decisively at Konotop (1659). However, a subsequent uprising by the Ukrainian masses negated that success. A Ukrainian Cossack polity under Polish protection on the Right Bank was wiped out in the virtually continuous wars between 1660 and 1681. In this connection, major questions needing reassessment arise. Could the Ukrainian people have reconciled themselves to a joint state structure within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth? Could the Poles have accepted the Ukrainians as a partner? Were Cossack freedoms and *szlachta* dominance inherently incompatible? What was the nature of Cossack Ukraine under the Poles?

The Crimean-Ottoman orientation should also be reexamined. At various times, particularly when the Commonwealth and Russia were allied or at peace, the Ukrainian Cossacks looked to the Crimean Tatars

or the Ottoman Empire for support. The Tatars, however, proved unreliable and exacted a heavy price from the population. Despite the unpopularity of the Tatar-Ottoman option among the masses, it persisted (e.g., Hetman Doroshenko's submission to the Ottoman Porte, Petro Ivanenko's treaty with Crimea in 1692, the activities of émigré hetman Pylyp Orlyk). Two questions need to be addressed: Was accommodation with the Tatars and Ottomans based on a communality of interests or was it merely the result of desperation? What was the nature of Cossack Ukraine under Crimea and/or the Ottomans?

While both the Polish and Tatar-Ottoman alliances seemed unpalatable to a large segment of the Ukrainian population, the Muscovite orientation was also beset with problems. From the Pereiaslav Agreement (1654) until Hetman Mazepa's siding with the Swedes (1709), Cossack Ukraine participated in four wars against Muscovy. In 1668, there was a massive anti-Russian uprising in Ukraine. Clearly, the political relationship between Muscovy and Cossack Ukraine was a troubled one.

The scholarly-political debates over the nature of the Pereiaslav Agreement or over the desire or lack of desire of Ukrainians and Russians for "union" or even "reunion" have become particularly unproductive.[8] A new agenda should focus on the actual interests and policies of the two sides. Important questions to be considered include: What did Khmelnytsky attempt to accomplish by negotiating the Pereiaslav Agreement? What were Muscovy's goals in Ukraine and Eastern Europe? At what point did their interests converge or diverge?

Their most obvious mutual political interest was opposition to Poland-Lithuania. Khmelnytsky and some of his successors wanted to establish some larger Cossack political entity at the expense of Poland-Lithuania. Whatever other frictions existed between them, as long as Cossack Ukraine and Muscovy acted against the Commonwealth they had a mutuality of purpose.

Yet, for a great part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Muscovy pursued a policy of peaceful and even cordial relations with Poland. Prior to the Pereiaslav Agreement, Khmelnytsky repeatedly had to plead and entice Muscovy into an anti-Polish coalition. Just a year later (1656), Muscovy negotiated a truce with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, thus denying Khmelnytsky the primary benefit of the Pereiaslav Agreement. By the Truce of Andrusovo (1667) and the "Eternal Peace" of 1686, Muscovy made peace with Poland and acceded to the partitioning of Cossack Ukraine into the Polish Right Bank and the Russian Left Bank. Every hetman up to and including Mazepa schemed to recover Right-Bank Ukraine—a goal that clashed with Muscovy's desire to maintain peaceful relations with the Polish-Lithuanian Common-

wealth.

Even when they jointly opposed Poland-Lithuania, the interests of Cossack Ukraine and Russia diverged in Belarus. As the uprising of 1648 spread into Belarus, Khmelnytsky sent Colonel Ivan Zolotarenko there to organize a Belarusian Cossack regiment. The Belarusian lands liberated from the Commonwealth were organized as part of the new Cossack polity, disregarding Muscovite claims to the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Thus, the two allies—Cossack Ukraine and Muscovy—were in competition in Belarus. That historical episode is little known and poorly understood.[9] As a rare example of direct Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian interrelations, it certainly deserves a major study.

Muscovite attitudes toward incorporating Ukraine should also be reconsidered. On the whole, it is assumed that after the Pereiaslav Agreement, the tsar laid claim to Ukraine in perpetuity. Indicators of the new reality were the change in the tsar's title and the requirement that the Ukrainian population pledge allegiance to the tsar. However, as pointed out by Hans Torke, during much of the seventeenth century Muscovy treated Ukraine as expendable or of secondary importance.[10] In dealing with the Commonwealth, Muscovy seemed much more concerned about affronts to the tsar's title or with the tsar's candidacy to the Polish throne than about claiming possession of Ukraine. In that connection several major questions require investigation. Did Muscovy view Ukraine as a perpetual and priceless possession of the tsar, or were the Cossacks merely marginal and dispensable allies to be bartered away to secure a Polish peace? Was Muscovy ready to give up not only the Right Bank, but the entire Ukraine? (Giving up Ukraine was advocated by A. L. Ordin-Nashchokin, who was in charge of Muscovite foreign policy in the 1660s.)

After 1709, there came a fundamental shift in Ukrainian-Russian relations. Hetman Mazepa's break with Peter I was the last attempt of Cossack Ukraine to participate in an anti-Muscovite coalition. Subsequently, the geopolitical situation changed drastically. By the end of the eighteenth century, the newly proclaimed Russian Empire became the dominant power in Eastern Europe, Ukrainian autonomy was abolished, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was partitioned, and most of Ukraine and Belarus were incorporated into the Russian Empire.[11]

In assessing political relations among the East Slavs in the eighteenth century, one must address the question of Russian centralism. In Muscovy, power was highly concentrated at the capital, which impeded the emergence of any independent or regional centres of authority. As Muscovy expanded, it abolished local peculiarities in the newly acquired

territories. However, Muscovy was somewhat inconsistent in its administrative practices and permitted some borderland autonomy. Whatever the reason—tenuous control, treaty obligations, fear of the Cossacks—in the seventeenth century there was no serious attempt to incorporate Cossack Ukraine administratively into Muscovy. In the eighteenth century, however, Ukraine was absorbed fully into the Russian Empire.[12]

The evolution of the Russian Empire on Western absolutist patterns may be a key to explaining the change in Russia's policies toward Cossack Ukraine. Western absolutist states were characterized by increasing state control and activism, particularly in rationalizing government, increasing state revenues, and encouraging development. Peter I, who consciously imitated Western administrative models, began the policy of extracting increasingly greater economic and human resources from Cossack Ukraine. Regulations in trade routes, state monopolies, tariffs on foreign goods, and import and export taxes were introduced into Ukraine for the first time. Subsequently, great pressure was exerted to gain control over the Ukrainian Hetmanate's fiscal apparatus. Another major topic that must be investigated thoroughly is the evolution of the Russian absolutist state, particularly the state's imperial fiscal and administrative apparatus and its impact on Ukrainian autonomy.

In order to understand the new Russian state activism, it is necessary also to study its intellectual underpinnings. Marc Raeff has suggested that cameralism and the concept of the well-ordered police state as developed in the Germanies were intellectual models for Russia.[13] The way for penetration of such ideas had been prepared by Muscovy's Westernization through contact with Ukraine. In essence, the cameralists had the political goal of maximizing society's productive potential through the agency of the state. In the West, autonomous local units that were able to accept such a programme were co-opted by the state; those that were not clashed with the state. In Russia, local autonomous bodies were virtually non-existent, so the state assumed the entire role of developing and regulating society. However, Peter I was eager to co-opt people and adopt institutions from the Baltic provinces and Ukraine. Thus, the local autonomy of Ukrainians and Balts was dependent to some extent on whether they could fit their institutions into the emerging imperial purpose.

It is also important to remember that the fate of autonomy frequently depended more on court politics than on theories of government or the development of a Russian state structure. For example, Ukrainian autonomy was renewed and Kyrylo Rozumovsky was elected hetman as a result of his brother's morganatic marriage to Empress Elizabeth. By the

mid-eighteenth century, Ukrainians were beginning to play an increasing role in an imperial political system, allying themselves with various court factions. The Ukrainian role in court politics is still hardly known or understood.

The Ukrainian entrance into imperial politics resulted in the co-optation of many Ukrainians into the imperial service. The Ukrainian clergy's impact on the Russian church has been well documented. Did the Ukrainian secular elite have a similar impact on imperial politics? David Saunders posits that the Ukrainians did indeed have an important role.[14] Was such co-optation a "pernicious loss" to Ukraine? Did these Ukrainians see any contradiction between serving the Empire and maintaining their own autonomous institutions? These questions merit serious consideration.

That some Ukrainians saw no contradiction between imperial service and Ukrainian autonomy is evident in the life of one historical figure, Hryhorii Poletyka. Although his entire career was spent in the imperial state service, he was also the most outspoken defender of Ukrainian autonomy at the Legislative Commission of 1767-68. His political outlook is encapsulated by the title of one of his own works, "Historical Information: On What Basis Little Russia Was Under the Polish Republic and by What Treaties It Came Under Russian Rulers, and a Patriotic Opinion as to How It Could Be Useful to the Russian State Without Violations of Its Rights and Liberties."[15]

Although Poletyka's outlook could be fitted into cameralist and well-ordered police state concepts, it clashed with the rationalism of the Enlightenment that was becoming dominant in Russia during the reign of Catherine II. Rationalist thought presumed the uniformity of human nature and the universality of basic laws. Once discovered, therefore, the basic laws of good government had to be equally applicable in Moscow, Siberia, or Ukraine. There was no longer a basis for compromise between autonomy and imperial interests. As a result, autonomy was abolished and the Empire came to be uniformly administered.

Many of the questions raised by the integration of Ukraine into the Empire are also applicable to Russia's absorption of the former Belarusian nobility, or *szlachta*, of Smolensk. After a long struggle, Muscovy promised to preserve the "rights and liberties" of the Smolensk *szlachta*: it maintained self-rule and a territorial military organization, the Smolensk *szlachta* regiment. Apparently, similar traditions from Polish times linked the Ukrainian and Smolensk elites, and the resulting frequent intermarriages may have reinforced autonomist sentiments in Smolensk. How else is one to interpret the strange, secret ukase of Empress Anna (31 January 1737), issued "to discourage the Little

Russians from forming familial ties with the inhabitants of Smolensk."[16] In 1764, the special privileges of the Smolensk *szlachta* were abolished. The subsequent integration of Smolensk into the empire remains one of the many lacunae in study of the East Slavs.

Political outlook and integration of elites raise the question of political culture. Although scholars have made use of the concept of political culture, it has proved elusive to define. Edward L. Keenan has described political culture as a complex of beliefs, practices, and expectations that give order to political life and provide its bearers with, or allow them to generate, both the underlying assumptions and the patterns of their political behaviour.[17] If such a definition is applied to the East Slavs, can one discern distinct Muscovite and Ruthenian political cultures in the sixteenth century? Does a Ruthenian political culture bifurcate into Ukrainian and Belarusian components? If so, what are its political features and when does that happen? How did the Muscovite political culture become transformed into an imperial Russian political culture? To what extent were the Ukrainian and/or the Belarusian political culture merged into an imperial Russian political culture? These are fundamental questions that scholars have rarely posed, let alone addressed.

It is within the framework of political cultures that one has to consider the formation of the Russian imperial and Ukrainian political outlooks and the interrelationship between the two. That study entails a thorough investigation into the origins and evolution of what could be considered the Little Russian idea and its relationship to the concept of the three branches of the "All-Russian" nation. Another important task in studying Ukrainian-Russian relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is determining the Ukrainian roots, original purpose, and subsequent transformation of the concept of the three branches of an "All-Russian" nation: Great Russian, Little Russian, and White Russian. Research on these questions is only beginning, and I offer a few tentative comments regarding it.

Although the Little Russian idea had various roots, its purpose was to accommodate Ukraine within Muscovy and the Russian Empire. Its first manifestation occurred in pro-Russian Kievan ecclesiastical circles in the seventeenth century. These Ukrainian clergymen developed the concept of a common *sloveno-rossiiskii* people that included Russians (Great Russians) and Ukrainians (Little Russians). The *Synopsis*, published in 1674, presented the theory of the transfer of Rus' princely seats from Kiev to Vladimir and then to Moscow, and posited the idea that the Muscovite tsar was the only legitimate ruler of *Rossiia*—a land that included Ukraine. While these clerics sought political unity with Moscow,

they wanted to preserve the autonomous rights of the Ukrainian church and clergy.[18]

The secular manifestation of the Little Russian idea developed in the late seventeenth and particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century. The conceptual model borrowed by the Ukrainian secular elite was that of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the failure in 1658 to transform the Commonwealth into a tripartite state that would include Poland, Lithuania, and Rus', subsequent political thinkers envisoned a similar arrangement, but now within the emerging Russian Empire. By and large, the secular elite accepted the theory elucidated by the Kievan clergy that Great Russia and Little Russia were joined as lands ruled by the "All-Russian" tsar. However, the secular elite also insisted that Little Russia's submission to the tsar was based on treaties that confirmed "rights and liberties" of Little Russia and its people.

As the Little Russian idea was reaching its greatest development, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Ukrainian autonomy was abolished. The question that remains is what happened to the Little Russian idea with the disappearance of Little Russia as a distinct political and administrative entity. The answer must be based on thorough research and analysis. In the interim I suggest a few possibilities.

Some elements of the Little Russian idea actually survived the abolition: (1) the concept of Little Russia as a cherished homeland; (2) historical consciousness, through an increase in historical writings; (3) the continuation of some "rights and liberties" through the elite's incorporation into the *dvorianstvo*, as well as the retention of customary law until 1917. Other elements of Little Russian political culture were transmuted and had some impact on a variety of political and intellectual currents: (1) the formation of a conservative Little Russianness, characterized by intense nostalgia for the past; (2) further elaboration of the idea of several Russias—Great and Little—forming the All-Russian state and the All-Russian nation; (3) adoption of some aspects into the political component of Ukrainian national consciousness in the nineteenth century. The Little Russian idea and the Great Russian concept developed in the seventeenth and particularly in the eighteenth century seem to have had an impact on the formation of Russian imperial ideology, of extreme Russian nationalism, and of modern Ukrainian national consciousness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The study of the political relationship among the East Slavs has hitherto been approached largely from a nineteenth- or twentieth-century political perspective. Increased interest in the West, the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and the emergence of independent Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia have provided an unprece-

dented stimulus and opportunity for reexamining and reassessing the political history of the East Slavs. This paper has pointed to some of the major questions, themes, and topics that apply in setting a new agenda for the study of politics among the East Slavs.

Notes

1. For a recent and noteworthy exception, see Andreas Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvoelkerreich: Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall* (Munich, 1992).
2. The various historical views are well covered in two recent books by 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); and *Shaping Identity in Eastern Europe and Russia: Soviet and Polish Accounts of Ukrainian History, 1914-1991* (New York, 1993). See also Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography"; and Oleksander Ohloblyn, "Ukrainian Historiography, 1917-1956," a special issue of the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. 6-7, no. 4 (1957).
3. See V. Druzhyts, "Palazhenne Litoŭska-Belaruskai Dziarzhavy paslia Liublinskai Vunii," *Pratsy Belaruskaho dziarzhavnaho universytetu*, 1925, no. 6-7: pp. 216-51.
4. On Ukrainian-Russian church relations, see V. Eingorn, *O snosheniiakh malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitelstvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha* (Moscow, 1894); and K. Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn* (Kazan, 1914).
5. Another important work that deals with Cossack-Muscovite relations is Ivan Krypiakevych, "Kozachchyna v politychnykh kombinatsiiakh 1620–1630 rr." *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vols. 117-18 (1914).
6. Günnar Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und Europäische Politik (1620-1638)* (Wiesbaden, 1968), examines the plans for an Orthodox bloc, in which the Cossacks were an important component.
7. William McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier, 1500-1800* (Chicago, 1964).
8. See John Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study* (Edmonton, 1982).
9. Lev Okinshevich, "Kazatstva na Belarusi," *Polymia* (Minsk, 1927).
10. Hans-Joachim Torke, "The Unloved Alliance: Political Relations between Muscovy and Ukraine in the Seventeenth Century," in *Ukraine and Russia in their Historical Encounter*, Peter J. Potichnyj et al., ed. (Edmonton, 1992), pp. 39-66.
11. See Orest Subtelny, *The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the 18th Century* (Boulder, 1981), and idem, *Domination of Eastern Europe: Native Nobilities and Foreign Absolutism, 1500-1715* (Montreal, 1986).

12. See Zenon E. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s-1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).
13. Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change Through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800* (New Haven and London, 1983).
14. David Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850* (Edmonton, 1985).
15. "Istoricheskoe izvestie, na kakom osnovanii Malaia Rossiia byla pod respublikoiu Polskoiu, i na kakikh dogovorakh oddalas Rossiiskim Gdriam [*sic*], i patrioticheskoe rassuzhdenie, kakim obrazom mozhno by onoiu nyne uchredit chtob ona polezna mogla byt Rossiiskomu Gosudarstvu bez narusheniia prav ee i volnostei," *Ukrainskyi arkheohrafichnyi zbirnyk Vseukrainskoi akademii nauk* 1 (1926), pp. 147-61.
16. O. Ohloblyn, "Smolenska shliakhta," *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva*, vol. 8 (Paris and New York, 1976), p. 2919; "Imennoi ukaz A. I. Shakhovskomu o priniatii sekretno iskusnykh mer k pobuzhdeniiu malorossiiskogo naroda vstupat v svoistvo s velikorossiiskim narodom, a ne s smolianami, poliakami i drugimi zarubezhnymi zhiteliami," *Sbornik Imperatorskogo rossiiskogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, no. 108 (1900), p. 26.
17. Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review*, vol. 45 (1986), p. 116.
18. Frank E. Sysyn, "Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History Writing, 1620-1690," and Zenon E. Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3/4 (December 1986), pp. 393-423 and pp. 559-76.

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Early Modern Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine: Culture and Cultural Relations

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Less than a year after Stalin's death, Soviet and East European newspapers published a lengthy text entitled "Theses on the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Reunion of the Ukraine with Russia (1654-1954): Approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."[1] The publication was a kind of summary of Ukrainian history written from a teleological point of view. The entire history of Ukraine before 1654 was interpreted as a preparation for the "reunion...of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people...with the Russian people in a single Russian state," and all history after that date was presented in terms of a transition from the "friendship of the two great kindred Slavonic peoples" to the "unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the USSR." Although the "Theses on the Reunion" were to be accepted without question by all Marxist historians, only in Ukraine were they—until recently—treated as unquestionable dogma, more weighty than the pronouncements of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin.[2]

The "Theses on the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Reunion" stressed repeatedly that "economic and cultural relations between the Ukraine and Russia...helped to bring the two kindred peoples closer together and had a beneficial influence on their cultures." After the publication of the "Theses," study of the "cultural links" between Russians and Ukrainians was officially declared to be one of the most important tasks of Soviet Ukrainian scholars. Soviet Belarusian scholars were charged with a parallel task. It is puzzling, then, that only two extant comprehensive monographs devoted to cultural contacts of the East Slavic nations during the early modern period of their history exist, and that neither belongs to Soviet history.[3] One, the *magnum opus* of Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu*

tserkovnuiu zhizn' (volume 1; limited to the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries), was published in Kazan in 1914. The second, a monograph by the British Slavist David Saunders, entitled *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850*, appeared in Edmonton in 1985. Both books are devoted to a later period, and both deal with the Ukrainian influence on Russian culture. In the Soviet Union, the Russian influence was consistently portrayed as beneficial, even charismatic, yet no one tried to produce a solid, detailed study of this cultural interaction. Propagandistic publications presented actual or imagined data about cultural contacts only as "preconditions of the reunion" or as instances of Russia's disinterested assistance to her Slavic brothers. Such rhetoric accepted and repeated questionable information if it seemed vaguely to conform to the official line. Only in a few areas of study could scholarly standards be maintained. Popular among scholars in Ukraine, for example, were topics connected with the activity of the *pershodrukar* ("first printer") Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovych) in Ukraine and Belarus. Ideological authorities favoured these because the outstanding contributions of this Muscovite émigré to Ukraine's cultural development were undeniable.[4] In describing the background of Fedorov's activities, several Ukrainian historians used the topic to show the comparatively full cultural spectrum that existed in Ukraine prior to Fedorov's arrival. This avenue of circumventing censorship was initiated by the most respected West Ukrainian historian, Ivan Krypiakevych. His short monograph *Zviazky Zakhidnoi Ukrainy z Rosiieiu do seredyny XVII st.* (Kiev, 1953), its "ideologically correct" title notwithstanding, was replete with specific facts about economic and cultural conditions in Western Ukraine. His model was followed, with varying degrees of success, by several other historians.[5]

Soviet Russian historiography, which had much more freedom (at least, in dealing with the history of inter-Slavic relations), evidenced small interest in the cultures of Ukraine and Belarus and in the problem of Russia's relations with them. The second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries were the only period for which considerable Ukrainian and Belarusian influence was acknowledged. The balanced monograph of Mikhail Dmitriev on Reformation movements in Ukraine and Belarus may signal a change in this regard.[6] The exhaustive studies of Orthodox canon law by Iaroslav Shchapov also take into consideration ecclesiastical and cultural contacts among the East Slavic nations. Until recently, contacts between Ukraine and Russia were represented mainly as a bilateral process, not only in general courses and textbooks, but also in scholarly monographs. The same applies to studies of relations between Belarus and Russia. The broader context of these contacts was more often declared than explored.

The objective of this paper is to discuss some aspects of East European cultural geography that can illuminate the background of inter-Slavic cultural relations from the late fifteenth through the early eighteenth century. The concept of cultural circles (*Kulturkreise*), which until recently was readily dismissed by Soviet historians, is useful in this respect.

Until the end of the seventeenth century, the character of Russian culture was determined by its belonging to the realm of Eastern Orthodox Christianity in its specific post-Byzantine variant. Ukrainian and Belarusian culture, in contrast, began much earlier to attain a special character, with influences from both the Eastern and the Western Christian world. Outer expressions of this were the comparatively swifter "Westernization" of Kievan Orthodoxy and, later, the appearance of the Byzantine-rite Catholic church. As a result, in some important cultural areas Ukraine and Belarus remained in the post-Byzantine Orthodox tradition, alongside Russia, the South Slavic nations, Romania, and Greece, while in other respects Ukrainian and Belarusian culture were determined by contacts with Catholic and later also Protestant communities. The situation was made more complex by influences from Oriental cultures and, in the case of Russia, by contacts with the aboriginal peoples of Northern Europe and Asia. These contacts (which were especially evident in popular culture) will not be discussed in detail here, but it is essential at least to point out their importance as channels of cultural exchange.

Until the mid-seventeenth century, links between Ukrainians and Belarusians remained so close that in many respects their cultures were inseparable. Both Ukrainian and Belarusian authors contributed to the development of a "plain Ruthenian language" (*prosta ruska mova*), which functioned as the Middle Ukrainian literary language in Ukraine and as the Middle Belarusian literary language in Belarus and Lithuania. Among educated society in both Ukraine and Belarus there existed elements of a common Ruthenian ethnic and cultural identity. In modern scholarly usage it is perhaps most correct to reserve the term "Ruthenian" to refer to those phenomena that were common to both Ukrainians and Belarusians during the medieval and early modern periods of their histories. For example, the name "Ruthenian church" is rightly ascribed to the Metropolitanate of Kiev, to which both the Ukrainian and Belarusian territories belonged.

Initially, Belarus took a leading part in the common cultural area, as evidenced by the pioneering activities of Francis Skoryna (Franciscus Scorina de Poloczko Ruthenus) and of Belarusian cultural centres in Vilnius, Navahradak, and elsewhere.[7] Only later was a leading role

assumed by Ukrainian educational centres in Ostrih, Lviv, and Kiev. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, differences between Ukrainian and Belarusian cultures existed mostly on the level of popular culture and spoken language. Among other factors, the transfer of most of Ukraine from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the Polish Kingdom and the emergence of the Ukrainian Cossack tradition contributed to the further divergence of these two cultures (despite the fact that many Belarusians were active in the Cossack movement).

Ukrainians and Belarusians, together with Poles, Lithuanians, and, to a lesser degree, other ethnic minorities (mainly Germans, Jews, and Armenians), contributed to the emergence of a common cultural heritage in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. That culture is often referred to simply as Polish, but it was multinational in character and only with time did it become polonized, ideologically and to some degree linguistically.[8] The Commonwealth's culture shared in many of Europe's cultural movements, including humanism, the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and the Baroque movement in the arts and literature. The influence of the multinational Commonwealth as a whole on neighbouring countries—Russia, Romania, and Hungary—was perhaps even more important than the influence of any one constituent part of that Commonwealth.

Attention to the Western-oriented aspects of Ukrainian and Belarusian cultures provides a general perspective for speaking about their Eastern contacts. The concept of *Slavia Orthodoxa* as a supranational spiritual community, most clearly formulated by Riccardo Picchio, has been readily accepted by most Slavists studying medieval and early modern literature. Of course, it is understood that Orthodox Slavdom was only part of the broader spectrum of Byzantine and post-Byzantine (so-called *Byzance* and *après Byzance*) culture. The term "Slavia" needs more precise definition, because not only Slavic peoples but also Romanians wrote and spoke Slavic languages (i.e., Church Slavonic, Middle Ukrainian, and Middle Bulgarian) in literature and administration. The word "Orthodoxa" is also imprecise, for Catholics of the Eastern Rite retained not only the Slavonic liturgy, but also Byzantine traditions in theology, ecclesiastical organization, architecture, painting, and music. The entire activity of the Eastern Christian churches in Europe can be defined as a sphere in which Cyrillo-Methodian traditions remained alive in church life and in all cultural activities connected with the church. Literary genres and artistic styles described as belonging to the Old Rus' culture were, in many cases, characteristic of that sphere. It should be added that the second South Slavic influence, which affected (although to various degrees) the entire East Slavic region, contributed considerably to the

cultural uniformity of Orthodox Slavdom.

Slavia Orthodoxa was divided into two realms, that of the South Slavs and that of the East Slavs. Each of the three East Slavic peoples emerged mainly as a result of the consolidation of several tribes or, rather, tribal unions. Forerunners of the Ukrainians were such early Slavic ethnic groups as the Polianians, Severianians, Dulibians, Ulychians, Tivertsians, Derevlianians, and, probably, the Eastern Croats. At the same time, the culture of all East Slavs acquired some common features within the framework of the Kievan Rus' state. The Kiev metropolitanate, which remained the East Slavs' only religious centre until the early fourteenth century, contributed to the uniformity of church organization. The heritage of Kievan Rus' is erroneously referred to as "Russian" by historians who remain under the influence of the so-called traditional scheme of Russian history. Even today many historians underestimate the degree to which the many distinctive features of Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian culture had their beginnings during the Kievan Rus' period. Some of these features became evident even earlier.[9]

The direction of cultural links in the late medieval and early modern periods was determined not only by cultural traditions, but also, no less importantly, by the political situation in Eastern Europe. Early modern Russian culture developed under the protection of the independent state known as Muscovy. Although its cultural relations with East and West never ceased, the Muscovite state's ideological policy called for cultural isolation. In contrast, Ukrainians and Belarusians were deprived of statehood. Although the vast majority of them were Orthodox Christians, the Ukrainian and Belarusian nobility gradually converted to the Roman Catholicism of the hegemonic Polish culture and consequently, over time, became polonized. Burghers, Cossacks, and nobles who remained Orthodox considered the maintenance of their "fathers' faith" crucial for preserving their religious and ethnic identity. Cultural contacts within the *Slavia Orthodoxa* helped to defend the cultural heritage that was associated with the golden age of the Rus' nation.

Inter-Slavic and inter-Orthodox relations were symbiotic. In the Eastern Orthodox world, the only independent country was Russia. The small duchies of Moldavia (Voloshchyna, or the Volokh land) and Wallachia (Mutenia, Multany, Tara Romaneasca) remained semi-independent. Naturally enough, in countries where Orthodox Christianity was persecuted (or humiliated), the Orthodox clergy regarded the Orthodox rulers of other countries as their protectors. For these rulers, rendering support to their coreligionists living in heterodox states was not only the fulfillment of their Christian duty, but also a tool of state policy. During the Polish and Swedish interventions in Russia at the

beginning of the seventeenth century, Orthodoxy provided the ideological justification for the patriotic movement. Very soon afterwards, however, the "defence of Orthodoxy" began to serve as a slogan justifying the expansionist policy of the Russian tsars. The worsening condition of Orthodoxy under non-Orthodox administrations provoked the emergence of political forces seeking the protection of Orthodox monarchs or even the full domination of these monarchs over them. In most cases, the common identity of faith was the basis of such movements, rather than the movements' "external manifestation," as some Soviet historians have suggested.[10] Several Ukrainian religious confraternities, including the influential ones at Lviv and Kiev, initiated contacts with Muscovy in an effort to counterbalance Polish domination. At the same time, some hierarchs and other public figures oscillated between subordination to the Polish Crown and sympathy to Orthodox Muscovy. Their contradictory declarations of loyalty confuse contemporary historians, who are inclined to take at face value declarations that are in agreement with established scholarly concepts. What is not taken into consideration is the fact that in many cases, contacts with Muscovite authorities helped Ukrainian Orthodox public figures to exert political pressure on Polish authorities—or, at least, to enhance their political prestige.

During the initial stages, cultural contacts within *Slavia Orthodoxa* developed mostly in the religious sphere, whereas the contacts of Orthodox peoples with the Western cultural heritage were more extensive in the secular domain. The circulation of manuscripts, icons, and various artifacts between Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia occurred as part of the circulation of such items throughout all *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The majority of circulating manuscripts were liturgical books, but another important component of the exchange was canonical and apocryphal religious literature, sermons, and hagiography. Original literature including chronicles, letters, and secular texts of a practical nature was less frequent, but was nonetheless interesting as evidence of cultural creativity. What traditional texts were exchanged was determined mostly by the activities of monasteries, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical structures. The same can be said about the exchange in the field of religious art. Although church architecture developed independently on the whole, the export of icons from Muscovy to other Orthodox countries represented an area of important interchange.

Cultural contacts in the secular sphere developed mostly in the context of economic and political relations. Recent studies suggest that some linguistic parallels reflect the character of such cultural contacts. For example, the Russian word *gosudarstvo* (from *gosudar*) derives from the Ruthenian *hospodarstvo* (from *hospodar*). In turn, the title of the grand

dukes of Lithuania, *hosudar i dedic*, probably derived from the identical titles of the princes of Galicia and Volhynia (*dominus et heres*, or *hospodar i dedič*).[11] The study of cross-influences in the spheres of public administration, law, and manners and customs is only in the initial stages.

Cultural exchange between Russia and the Orthodox territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth received new impetus from intellectuals who fled from persecution in Muscovy to comparative freedom in Belarus, Lithuania, and Ukraine. Examples include *Starets* Artemii in 1554 or 1555, a group of Muscovite heretics in the late 1550s, and Prince Andrei Kurbsky in the mid-1560s. These people contributed to the popularity of works by Maksim Grek and writers of his circle. The Muscovite émigré Ivan Fedorov was instrumental in establishing the first printing shops in the Ukrainian centres of Lviv and Ostrih.

Changes in cultural patterns contributed to the appearance of new forms of cultural contacts and to the narrowing of the gap between religious and secular cultures. In Ukraine and Belarus the process began much earlier than in Russia. Initially, Latin-oriented and traditional cultures developed mostly along parallel lines. The reciprocal modification of the two traditions facilitated their coexistence and, to some degree, mutual tolerance, in a milieu where East and West met. The main problem was how to adapt traditional cultural values to new social and cultural trends. That was undertaken in the framework of new institutions such as confraternities and the humanist schools. The first establishment that set out to synthesize the local, mostly religious, Slavo-Byzantine tradition with Western secular and religious cultural trends was the Ostrih Academy, founded in 1577 or 1578. The first trilingual, "Greek-Latin-Slavonic" school was created there. Its very name reflected not only the languages to be studied there, but also the more general tendency to combine native culture with the Greek and Latin cultural heritages. Later that orientation was adopted by the Kiev Mohyla *collegium*, and through that avenue the concept of "Greek-Latin-Slavonic" learning made its way to Moscow.

Whereas the Ostrih Academy and the confraternity schools initiated the movement toward combining post-Byzantine and Western cultural models, Peter Mohyla and his circle not only firmly accepted Western educational patterns, but also implanted into Orthodox theology some important elements of Catholic thought. As Aleksander Naumov has rightly pointed out, of less consequence is the degree to which pure Orthodoxy was contaminated: most important is the fact that the adaptation of tradition to the new reality was the only way to survive while preserving links with traditional culture.[12]

In Muscovy, the Westernization of Ukrainian Orthodoxy was watched

with suspicion as long as the cultural orientation of the tsars' state was determined almost exclusively by conservative circles. Later, when pro-modernization trends took a firmer hold in Russia, the attitude toward Ukrainian and Belarusian innovations became more sympathetic. The direct contacts of Russians with Catholics and Protestants were instrumental in promoting the slow process of cultural secularization. In religious affairs, innovations were more palatable when introduced not directly, but through the intermediacy of Ukrainians and Belarusians who had already modified foreign cultural models and adapted them to Orthodox traditions in some degree. Of course, the secular and the religious spheres cannot be neatly separated, and in both areas, direct as well as mediated contacts were in evidence.

The contacts of Ukraine and Belarus with Russia have some typological similarities with their Moldavian contacts. In the early period of its history, the Moldavian principality inherited some social and political institutions and cultural models from the Galician-Volhynian principality. The Middle Ukrainian language of Moldavia's charters was a continuation of the language of West Ukrainian administrative acts. Ukrainian manuscripts penetrated into Moldavia, and the code of ecclesiastical law used there and in other Romanian lands was accepted from Volhynia. Later, the situation was reversed: the Moldavian princes (*hospodars*) assumed the role of protectors of West Ukrainian church institutions. The ornamented manuscripts produced in Moldavian scriptoria became very popular in Ukraine. The influences of Balkan stylistic trends in art and literature often reached Ukraine through Moldavia. At the same time, Ukraine continued to play the role of intermediary in the advancement of Western influences in Moldavia.[13]

In the second half of the seventeenth century, cultural exchange between Russia and Ukraine became more regular. Although the Moscow patriarchate eventually subordinated the Orthodox church in Left-Bank Ukraine, cultural leadership remained in the hands of the Ukrainian clergy. The Kiev Mohyla *collegium* exerted a tremendous influence on ecclesiastical life and the educational system in Russia. Only some aspects of this influence have been studied in detail—among them, academic courses in rhetoric and poetics and school theatre.[14] The activities in Russia of Symeon Polotsky, Teofan Prokopovych, Stefan Iavorsky and their numerous followers contributed to the dissemination of Kievan cultural achievements. These scholars acted through the official structures of the Russian state and Orthodox church. No less important were influences on ordinary society, including the lower clergy. Official circles invited contemporary Ukrainian scholars and educators to work in Russia. The Old Believers, on the other hand, turned to the heritage of

the Ukrainian and Belarusian thinkers of the former period, such as Stefan Zyzanii, Ivan Vyshensky, and Zakharii Kopystensky,[15] as is evident from numerous copies and translations of their works.

During the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the cultural map of Eastern Europe changed dramatically. Russia's upper classes were Westernized almost forcibly through the policies of Peter I. Left-Bank Ukraine gradually succumbed to russification by the Russian government, including the subordination of the Kiev metropolitanate to the Moscow patriarchate, ukases (issued in the 1720s) forbidding Ukrainian publishers to print anything that differed from Russian publications, and the centralization measures of Catherine II and her administration. In Right-Bank Ukraine and Belarus the nobility was eventually polonized, and the Ruthenian language gave way to Polish in many spheres of public life and culture. Nevertheless, the Kiev Mohyla *collegium* continued to influence the development of culture in all of Ukraine and in parts of Belarus. Many teachers were an important channel between the humanist culture of the educated clergy and the folk culture of the peasants, the Cossacks, and most of the burghers. The existence of the autonomous Ukrainian Hetmanate and the acceptance of the Cossack tradition throughout Ukraine contributed to the further development of distinctive features in Ukrainian culture as compared with Belarusian culture. Ukrainians, especially those from the Hetmanate, became known in the West as the Cossack nation. On the other hand, not only Ukrainians, but also Belarusians were involved in cultural activities in Russia. Many Ukrainians and Belarusians were instrumental in promoting Petrine reforms.

Most Russian historians of pro-Western orientation have evaluated the Ukrainian and Belarusian impact on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Russian culture very positively. Other Russian scholars, especially those with Euro-Asian or neo-Slavophile connections, considered Ukrainian and Belarusian influences to have been disastrous for the identity of "Holy Russia." For example, Georges Florovsky wrote that "Mohyla's internal toxin" was "even more dangerous than the union with Roman Catholicism." He condemned Stefan Iavorsky, Dymytrii Tuptalo, and other clerics educated in Kiev not only for their acceptance of Catholic theological ideas and Latin language, but also for their affinity to the European Baroque. Consequently, Florovsky deplored the fact that, in Prince Trubetskoi's words, the culture of post-Petrine Russia was in many respects "a continuation not of the Muscovite tradition, but of the Kievan cultural circle."[16]

If Russian historiography is divided on this point, Ukrainian and Belarusian historians are united in their enthusiasm for the role played

by Ukrainians and Belarusians in the "Europeanization of Russia." In most cases they underestimate the extent to which the Ukrainian influence on Russian culture facilitated subsequent Russification. The Ukrainian and Belarusian cultures became most vulnerable to Russification once their cultural development lost momentum owing to most unfavourable political conditions.[17] The imperial discrimination against Ukrainian and Belarusian cultures was devastating not only in its direct effects, but also because it provoked cultural isolation and populist provincialism in the cultural life of the submerged nations. As far as Russian culture was concerned, the abyss between popular and elite cultural life contributed to the superficiality of the "Westernization" process.

Despite differences in speed and form, all East European nations were involved in general European trends. In most of Europe, the movement toward secularization of culture became unmistakable beginning with the last decades of the eighteenth century. Change was so profound that the late 1800s had much more in common with the next century than with the immediately preceding years of its own. The benefits of cultural change were argued by exaggerating the dark side of the pre-reform situation. Thus, the secularization of culture was often accompanied by a depreciation of the non-secular culture that preceded it. Nineteenth century rationalists continued to be influenced by such concepts, which sowed the ground for the quasi-rational condemnation of religious culture after the 1917 revolution. Under the ideological pressure of official Soviet atheism, this attitude reached virtually grotesque forms. The current revival of interest in national heritage has also brought a tendency to idealize all old cultural traditions.

The development of secular culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led to the break of continuity in cultural development of social elites. Initially, no abrupt break occurred on the level of popular culture among the peasants nor among the traditionalist burghers. Subsequently, the situation was reversed. Peasant culture gradually began to lose its organic links with medieval traditions, whereas the resuscitation of those traditions was taken up by intellectuals. The modern generation values the traditional culture as possessing not only theoretical, but also practical importance.

Unfortunately, studies of Slavic cultures and of inter-Slavic cultural contacts have too often been influenced by political or ideological factors.[18] It is perhaps appropriate to conclude these sketchy remarks by expressing the hope that in the future, historians of East Slavic culture will be able to carry out their research without such hindrances.

Notes

1. I cite the official Soviet translation of the original Russian text into English, published in Moscow in 1954. A reprint appears in John Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study* (Edmonton, 1982), pp. 270-88.
2. The well-known Ukrainian scholar Mykhailo Braichevsky was harshly persecuted for trying to show that even from a strictly Marxist point of view, the concept of "reunion" was nationalist rather than internationalist.
3. I exclude textbooks, so-called collective monographs, and books that, owing to their low scholarly level, are examples of "historiographical noise" rather than works of historiography. On the topic of relations between Ukraine and Russia, the former category includes Dmytro Myshko's *Ukrainsko-rosiiski zviazky v XIV-XVI st.* (Kiev, 1959).
4. For a discussion of the controversial issue of whether Ivan Fedorov was of Russian origin or, as Evgenii Nemirovsky suggests, a Belarusian émigré to Muscovy, see Iaroslav Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna Ivana Fedorova* (Lviv, 1989), pp. 29-30.
5. Perhaps the best example is the monograph by Fedir Shevchenko *Politychni ta ekonomichni zviazky Ukrainy z Rosiieiu v seredyni XVII st.* (Kiev, 1959). Much less successful in this respect were the chapters on culture (including my own) in the collective monograph, *Druzhba i bratstvo russkogo i ukrainskogo narodov*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1982). The fact that the book appeared during a period when ideological censorship was particularly harsh is only a partial explanation. Historians who became accustomed to using ideological formulae as a kind of smoke-screen later applied the same formulae haphazardly—an attestation to the decline in the level of historical consciousness. Of those who wrote in official publications only a few retained their integrity.
6. M. V. Dmitriev, *Pravoslavie i reformatsiia: Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v vostochnoslavianskikh zemliakh Rechi Pospolitoi vo vtoroi polovine XVI v.* (Moscow, 1990).
7. See *Frantsysk Skaryna i iaho chas: Entsyklapedychny davednik* (Minsk, 1988); E. L. Nemirovsky, *Frantsisk Skorina: Zhizn i deiatelnost belorusskogo prosvetitelia* (Minsk, 1990).
8. A transitional phenomenon was the appearance of individuals, mostly among the nobility, who combined loyalty to the Polish state with identification with both "general-Commonwealth" culture and their Ruthenian cultural heritage. See Frank Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600-1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).
9. I discuss the role of the Kievan heritage in Ukrainian cultural history elsewhere: see the *Proceedings of the Conference of the Republican Association of Ukrainian Studies*, held in Kiev in December 1990 (in Ukrainian, forthcoming).
10. The study of Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian theological thought in the context of both Orthodoxy and Catholicism is unjustifiably neglected.
11. A. Zoltan, "K predistorii russkogo *gosudar'*," *Studia Slavica*, vol. 29 (Budapest, 1985).

12. Aleksander Naumov, "Zmiana modelu kultury a kwestia ciągłości rozwojowej," *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL*, no. 4 (1984), p. 31.
13. During some periods, contacts with Moldavia were extremely important for Ukraine. For instance, the interior of the cupolas of the Dormition Church built by the Lviv Confraternity has three reliefs representing Moldavia's state emblem, but only one of the Muscovite emblem. This reflects the degree of assistance received from the two countries for the construction of the church. Of course, in general, the Muscovite church and state were much more important to the Ruthenians than was the Moldavian church and state.
14. P. Lewin, "The Ukrainian School Theatre in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: An Expression of the Baroque," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 5 (1981), pp. 54 ff.
15. A. Robinson, *Borba idei v russkoi literature XVII veka* (Moscow, 1974).
16. See Frank Sysyn, "Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views of Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 8 (1984), pp. 162-67.
17. Zenon Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s-1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).
18. Since ideological stereotypes are deeply rooted, it would be useful to think about widening the scope of objective research methods, including statistical ones. Of course, there are many cultural phenomena to which a mathematical approach cannot be applied. On the other hand, existing archives allow quantitative evaluation of the thematic composition of libraries, the character of the book trade, and the religious, ethnic, and regional backgrounds of students, teachers, writers, and artists. It is important to publish catalogues of libraries and the internal documentation of schools and ecclesiastical institutions. Editorial projects that would include all extant sources of this type, not just a selection, are extremely important. One such project is the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, which is being published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University.

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The Religious Programme of the Union of Brest in the Context of the Counter-Reformation in Eastern Europe

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The history of the Union of Brest, relations between Catholicism and Orthodoxy preceding the conclusion of that union, the policy of the pope and the Polish state toward Orthodox believers, the history of the Uniate church and its role in the political and cultural development of national self-consciousness—these are topics that continue to spark heated discussion and debate.

The reasons for lengthy discussions of the history of the Union of Brest are clear, for the issue bears directly on national relations. The history of the Uniate church encompasses a great many dramatic pages, of which the most complex are those written in the twentieth century. Scholars who study the movement must, therefore, constantly strive for objectivity.

There are two important sets of questions concerning the history of Orthodox and Slavic relations in the fifteenth to the sixteenth century and the history of the Union of Brest. The union was concluded in 1596, during a time of fierce struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in Europe. What, then, is the link between the Union of Brest and the emergence of the Uniate church, on the one hand, and the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, on the other? Why did previous efforts to restore Catholic and Orthodox unity fail? The second set of questions concerns the Uniate programme per se. What were the Uniates striving for? What exactly did they intend to accomplish? How successful were they in realizing their programme?

Relations between Orthodoxy and Catholicism took shape in the East Slavic world during the eleventh to the fifteenth century (i.e., the period

between the baptism of Kievan Rus' and the unions of Florence and Brest). It was long believed that these relations were consistently marked by deep animosity. Frequent references were made to sharp, unfair Orthodox attacks on Catholics and to the Latin world's profound contempt for the East Slavs. In recent times, however, it has become clear that until the fourteenth century, at least, the attitude toward Latins in the East Slavic world was far from being as hostile as traditionally believed.[1] The Greek clergy who came to Rus' tried to engender hatred for the Latin West among members of the local society. Greek writings that abounded in insults to Catholics and the most absurd accusations were translated into Church Slavonic. Today we know that such hatred of the Roman church was not shared by the majority of East Slavic clergy nor by other strata of society. It was only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that a wave of Latinophobia began to mount. Then the phenomenon was linked to the development of religious and national consciousness, on the one hand, and to political conflicts, on the other.

Relations between Catholic and Orthodox believers in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, too, were certainly not as hostile as some scholars have assumed.[2] This is evident from attitudes toward the Union of Florence (1439). Although that attempted reconciliation did not take root deeply in the Ukrainian-Belarusian lands (scholarly opinion differs as to why), it was not accorded a hostile reception, nor did it lead to acute conflicts. An altogether different situation existed in the Muscovite state, where Metropolitan Isidore, who had concluded the union, was not only severely criticized, but imprisoned and subsequently exiled to Rome. Although the Union of Florence was decisively and irrevocably rejected by the Muscovite authorities, they did not treat Catholics as enemies. In Russia, adherents of the Roman church were viewed as dispassionately as before—that is, as erring rivals rather than as heretics. Instances of cultural contact and cooperation continued to occur.[3]

This situation prevailed until the late sixteenth century, when it became evident that any attempt to conclude a universal, all-Christian union was doomed to fail. The futility of such efforts became absolutely clear to the papal legate, Antonio Possevino, following a visit to Moscow during the reign of Ivan the Terrible. Possevino proposed abandonment of the idea of a universal union for the time being. He urged, instead, the conclusion of a regional union between Catholics and Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which, by this time, included the Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian lands.[4] That proposal was implemented in 1596.

Was, then, the establishment of the Uniate church the result of the

policies of the papacy and the Jesuit Order? By no means. If we look attentively at the events that preceded the Union of Brest, we discover that the initiative came from the Orthodox bishops of Ukraine and Belarus, whereas the Jesuits played a far-from-major role in negotiations for the union and the unification of the two churches.[5]

The Union of Brest was begotten by developments within Ukrainian society and Belarusian society in the Commonwealth during the sixteenth century. First, there occurred a deep crisis within the Orthodox church of the Commonwealth, precipitated not so much by the pressure of Catholicism on Orthodoxy as by society's increasing expectations vis-à-vis its church and by its more sophisticated and strict religious requirements.[6] The situation reflected the European-wide process that led to the Reformation and to Catholic reform in Europe during the sixteenth century.

Second, there was a need to curtail the dissemination of heresy and Protestantism among the Orthodox faithful.[7] Nearly all the documents and writings that accompanied the conclusion of the Union of Brest testify to the need to protect the Orthodox church from heretics.

Third, church-state relations became more complicated in the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1589, Moscow established its own patriarchate, an institution that could claim jursidiction over the Orthodox church in the Commonwealth. Furthermore, although the patriarchs of Constantinople were entirely dependent on Turkish sultans and utterly unable to assist the Orthodox church in Ukraine or Belarus, they intervened in its affairs. Church confraternities made up of laymen came into existence among the Ukrainian and Belarusian Orthodox. They secured broad autonomy and independence from local bishops by placing themselves directly under the patriarch of Constantinople. Indeed, they themselves sought to gain control over not only schools and printing houses, but even the activities of local bishops. The Polish Catholic church, having repelled the Protestant offensive, vigorously launched a variety of activities and constantly worked to consolidate its influence in the Orthodox regions of the Commonwealth. Contrary to the widespread belief that the Union of Brest resulted from the polonization of Ukrainian and Belarusian territories, it was actually conceived to stand in opposition to the onslaught of Roman Catholicism, to ensure the independent existence of the Ukrainian-Belarusian church, and to restore that church's former role in Ukrainian-Belarusian society.

The fourth development was the growth in national-religious consciousness among the Orthodox inhabitants of the Commonwealth during the sixteenth century, especially its second half. That development required appropriate changes in church life and practice.[8]

Under pressure from all these circumstances, and after consultations with representatives of the Catholic hierarchy, the Orthodox bishops, led by Ipatii Potii and Kyrylo Terletsky, approached Rome with the request that the union be concluded. Instead of the expected outcome—reconciliation of Orthodox and Catholics—or concerted work to overcome the crisis in the church, the union produced the completely opposite result: a heightening of national-religious conflicts in the Commonwealth. To some extent, then, its conclusion contributed to the upheavals that took place in the middle of the seventeenth century.

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The first question posed at the beginning of this article concerned the link between the Union of Brest and the European Counter-Reformation. The Union of Brest was not the continuation of the unionizing tendencies of medieval European Christianity, but the product of a special stage in the history of Christianity in Europe, including the history of the Orthodox church. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are rightly characterized as the epoch of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, but that is hardly a formal definition. The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation resulted in a deep transformation of Western Christianity, a process to which Roman Catholicism contributed no less than Protestantism.

The connection between the Union of Brest and the papacy's Counter-Reformation policy in Eastern Europe is, today, clear enough. From the end of the sixteenth century, the papacy undertook a series of actions to bring under submission to Rome the churches of the Christian East, including those of the Balkan and East Slavic region.[9] The connection between the Union of 1596 and other aspects of the European Counter-Reformation remains unclear, however. In particular, the connection between the Union of Brest and the cultural-historical and ideological aspects of the European Counter-Reformation has received very little study.

That issue turns our attention to the nature and character of the Counter-Reformation in Europe and, particularly, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. What significance should we attribute to the Counter-Reformation movement and the Counter-Reformation in general? Among Soviet scholars, the Counter-Reformation was characterized most often as a Catholic reaction to or fierce offensive against the reform movement and as the appropriate policy of the papal curia, embodied most vividly in the activities of the Jesuits and the measures taken to implement the decisions proclaimed by the Council of Trent. The Inquisition, the *Index of Prohibited Books*, militant monastic orders with

"Jesus' hosts" at their head, pervasive violence combined with perfidious political intrigue—these were viewed as the main weapons of the Counter-Reformation. Such an interpretation of the Counter-Reformation is both one-sided and inconsistent with Western historiography. The Counter-Reformation was by no means a marginal episode in the history of Europe. It played a vast role in the historical development of European society. Particularly significant was its influence on social development in the countries of Eastern Europe, including the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, comprising Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian lands.

Can the Counter-Reformation be equated with a Catholic reaction? If that reaction is taken to mean a return to the medieval forms of Catholicism, the equation is not valid. Although different from humanism and Protestantism, the Counter-Reformation responded to the same call for religious renewal as the humanists and reformers, albeit in its own way. The Counter-Reformation was not merely a negation, but rather a surmounting of Protestantism and humanism: it preserved and assimilated much of what those two movements had achieved. This was expressed in the Counter-Reformation's administrative and political programmes, in its educational, artistic, and intellectual activities, and in the renovation of cults and beliefs reinvigorated by the decisions of the Council of Trent. It is a paradox that the Counter-Reformation achieved the renewal of Catholicism without sacrificing any of the latter's dogmas, rites, or institutions. Note the conservative spirit of all the decisions made at Trent, which did not make a single concession to the Protestants or reformers.

New religious requirements were satisfied along traditional lines, without the destruction of existing cults or organizational structures. The Counter-Reformation breathed new life into the old cults of saints, created new ones, and filled sacraments and rituals with a content new to believers. To a certain extent, it bridged the gap between popular and institutional Christianity by organizing regular preaching, pursuing missionary work, and encouraging the study of scripture. It created a network of schools and colleges, adapted itself to the new intellectual and aesthetic climate created by Baroque culture, and responded in its own way to the contradictions of the time. The result was a Catholicism renovated and strengthened in all its aspects.

Polish Catholicism, along with European Catholicism, acquired a special character and a new image.[10] Its characteristic features were internal discipline, integration, political influence, material power, and expressiveness through use of the artistic media of Baroque culture. With the help of resplendent processions, religious pilgrimages, and the

rejuvenated cults of icons and relics, the Jesuits were able to "conquer the soul of man through his eyes." Also, certain unique features were acquired by Polish Catholicism as a whole and by its new local variants, as regional characteristics continued to develop in the separate lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The latter was achieved through use of the resources of popular culture (i.e., local religious holy days, local folklore, local cults of saints, etc.). Finally, we can point to the social conformism of post-Tridentine Polish Catholicism, which quickly adapted itself to the peculiarities of the Polish gentry's political culture and social views, without losing contact with popular moods and ideas.

The means by which Catholicism prevailed over the Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and secured a practical monopoly in society did not exclude methods of direct coercion (political, judicial, administrative), fanaticism, pogroms, and the manipulation of mob anger and hatred. Promoting the influence of Catholicism on the body politic was not, however, confined solely to these phenomena. We must also keep other factors in mind: the creation of a new system of education and of a network of specialized educational establishments; broad reliance on written propaganda; peaceful missionary activity; daily dissemination of scripture; renewal of parish life; and the education of a new clergy more disciplined and responsible than their fifteenth- and sixteenth-century predecessors. In other words, victory was secured largely through peaceful, non-violent tactics and relatively honest rivalry with Protestantism, although the power of the state could be brought to bear when necessary. The Commonwealth's Diet guaranteed certain conditions of religious tolerance that made it impossible to rely on violence alone.

The Counter-Reformation was thus a distinct epoch in the development of the Commonwealth that did not abdicate many achievements of the preceding period but reworked them in conformity with its own aims and programme. The Union of Brest was doubtless a product of the papal, the Polish, and the Ukrainian-Belarusian Counter-Reformations. If we regard the union as something broader and deeper than a Catholic reaction (i.e., as a regional variant of the Counter-Reformation that occurred among the Ukrainian and Belarusian peoples), it can be seen in a somewhat different light than that of traditional historiography. Even in the eyes of the Latin hierarchs, the Jesuits, and the Polish Catholics, the idea of the union was not reducible to the subordination of the Orthodox church. Among the initiators and promoters of the union among Eastern Christians, this goal was even less important.

What, specifically, was the Uniate programme? There were, in fact, several programmes for church union. Konstantyn Ostrozky had one vision, Ipatii Potii another, and Kyrylo Terletsky a third. Today, it is

apparent that the early Uniate leaders (i.e., those of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) did not stand aloof from the religious and social questions of their time. To a certain extent, owing to the Latin school system, they were familiar with humanism, Protestantism, ancient culture, and Renaissance philosophy.

What did the Uniates view as their main religious-cultural task? It is usually presumed that their primary aim was to achieve rapprochement between, if not the full merger of, Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. At some stages in the history of the Uniate movement, and for some groups of the Uniate clergy, that may indeed have been perceived as the main task. But there was more to the Uniate programme. Like the Counter-Reformation throughout Europe as a whole, the Uniate movement endeavoured to consummate the Christianization of the rural population. This is well illustrated in a seventeenth-century manuscript containing an extensive address to its readers, i.e., the clergy. It sets out to list—with reference to decisions taken at the Council of Trent—the eight duties of the parish priest: (1) to be present in his parish at all times; (2) to conduct church services if not daily, then at least on Sundays and holy days, and to see to it that on each occasion all parishioners attended; (3) "to explain God's word to the people" on Sundays and holy days; (4) to administer the sacraments not only when required by canon law, but also in accordance with the needs of the people; (5) to be a good role model for his flock; (6) to be a guardian of the poor and underprivileged and to care for them; (7) to visit the poor and the sick and to provide them with the sacraments; (8) to see to it astutely that, at least once a year, the faithful participated in confession and communion. If any parishioners grossly violated the final charge, they were to be punished or sent to the bishop. In another section, the same text states that a priest must constantly interpret for his parishioners the basic dogmas of the Christian faith, above all, the doctrine of the Trinity.[11]

The need for priests to perform such duties was enormous. According to Lev Krevza, during the 1630s in the Siverianian land there were only thirty priests for every one hundred churches, so that many infants remained unbaptized and many people died without receiving the last sacraments.[12] Today, of course, we can scarcely say to what extent the Ukrainian and Belarusian population was Christianized by the seventeenth century, or determine what the Uniates contributed to the process. To judge from European analogies concerning the extent of Christianization among the masses, however, even the most pessimistic appraisal seems plausible.[13]

The urgency that the Uniates attached to freeing the church from secular control cannot be overemphasized. Lev Krevza's viewpoint is

typical in this respect. He believed that the situation of the Orthodox clergy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was worse than in Muscovy and even worse than in Constantinople. In those places, the grand prince and the sultan interfered in church affairs, whereas "in our parts, every estate owner who has a priest on his land lords over him as he sees fit and even compels the priest to work for him. And some of them are so much obsessed by godless boldness that they may punish a priest for disobedience. Even in questions of divine service, he demands obedience, and if something is done without his permission, it is declared invalid."[14] Krevza's judgements were, perhaps, overstated, but we well know from other sources how pitiful the position of the Orthodox clergy was in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In order to understand the Uniate programme, we must remember that the Uniates strove not just for privileges and Senate seats, but for consolidation of the clergy's social position. The last goal alone reveals that to the Uniates, the problem was not simply one of papal jurisdiction.

The Uniates strove to escape this crisis, to renovate and reform the Orthodox church, and to place it on a firm organizational foundation through closer ties with Rome. The old Soviet historiography, which saw the Uniates as a handful of renegades who sold the Orthodox church for thirty pieces of silver in exchange for seats in the Senate, adopted an *a priori* explanation and refused to look at the main motives of the Uniates, which were much more complex. Also, some Uniates did indeed adhere to the idyllic, Campanellan dream of reunifying all Christianity.

The last observation is substantiated in the polemical writings of Ipatii Potii.[15] He belonged to a group of Uniate ideologists who were well educated, acquainted with sixteenth-century European religious culture, and, apparently, had no selfish motives in taking up the Uniate cause. Potii's programme for church union, although motivated by the same desire to protect the church from heresy, is not identical to that of the famous Jesuit leader of the Polish Counter-Reformation, Piotr Skarga.

Both Potii and Skarga argued the case for union on the premise of combatting the "heresies" that were spreading throughout the Orthodox territories of the Commonwealth. Why was unification with Rome necessary in order to destroy heresy? Because, according to Potii, "there are more heretics among the Greeks." The Orthodox church had proved ineffectual in crushing the Reform movement on its own. If the Protestants were to have their way in the Commonwealth, the Orthodox faithful would fall under their heretical sway.[16] Hence, union with Rome could save the Orthodox church from the Reformation. Characteristically, Potii viewed the disagreements between Catholic and Orthodox in light of the threat posed to Orthodoxy by the Reformation: historically, it was none

other than the "heretics" who were responsible for the split in Christianity, and now, at the end of the sixteenth century, it was none other than these same "heretics" who were proclaiming the pope to be the anti-Christ and denying the existence of purgatory.[17] To the Protestants, the differences between the Catholic and Orthodox faiths were inessential. In the Protestants' view, both churches betrayed Christ's commands.[18] Therefore, according to Potii, the destruction of heresy and union with Rome were interconnected.

The organizational and ideological crisis of the Orthodox church in Ukraine and Belarus during the second half of the sixteenth century was apparent to contemporaries—above all, to the Orthodox hierarchs. Potii realized that Protestants and Catholics were fully justified in their accusations that the Orthodox clergymen were ignorant, gain-seeking, and indifferent to eccesiastical and pastoral needs. In his own view, the Orthodox priests were neglecting their chief duty—"to take care of the flock and to do everything for it, so that the wolves and other beasts do not devour and pilfer it."[19] Yet the higher clergy, too, were wholly inert, not caring for the salvation of their own souls, much less for the souls of their flock. They did not care for the translating, transcribing, collecting, or study of patristic books, nor did they read theological literature. Instead, they submitted passively to secular authorities on ecclesiastical questions. Potii appealed to the Orthodox hierarchs "to stave off wrongdoing...by advice, teaching, and through their writings."[20] He did not hesitate to cite as an example the Protestants themselves, who used the living word, printing presses, church synods, polemics, and church services to convert people to their faith and to maintain order in their church.[21] He called on the Orthodox clergy to deprive their opponents of any cause to accuse the Rus' church of stupidity, ignorance, illiteracy, and lack of teaching. That would require translation of biblical and patristic texts into the vernacular, increasing the number of sources by turning to Western models, and separating Orthodox books from heretical texts (on the model of the papal *Index of Prohibited Books*).[22] For Potii, church union was a means of outwitting the heretical "wolves" who were carrying off victims from the Orthodox flock, of overcoming the internal crisis of the church and the negligence of the clergy, of ensuring better order and efficiency in the Orthodox church, and, finally, of freeing it from the dictates of secular authorities.[23]

Unlike Skarga, Potii did not conceive a union as a cardinal reorganization of internal church traditions and rites. Although Potii agreed with papal authority, the doctrine of purgatory, the Catholic dogma concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and the need to free the clergy from secular control, he disagreed with Skarga's demands for the renun-

ciation of the Slavonic liturgy, for the adoption of universal celibacy among the clergy, and for the introduction of Latin liturgical rites.[24]

Whereas Skarga's programme called for universal religious-cultural unity, Potii refused to support any such idea.[25] It was not his task to justify or defend the pope from reproach, Potii maintained: that was the task of Catholic scholars.[26] He emphasized the distance separating the Uniates from the papal throne and withheld any expression of approval for the pope's unlimited authority over patriarchs, bishops, archbishops, synods, tsars, and princes. He insisted that contemporary popes had no more authority than God, the saints, or their predecessors on the papal throne. Whereas Skarga gave little attention to Orthodox worship, Potii devoted considerable attention to the matter: Skarga drew from Latin writings on the subject, whereas Potii deliberately relied on Greek patristic sources. Potii perceived obstacles to the union in questions concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, purgatory, papal supremacy, and the Gregorian calendar: he proposed that in the creed, the procession of the Holy Spirit be described as "through the son" (*per filium*) rather than "from the son" (*filioque*) in an attempt to strike a compromise between the Orthodox and Catholic positions. He also saw other fundamental obstacles. He strove to emphasize that the pope was humble in relation to God and heaven, and did not prohibit the invocation of saints through prayers. He insisted on the veneration of icons in the churches, and said that he himself revered "as many saints in heaven as there are sculptures and painted icons on earth."[27] The last statement reflects Potii's desire to combine Catholic religious customs with Orthodox tradition, in contrast to Skarga, who tended to level them.

Compromise was especially evident in Potii's accommodation of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory with Orthodox teachings. In his view, the widespread Orthodox custom of offering prayers for the departed had no meaning if the existence of purgatory was denied: in reality, purgatory is identical with "what our people call *suffering* (*mytarstvo*; Potii's emphasis)."[28] Thus, Potii's programme for church unification, which fully respected the Eastern tradition, can hardly be identified with Skarga's levelling approach.

In style and poetic language, Potii's polemical writings reflect Ukrainian literature's early Baroque tendencies.[29] They also clearly reveal the influences of the humanist education cultivated in Latin schools of the period. Potii liked to quote the "famous poet Homer,"[30] to chide his opponents for their ignorance of Cato's works, to recall Pindar, Sappho, and Demosthenes, to cite Plato and Aristotle, and to quote from Latin proverbs and from Aesop's fables.[31] He lauded Latin, not as the language of divine service, but as the language of European

education.[32] For Potii, the sign of a Christian man's piety was his ability to explain contradictions in patristic texts by comparing them.[33] There is evidence of individualism in the *Antyryzys* and several of his other works. For Potii, the union was not simply passive submission to the Roman church, but a bold, personal act requiring energy, responsibility, fearlessness, unselfishness, and prowess. He declared that it was not gain-seeking that prompted him to take up the Uniate cause, and his biography gives us reason to believe him.[34] It was a sense of duty that turned him into "a pillar of support for the union" (as I. N. Golenishchev-Kutuzov put it):[35] "With love for the souls of the innocent, redeemed by the blood of Christ our God, for which, as the pastor having them in my care, I must give strict account, and it does not befit me to leave them, and as long as I live in this world I must discharge my duty insofar as I can."[36] Potii sincerely adhered to the principle "Talent is given to each so that, working hard, he may multiply his salvation."[37] These words echo the humanists' principle of personal self-assertion (i.e., *virtù*) and the need to serve an ultimate purpose. In arguing for ecclesiastical unity, Potii appealed not to the medieval conception of papal omnipotence, but to the experience of the Council of Florence and to the testimony of Bessarion of Nicaea, the Greek humanist who was a central figure at the council. Potii referred to Bessarion's famous *Dogmatics*, a text acknowledged to be one of the period's most vivid humanist works.

We may not choose to describe Potii as a religiously tolerant apologist—indeed, many of his works are imbued with intolerance. However, we cannot deny the irenic qualities of his works, especially the way he substantiated the ideal of union by interpreting it as "brotherly grace and unity." We should also note one interesting nuance of Potii's polemical reply to the "Ostroh cleric." His warm applause for those who travelled to Western Europe for education and out of curiosity ("who travel around the world in order to see good things and to learn what is worth learning")[38] undoubtedly echoed the humanist joy in "discovering the world" and a craving for new ideas.

Humanist traditions were not absent in the works of Ipatii Potii and other Uniate writers. Even the tendency to extremes, so profuse in Potii's works, was part of Renaissance and Baroque stylistics.[39] Of course, one example hardly suffices to document the spread of humanist ideas among the Uniate polemicists. However, the foregoing should prompt us to consider that the literature of the Uniate camp, like that of their Orthodox opponents, whose attachment to the humanist tradition is unquestioned, could indeed have served as a channel between Renaissance humanism and the Ukrainian and Belarusian Baroque.

The Counter-Reformation nature of the Union of Brest of 1596 and of the Uniate movement as a religious-social phenomenon lay not only in the link they established between the papacy and the Orthodox lands of Ukraine and Belarus. No less importantly, they resulted from attempts by the Orthodox and Catholic hierarchies to crush and eradicate the Protestant movement within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to terminate the Orthodox church's internal crisis, to reform it internally, and to accelerate the process of Christianization among the East Slavic population (i.e., to bring popular Christianity closer to ecclesiastical standards). There was also a link, corresponding to the tenets of the Counter-Reformation, between the Uniate programme and the national self-determination of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population of the Commonwealth. Finally, notable differences in religious perceptions and beliefs separated Uniate ideologists such as Potii from Roman Catholic ones such as Skarga.

Notes

1. A. I. Sobolevsky, "Otnoshenie drevnei Rusi k razdeleniiu cerkvei," *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi akademii nauk*, 1914, pp. 95-102; L. Müller, "Das Bild vom Deutschen in der Kiever Rus'," *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht. 11.-17. Jahrhunderte*, D. Hermann, ed. (= *West-östliche Spiegelungen*, ser. B, vol. 1, L. Kopelev, ed. Munich, 1988), pp. 51-82.
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3. For instance, late in the fifteenth century, Archbishop Gennadii of Novgorod, having initiated a translation of the entire Bible into Church Slavonic, approached the Catholic Dominican monk Benjamin for assistance. The latter used the Latin rather than the Greek text of the Bible in preparing a number of translations. Apparently, the general attitude toward Catholics became implacably hostile only in the seventeenth century, following the events of the so-called Time of Troubles and the Polish invasion of Russia. In any case,

all these issues certainly require more thorough and exacting discussion.

4. O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* (Hamden, Conn., 1968); S. N. Plokhii (Plokhy), *Papstvo i Ukraina: Politika rimskoi kurii na ukrainskikh zemliakh v XVI-XVII vv.* (Kiev, 1989).
5. B. N. Floria, "Brestskie sinody i Brestskaia uniia," *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, no. 3: *Katolitsizm i pravoslavie v srednie veka* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 59-75; S. G. Iakovenko, "Pravoslavnaia ierarkhiia Rechi Pospolitoi i plany tserkovnoi unii v 1590-1594 gg.," *Slaviane i ikh sosedi*, no. 3: *Katolitsizm i pravoslavie v srednie veka* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 41-59; J. Krajcar, "Jesuits and the Genesis of the Union of Brest," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, no. 44 (1978), pp. 131-53.
6. O. Levitsky, "Vnutrennee sostoianie zapadno-russkoi tserkvi v Polsko-Litovskom gosudarstve v kontse XVI veka i uniia," *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 6 (Kiev, 1884), pp. 1-182; M. S. Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 5 (Lviv, 1905), pp. 261-88, 459-507.
7. M. V. Dmitriev, "Pravoslavie i Reformatsiia," *Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v vostochnoslavianskikh zemliakh Rechi Pospolitoi vo vtoroi polovine XVI v.* (Moscow, 1990).
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9. W. de Vries, *Rom und Patriarchate des Ostens* (Munich, 1963), pp. 74-88.
10. P. N. Zhukovich, *Kardinal Gozij i polskaia tserkov ego vremeni* (St. Petersburg, 1882); N. I. Kareev, *Ocherk istorii reformatsionnogo dvizheniia i katolicheskoi reaktsii v Polshe* (St. Petersburg, 1886); J. Tazbir, *Szlachta i teologowie. Studia z dziejów polskiej Kontrreformacji* (Warsaw, 1987); *Polska XVII wieku*, ed. J. Tazbir (Warsaw, 1974); J. Kłoczowski, *Chrześcijaństwo polskie XVI-XVIII wieków: Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1969), pp. 5-56; *Wiek XVII: Kontrreformacja, Barok*, Prace z historii kultury, J. Pelc, ed. (Wrocław, 1970); J. Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga: Szermierz kontrreformacji* (Warsaw, 1978); S. Czarnowski, "Reakcja katolicka w Polsce w końcu XVI i na początku XVII w.," *S. Czarnowski—Dzieła*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1956), pp. 147-66.
11. *Epitome, albo krótka nauka kapłanom ruskim zwłaszcza xiąg łacińskich czytać nie mogącym...zebrana i napisana przez przewielebnego X. Josepha Pierkiewicza, sekretarza zakonu Świętego Bazylego Wielkiego, starszego Byteńskiego w roku 1685 a teraz przepisana przez jednego zakonnika w klasztorze Supraslskim w roku 1700.* Otdel rukopisei biblioteki AN SSSR v g. Leningrade—Sobranie 37, no. 33, fns. 7-8.
12. E. F. Shmurlo, *Rimskaia kuriia na pravoslavnom vostoke v 1609-1654 gg.* (Prague, 1924), p. 75.
13. J. Delumeau, *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1985), pp. 237-302; J. Delumeau, *Un chemin d'histoire: Chrétienté et christianisation* (Paris, 1980), pp. 115-187.
14. L. Krevza, *Obrona jedności cerkiewnej abo dowody, ktoremi się pokazuje iż grecka*

cerkiew z laciński ma być zjednoczona (Vilnius, 1617) in *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* (St. Petersburg, 1878), p. 271.

15. O. Levitsky, "Ipatii Potii, kievskii uniatskii mitropolit," *Pamiatniki russkoi stariny v zapadnykh guberniiakh*, vol. 8 (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 342-74; N. Tripolsky, *Uniatskii mitropolit Ipatii Potii i ego propovednicheskaia deiatelnost* (Kiev, 1878); J. Dzięgielewski, "I. Pociej," *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 21, pt. 1, no. 112 (Wrocław, 1982), pp. 28-34.
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17. *Uniia hrekov*, pp. 129-30, 145-46, 150-68.
18. *Uniia hrekov*, pp. 146-47.
19. *Uniia hrekov*, pp. 112, 146-47.
20. *Uniia hrekov*, pp. 113, 112-13, 114, 118, 121; Ipatii Potii, *Antyryzys, abo apologia przeciwko Krzysztofowi Philaletowi, ktory niedawno wydał książki imieniem starożytnej Rusi religji greckiej przeciw książkom o synodzie brzeskim, napisanym w roku pańskim 1597* = "Antirizis ili apologiia protiv Khristofora Filaleta," *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, vol. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1882), pp. 603, 605; Ipatii Potii, *Lyst Ipatiia Poteia k kniaziu Konstantynu Konstantynovychu Ostrozhskomu 3 iiunia 1598 hoda* = "List Ipatiia Poteia k kniaziu Konstantinu Konstantinovichu Ostrozhskomu," *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, vol. 7, p. 1023; *Otpys na lyst niiakoho klyryka ostrozskoho bezimennoho, kotoryi pysal do vladyky volodymerskoho i beresteiskoho* = "Otvet Ipatiia Poteia kliriku ostrozhskomu," *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, vol. 7, p. 1097.
21. *Uniia hrekov*, p. 115; *Antyryzys*, pp. 607-609.
22. *Uniia hrekov*, pp. 115, 146, 148; *Antyryzys*, p. 971; *Otpys*, pp. 1097-99.
23. *Uniia hrekov*, pp. 112-15, 117; *Antyryzys*, pp. 677, 679.
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26. *Uniia hrekov*, p. 145.
27. *Uniia hrekov*, p. 153 ff.
28. *Uniia hrekov*, p. 130 ff. For more details on Potii's and Skarga's views on church union, see M. V. Dmitriev, "Brestskaia uniia 1596 g. kak forma kontrreformatsionnogo dvizheniia v slaviankikh stranakh," *Materialy shkoly molodykh slavistov i balkanistov, Zvenigorod, sentiabr' 1988 g.* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 76-86.
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32. *Antyryzys*, pp. 899-901.
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34. *Otpys*, pp. 1117-20; *Antyryzys*, p. 919; *Lyst*, p. 1021; *Uniia hrekov*, pp. 112-16.
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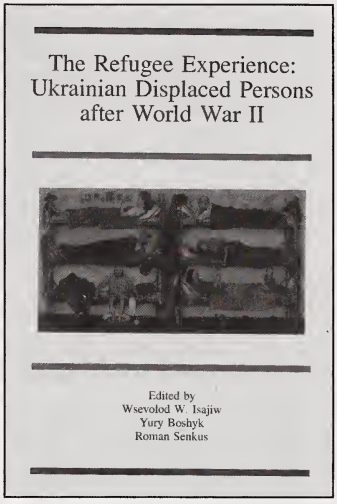
The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II



Edited by Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Yury Boshyk, and Roman Senkus

This volume is a collective study of Ukrainian emigrants in Germany and Austria at the end of World War II. The twenty-five contributions present a detailed analysis of the social conditions that shaped the Ukrainian displaced persons, with particular attention to the five-year period that many of them spent in internationally organized resettlement camps before going on to the country of their eventual settlement.

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Religious Polemical Literature in the Ukrainian and Belarusian Lands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Ihor Ševčenko

The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation were sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Western events that produced a ferment in the intellectual life of parts of Eastern Europe, including the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. There, the ferment found its most articulate expression in contemporary religious polemics that raged among Protestants, Catholics, Uniates, and Orthodox. Protestant polemics, restricted for the most part to the elite, can be described as skirmishes by generals without armies. In contrast, the debates over the Union of Brest (1596) involved a good part of society and even seeped down to the Cossacks. The various positions represented in the debates can be correlated with social and national differences in the area, and herein lies their interest and importance.

The history of the controversies falls into two periods. One, extending from the 1580s to about 1630, was centred in Vilnius and Western Ukraine; the other, extending from 1630 to the end of the century, was centred in Kiev. The writings of the first period are livelier and closer to events of the time than those of the second period, at which time they tend to be dogmatic and abstract. Most examples to be adduced here come from the first period.

During that first period, Catholic or Uniate authors generally led the attack; the Orthodox merely reacted, sometimes enlisting Protestant arguments—and, once, even a Protestant writer—in their cause. The Jesuit polemicist Piotr Skarga's *On the Unity of God's Church* (*O iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem y o greckim od tey iedności odstąpieniu z przestrogą y upominaniem do narodów ruskich przy Grekach stoiących...*,

Vilnius, 1577), which delivered the first thunderous salvo in the battle, went unanswered for exactly twenty years. The answer did finally come, in a work entitled *Apokrisis* (ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ, *abo odpowiedź na xiążki o Synodzie Brzeskim imieniem ludzi starożytney religiey Greckiey, przez Christophora Philaletha w porywczą dana*), but it was written by the king's secretary, Marcin Broniewski, a Protestant Pole masquerading as an Orthodox Ruthenian. A Uniate pamphlet by Lev Krevza, entitled *The Defense of the Unity of the Church* (*Obrona iednosci cerkiewney, abo dowody, ktorymi się pokazuie iż Grecka Cerkiew z Łacinską ma być ziednoczona, podane do druku za roskazaniem…Oyca Jozefa Wielamina Rutskiego, Archiepiskopa y Metropolity Kiiowskiego, Halickiego y wszystkiey Rusi*),[1] appeared in 1617. It was answered by the enormous *Palinodija* (*Palinodia, sirič҃ kniha oborony svjatoj apostolьskoj vsxodnïj Cerьkvi kafoličeskoj i svjatyx patriarxovъ i o Hrekoxъ i o Rossoxъ xristianexъ v lasce božoj*) of Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj in about 1621.

In 1586, the Jesuit Benedykt Herbest published a pamphlet entitled *Wiary kościoła rzymskiego wywody y greckiego niewolstwa historya…* in defence of papal primacy and on behalf of the reform of the calendar introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. It was answered a year later by Herasym Smotryc'kyj, rector of the Ostroh Academy and father of Meletij Smotryc'kyj. Herasym refused to accept the new calendar, saying that it moved the date of Easter so far back that the latter would be celebrated in a blizzard. The Ruthenians were not alone in their rejection—various Protestant countries did not accept the Gregorian calendar until the eighteenth century, and Russia did so only in 1918. The Ruthenians, living in a state in which the Gregorian calendar had been adopted, and under attack by the Counter-Reformation church that had propagated it, continued to emphasize their distinctiveness by maintaining a stubborn attachment to the Julian calendar, which has persisted among Uniates into the twentieth century.

When it was the Catholics' turn to reply to the Orthodox, their reaction was quick. Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos* (Θρηνος, *to iest Lament iedyney ś. powszechney apostolskiey wschodniey cerkwie z obiaśnieniem dogmat wiary—pierwey z Graeckiego na Słowieński, a teraz z Słowieńskiego na Polski przełożony. Przez Theophila Orthologa…*),[2] which made a splash in 1610, was countered by the formidable Skarga in the same year (*Na threny i lament Teofila Orthologa do Rusi greckiego nabożeństwa przestroga*, Cracow, 1610). These dates would seem to indicate that the Orthodox side, once awakened by the Catholics, started somewhat sluggishly, but, as time went on, its actions gathered momentum and were able occasionally to put the Catholics on the defensive.

We can distinguish traditionalists—at times, even reactionaries—among the Orthodox polemicists. A member of the Ostroh circle, Vasyl'

of Suraž (south-west of Białystok in present-day Poland)—author of the work without title, called after its first chapter *On the One Faith* (*O edinoj istinnoj pravoslavnoj vĭrĭ i o svjatoj sobornoj apostolskoj cerkvi, otkudu načalo prinjala i kako povsjudu rasprostresja*, published in Ostroh in 1588)—and Ivan Vyšens'kyj represented this traditional wing. The Protestant Marcin Broniewski, author of *Apokrisis*, represented the extreme end of the "progressive" wing. The anonymous author of *Perestoroha* (*Perestoroha zĭlo potrebnaja na potomnyje časy pravoslavnym xristianom svjatoje kafoličeskoje vostočnoje cerkve synom*) of 1605 or 1606 should be placed somewhere in between.

The differences between these three factions are to be sought not in their uniformly negative attitudes toward Catholic dogma, but in the literary form employed in their works and in their views on modern ways of education and learning. The traditionalists wrote in a less Polonized form of Church Slavonic, or in a Church Slavonic mixed with Ukrainian vernacular, and used Byzantine or para-Byzantine—in both cases, outmoded—polemical texts in Slavonic translation. They distrusted Latin and extolled the virtues of Church Slavonic. People in between, like the author of the *Perestoroha*, wrote in a heavily Polonized vernacular and extolled the values of education, including worldly learning. Finally, the "progressives" wrote in brilliant Polish, betrayed Latin modes of thought in their prose, quoted Latin phrases, and dealt with questions of authenticity on the basis of whether the original of the incriminated text was written in Greek or in Latin.

Although on all sides the polemics were conducted with only a superficial show of learning, they were written with genuine gusto, uninhibited by anything like modern libel laws. The showing-off took the form of using Greek, mostly for the titles of the tracts: Smotryc'kyj's response of 1608 to a script accusing the Orthodox of heresy and ignorance was called *Antigraphe* (Ἀντιγραφή, *albo odpowiedź na script uszczypliwy, przeciwko ludziom starożytney religiey graeckiey od apostatow cerkwie wschodniey wydany, ktoremu tituł: «Heresiae, ignorancie y politika popow y mieszczan bractwa wileńskiego» tak też y na książkę, rychło potym ku obiaśnieniu tegoż skryptu wydaną, nazwiskiem «Harmonią»...*, Vilnius, 1608) which the author translated as "reply." This called forth Potij's rejoinder, called *Antirrisis* (ΑΝΤΙΡΡΗΣΙΣ, *abo Apologia przeciwko Krzysztofowi Philaletowi który niedawno wydał ksiąszki imieniem starożytnej Rusi religji Greckiey przeciw książkom o synodzie Brzeskim napisanym w roku Pańskim 1597*), the Greek word having the sense of "refutation" but also meaning "reply." Broniewski's refutation of Skarga's work was called *Apokrisis*, which again means "reply." In literature of this kind, the title *Apologia* is common: it was used for the tract written by Meletij Smotryc'kyj upon

becoming a Uniate (*Apologia peregrinatiey do kraiów wschodnych*…., L'viv, 1628). A refutation of his work was called *Antapologia* (*Antapologia abo Apologiej, którą…O.M. Smotrycki…napisał, zniesienie*, 1632), an invented, if correctly formed, Greek term which, according to its creator, meant "refutation of the Apology." Setting Orthodox errors straight was the purpose of a work by Kasijan Sakovyč called *Epanorthōsis* (i.e., "correction") (Ἐπανόρθωσις *albo Perspectiwa y obiaśnienie błędów, herezyey y zabobonów w grekoruskiey cerkwi disunickiey*, Cracow, 1642). It called for a response, and got one from no less a person than Peter Mohyla, who, writing under the pseudonym of Eusebius Pimin, and getting some editorial help, entitled his work *Lithos, or the Stone Hurled From the Sling of Truth of the Holy Orthodox Rus' Church* (Λίθος, *abo kamień z procy prawdy cerkwie świętey prawosławney ruskiey na skruszenie fałecznociemney Perspektiwy abo raczey paszkwilu od Kassiana Sakowicza*…., Kiev, 1644). That "Stone" was in turn crushed by Sakovyč's *Adze, or Hammer for the Crushing of the Schismatic Stone Hurled from the Kievan Monastery of the Caves by a Certain Eusebius Pimin* (*Oskard albo młot na skruszenie kamienia schyzmatyckiego, rzuconego z Ławry Kijowskiej Pieczarskiej od niejakiegoś Euzebja Pimina*, Cracow, 1646). Pimin, which means "shepherd" in Greek, referred, of course, to Mohyla himself.

"Pimin" shows that the vogue for Greek extended to the names—or, rather, pseudonyms—that these authors chose for themselves. The king's secretary, Marcin Broniewski, a Protestant, hides under the mask of Christopher Philalet (i.e., "lover of truth"). Meletij Smotryc'kyj appears as Theophil Ortholog, meaning "man of true utterance," which adversaries turned into Mateolog, meaning "man of vain utterance." Indeed, puns of all sorts, not just Greek ones, abound in this literature. A Catholic would be called a *katolyk*, the word *lykos* meaning "wolf" in Greek. A metropolitan would be called a *metropilate*, invoking the name of Pontius Pilate. The author Philalet was derided as *Philoplet*—the verb *pleść* means "to spin a yarn" in Polish, so the name Philoplet meant "lover of nonsense."

Authors affecting a more popular style used the device of rhymed prose, such as the one employed at the end of a colourful vignette in Herasym Smotryc'kyj's *Key to the Heavenly Kingdom* (*Ključ carstva nebesnoho*, probably Ostroh, 1587), concerning celibate Catholic priests and their patrons:

> In the same way they took away from their clerics their legally wedded wives, preordained and offered by the Scriptures and by the holy apostles as well, wives who were confirmed by them in deed and writ. In their stead they substituted adultresses, and even when [the church authorities] did not substitute them, the [present-day] clerics themselves

> think up the evil, given the fact that many of them openly keep [these women] with themselves [i.e., in their households] and they require a special stipend to be given to these women by their lords. "If your Grace has provided for the chaplain, there is a need for a laundress to boot"—while you, poor Ruthenian *pope*, must live in wretched poverty with your lawfully wedded wife (*potreba ešče i na pračku, a ty bidnyj pope ruskij musyš i z zakonnoju nendzu klepaty neboračku*).[3]

Other rhymes and puns that Smotryc'kyj employed for sarcastic or humorous purposes include: *onoho Formosa, za kotoroho stalsja kostel rymskyj jak lyce bez nosa* ("that <Pope> Formosus [the name means 'beautiful'] in whose time the Roman church became like a face without a nose [i.e., ugly]"); and *jakova toho černyla duxovnaja syla* ("what is the spiritual power of this ink [i.e., writing]").

Sometimes the style transcends the level of rhymes and puns and rises to that of a tragic dirge. That occurs in the following passage from *Perestoroha*, in which a parallel is drawn between the time of Christ—sorely tried by the archpriests and by pagan Rome, represented by Pontius Pilate—and the author's own time:

> For this very reason, at this end of Time, Satan, seeing that his power is coming to an end, is devastating the church through her elders, through the highest, most powerful, and wisest superiors, through the internal enemy—namely, through the archpriest of the Roman church, in the first place, and through the present pagan Turkish emperor, in the second.
>
> The pope, who leads everyone away to his obedience—excommunicates, tortures, kills, sends armies, destroys states and churches, takes away all kinds of liberties, menaces, exclaims, blares, wages perpetual warfare, leading the powerful and the humble into temptation, asserts that the Catholic church must be situated at his court in Rome, sends his innovations (?) all over the world, sends the preachers of his new Order, the Jesuits, all over the world, and changes times and years—he confused and curtailed the counting from the creation of the world and concealed the anti-Christ. As if they were still waiting for the Messiah together with the Jews, they have rejected the blood of Christ, and are using unleavened bread together with the Jews according to the order of Aaron, and they reject the sacrifice of Christ, their priest-king according to the order of Melchizedek.
>
> On the other hand, the pagan emperor has extended his dominion over the church, this having been brought about by the pope, and, just as the pope does, is dragging everyone under his sway, and is devastating churches and turning them into his mosques. The Son of Man has been given to the archpriests and pagans to be mocked, and while they are crucifying him, they deride him and say: "If you are the Son of Man, descend from the cross, and we will believe in you. You have saved other people; save yourself and those who are with you now."

> Such is God's providence instituted from the very beginning of the world concerning our human kind: He always opposes the just people to the unjust.[4]

Of course, whatever place the Orthodox author may have held on the spectrum just outlined—whether he was a traditionalist, a middle-of-the-roader, or a "progressive"—his main topics were shared both by his fellow polemicists and by his Catholic adversaries. Topics on doctrine and canon law had to do with papal primacy, with the procession of the Holy Ghost, with the use of unleavened bread for communion, with purgatory, and with the celibacy of priests. Depending on the polemicist's point of view, the just cause would be defended by having recourse to Scripture and history, or else by equating Rome with Babylon and the pope with the anti-Christ. The procession of the Holy Ghost would be through the Father and the Son (i.e., *filioque*) or the Father alone. Holy communion would be taken by the adversary in the Jewish (i.e., Roman Catholic), or in the schismatic (i.e., Orthodox) manner. Purgatory would or would not exist, and saints and sinners would either enjoy bliss or suffer punishment from the very moment of death (according to Roman Catholicism), or would have to wait until the second coming of Christ (according to Orthodoxy). According to one side, the intellectual and spiritual development of the benighted Ruthenian priest was hampered by wife and children; according to the other, the Roman Catholic priest was mired in concubinage. Every one of these issues went back to Patriarch Photius (ninth century), Patriarch Michael Cerularius (eleventh century), or Metropolitan Mark of Ephesus (fifteenth century), and, in every case, stemmed from Byzantium.

Another set of arguments used in these polemics was somewhat more exciting: it can be called historical, and it centred on four events. The first concerned the baptism of Rus'. The question was whether Rus' had been baptized in an Orthodox font or in a Roman Catholic one (either because the conversion took place before the events of 1054, or because Christianity came to the Slavs from Rome via the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius). The Orthodox carried the day by maintaining that Rus' had received its faith from Constantinople and should remain under its jurisdiction. The second set of arguments revolved around the historical question: who was responsible for the schism? It ended in a draw. The third had to do with ecumenicity, legality, and the aftermath of the Council of Florence. It ended in a draw as well, or represented a small victory for the Orthodox. Indeed, it was equally possible to call the council *listrikijs'kyj* (i.e., "the robber's synod")—borrowing the term applied to the Council of 449—or ecumenical (although the repercussions of this council in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands were faint indeed).

Finally, there remained the history, denigration, and defence of the recent Council of Brest. Here passions ran highest, and the verdict—at least, that regarding the council's effectiveness—could only be given by posterity.

Posterity—that is, we ourselves—may be most interested in still another category of topics, which we might call local topics, or vignettes reflecting the state of mind and society as perceived by the polemicists. Here belongs the following statement by Peter Skarga:

> There are only two languages, Greek and Latin, through which the Holy Faith has been spread and grafted onto the whole world. Outside those two no one can obtain perfection in any kind of learning, especially spiritual learning concerning the Holy Faith. This is not only because other languages are subject to constant change...but also because sciences are based only on these two languages, and cannot be translated into any other. The world has not known, and never will know, any academy or *collegium* where theology, philosophy, or other liberal arts could be taught and understood in any other language.[5]

This assertion only amuses any North American college student of today, but the Orthodox readers of Skarga's time must have been greatly offended by it. It was even more reactionary than the trilingual heresy against which the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius struggled in Venice in 867. At least the trilingualists admitted that there were *three* languages in which the word of God could be preached (Hebrew, in addition to Greek and Latin), while Skarga admitted only two. He reiterated the assertion in other terms as well. No one, he claimed, can acquire learning on the basis of the Church Slavonic language, because in order to understand Church Slavonic, the Orthodox must rely on Polish. No Ruthenian knows Greek, Greeks are ignorant of Slavonic and Ruthenian, and in Moscow laymen read more than priests do. All science is in the hands of Catholics. Against such accusations, Syl'vestr Kosov, a former teacher at the Mohyla *collegium*, archimandrite of the Caves Monastery in Kiev, and recently ordained bishop of the Belarusian sees of Mahilëŭ (Mogilev) and Ms'cislaŭ (Mstislavl'), was prompted to write a defence of the Orthodox schools in 1635 under the title *Exegesis, to iest danie sprawy o szkołach kiowskich y winickich, w których uczą zakonnicy Religiey graeckiey, przez wielebnego oyca Sylwestra Kossowa, electa episkopa Mścisławskiego, Mogilowskiego, Orszańskiego, przed rokiem teraźnieyszym w tychże szkołach przez trzy lata professora, napisane...1635*.[6]

Other vignettes, whether by Uniates or by the Orthodox, referred to the wretched social position of the Orthodox clergy, forced to perform statute labour and to plough landlords' fields (Ipatij Potij, *Antirrisis*). If a Catholic landlord saw a horse, a cow, or a bee swarm that belonged to an Orthodox cleric and wanted it, he simply took it away. "O just God,

look down from above and avenge," exclaimed Kopystens'kyj in his *Palinodija* of 1621. Some twenty-five years later, God would avenge, indeed.

One argument found in the polemics was of a triple nature: it was historical, timely, and even of local application. It had to do with the fall of the Byzantine Empire, which had occurred some one hundred fifty years before these polemical tracts were written. The fall suggested that something was wrong with Orthodoxy, the official faith of the Empire, which had been adopted by whole nations outside the Empire's boundaries. The tract *Perestoroha* has papists, heretics, and Jews say: "We do not believe you, because you do not have a Christian empire of your own in Constantinople." The following was the answer to the Jews: "Why were you not baptized during the long years [i.e., the eleven or twelve Christian centuries that preceded the fall of Constantinople to the Turks] during which you could have upheld the Christian Empire in that city?" In their polemics with the Catholics, the Orthodox of Ukraine met the perennial argument based on the fall of Byzantium by defending the Empire and extolling the spiritual purity of post-Byzantine Greeks, unencumbered by the cares of a worldly empire and free to seek the kingdom of God under the eye of the tolerant Turk. The Greeks no longer ruled, but this was an advantage when it came to the salvation of their souls. They had no choice but to be humble; they could no longer raise the sword, and even the pagans in whose midst they lived marvelled at their piety.

In Ukraine, however, deep respect for the Greeks and for Greek lore was limited to the erudite Orthodox. A less learned West Ukrainian writer of about 1600, Ivan Vyšens'kyj, scorned Plato and Aristotle and associated them with the great heretic Origen. He preferred John Chrysostom, or, better yet, the liturgical books: the *Hōrologion* and the *Oktoēchos*. He also thought that Slavic—by which he meant both Church Slavonic and the semi-vernacular language in which he himself wrote—was more honourable before God than Greek and Latin. Vyšens'kyj benefited from this loyalty to native tradition at the expense of Byzantine models: he is doubtless the most vigorous and exciting author of early seventeenth-century Ukrainian literature. Here we can draw a parallel with *Protopop* Avvakum of Muscovy. Avvakum also rejected what he called "Hellenic swiftness," stating that he was "not learned in dialectics," and wrote in practically vernacular Russian: he is also the most vigorous and best author of seventeenth-century Muscovite literature. There is one difference between the two writers, however, which helps to measure the distance that, in the mid-seventeenth century, separated their two cultural communities from Byzantium and Greece: when in need, Avvakum ex-

changed a book by Ephrem the Syrian for a horse and a *Nomocanon* (a collection of Canon Law) for the services of a helmsman, and did not know Greek; Vyšens'kyj, who spent much of his life as a solitary monk on Mt. Athos, must have known that language fairly well. He could make Greek puns and raise his Church Slavonic to the level of a calque of the Greek at will. Thus he called the hated emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus *Mateolog*, and in another passage, *Suetoslov*. Both mean "Mr. Vain Word," but one uses Greek, and the other, Slavonic components.

How many people read, or at least acquired, this polemical literature, and how passionately were they involved in it? We can give some kind of answer by extrapolating from the number of printed copies that survive, from manuscripts of works never published, and from data on single editions and their stock in printing houses. To conclude that a work not in print at the time of the polemics had no influence may be a mistake: Kopystens'kyj's *Palinodija* did not appear in print until 1876, and yet traces of it can be found in many works printed in the seventeenth century. Much of the printed literature must have been ephemeral, however, for some of the works are lost altogether or known only from citations of their titles in the polemics of their adversaries. This is the case with the initial reply to Skarga's work by the Protestant Motovylo, and with the *Orthodox Catechism* by Stefan Zyzanij (1595), known only from a Uniate refutation. All other lost works, as far as I know, were written by the Uniate side: *The True Account of the Synod of Brest* (*Spravedlivoe opisan'e postupku i spravy synodu Berestejskoho*, Vilnius, 1597); *The Second Epistle by Potij to Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj* (dated 3 July 1598); *Heresies* (*Herezje, ignorancje, i polityka popów i mieszczan bractwa wileńskiego*, 1608), which provoked Meletij Smotryc'kyj's already mentioned *Antigraphe* of 1608; *Discussion Between a Man from Brest and a Member of a Confraternity* (*Rozmova berestjanina s bratčikom*, Vilnius, 1603); and *Nalyvajko Resurrected* (*Zmartwychwstały Nalewajko*, 1608).

Some of the tracts—usually the ones written in defence of the Catholic cause or of the Union of Brest—were republished in modern times from a single, often defective, remaining copy. Some examples are the first edition of Skarga's work of 1577, the Ukrainian text of Potij's *Antirrisis*, and the Belarusian-Ukrainian text of Skarga's *Description and Defence of the Council of Brest* (*Opisan'e i oborona sǫboru Ruskoho Berestejskoho v roku 1596*), dated 1597. The Polish copy of the same work, published in 1596, was unknown in the Russian Empire in 1903, but may have existed in the Polish city of Toruń. Modern editors used the editions of 1610 and 1783. Finally, here belongs, on the Orthodox side, Herasym Smotryc'kyj's *Ključ carstva nebesnoho*, presumably dating from 1587, preserved in one defective copy in Kiev. Some works are known in only

a few copies, either because the editions became depleted (e.g., Broniewski's *Apokrisis*, which was a rarity by 1630), or because adversaries bought up an edition and burned it (according to Skarga, this was the fate of his own book in 1577). The Orthodox also burned copies of Smotryc'kyj's *Apologia* of 1628. Finally, an Orthodox work might be confiscated by the Crown, as happened with Smotryc'kyj's *Threnos*, written when the author was still Orthodox. On the other hand, a curious detail about *Threnos*'s fate suggests the wide dissemination of polemical literature: when the magistrates arrived to destroy Smotryc'kyj's work, they found only 36 copies of the *Threnos* left at the printer's. Incidentally, in Moscow, literature imported from Ukraine seems to have appeared in large editions and to have enjoyed great popularity. Pseudo-Nathanael's *Book on Faith* (*Knižica o vířī*), published in Ukraine in 1644, was reprinted in Moscow in 1658 in 1200 copies; 850 copies of the Moscow edition were purchased within two months of its appearance.

Judging by these figures, the anti-Uniate movement was stronger and more popular than the Uniate one.[7] The number of lost, rare, or partially destroyed Uniate writings is larger, even though most of them were printed in Poland-Lithuania, which protected the Union and occasionally confiscated anti-Uniate works.

Such a crude quantitative analysis of the readership of polemical literature might also be useful if applied to its authors: this on account of the information it could yield on the social, educational, and geographical background of the authors themselves and of their patrons. In addition, places of publication and the languages used in the tracts should be tabulated.[8] Here, by applying a rule of thumb, we come up with some surprising finds. Thus the number of anti-Uniate authors of noble descent turns out to be larger than one might have anticipated. Of seven commoners, five were connected with the church. In fact, the large majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors were ecclesiastics. We have to wait until the eighteenth century for the emergence of a group of lay writers coming from the ranks of higher Cossack bureaucracy, such as the compilers of the Cossack "chronicles." Another surprise concerns the geographical background of the anti-Uniate—or, at least, Orthodox—polemicists of the first period. All eight of them were from Western Ukraine, and of those, all but two were from Galicia. This finding should provide food for thought to a modern observer of Ukraine who is accustomed to identifying the west of the country with the Uniate church.

By comparison, the results of tabulating places of publication are less surprising, unless one is struck by the realization that much of the polemical literature of the earlier period was published outside Ukraine. Most of the texts, both Orthodox and Uniate, that were published

between 1595 and 1617 came from Vilnius; Ostroh was second in importance, but disappeared as a source of printing by 1600. Kiev began to figure in 1619 and L'viv in 1629, but in the latter case the polemical work was Uniate.

The patrons of polemical literature stand out by their rarity. Among the high nobility, the Orthodox Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj is easily in first place, for at least five polemical books were dedicated to him. He is followed by his Catholic son Janusz and by the Orthodox Myxajlo Vyšnevec'kyj (Michał Wiśniowecki), father of Jarema. Among the princes of the church, only Metropolitan Myxajlo Rahoza of Kiev comes to mind for the early period: the L'viv Confraternity dedicated its Greco-Slavonic *Prosphōnēma* to him in 1591.

About the language of the polemics there are no surprises to report. While the Orthodox wrote in the Polonized vernacular more often than the Uniates did, the works of the first period (whether Orthodox, Uniate, or Catholic) were more often than not written in Polish.

What about Muscovy, then? Skarga, in his work of 1577, claimed to know what "pulled [the Rus' nation] away from unity with the [Catholic] church," and what "was the greatest stumbling block in the way of unity." The reasons were "the glances you Ruthenians were casting toward the Muscovite churches and the successes the Muscovite prince was experiencing in his rule in our time and toward people with whom you share the same language and religion."[9] In spite of his last statement, Skarga could not quite have believed that the people of Rus' spoke the same language as the Muscovites, because in another place in the same work he clearly distinguished between Rus' and Muscovy. Still, he must have had reasons for singling out Moscow as the chief stumbling block to union. Was this assessment correct? As yet no answer has been given; future research might look for it among the writings of Orthodox polemicists and of other authors active, say, between 1577 and 1704[10], both by collecting direct indications of their feelings towards the Muscovite ruler and by analyzing symptomatic phrases of Ruthenian, Polish and Muscovite origin, such as the use of the terms *Rus'*, *ruski*, *do narodów ruskich*, *rusak*, *rus'kyj*, *Rossija*, *rosiejski*, *rossiyski*, *roxolański*, *rhōssaikos*, and *rossijs'kyj*. One should also determine the social status of individual polemicists.

Take, for example, the Kievan Metropolitan Jov Borec'kyj. In his Polish *Protestacja* of 1621, Borec'kyj echoed Skarga when he stated that "we," that is, the Orthodox of Ukraine and the Cossacks, shared "faith, liturgy, origin, language and customs" with Moscow; no disloyalty to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was implied, however. Borec'kyj wished only to show to the Polish side how absurd it was to accuse both

the Orthodox hierarch and the Cossacks of conniving with the Turk.[11]

Take, as another example, the Belarusian Afanasij Filipovič, for some time monk of the Kupjatyči Monastery and later *hegumen* in Brest. Some ten years before the Cossack wars, he travelled to Moscow to collect alms for a miraculous icon of the Theotokos and to petition Tsar Mixail Fedorovič. He was not overtly pro-Cossack; his Diary of 1646 contains not a single good word about them. Yet he was accused by Polish vigilantes of sending gunpowder and letters to the Cossacks in 1648; although he denied the accusation, and no proof could be found to substantiate it, he was executed. When Filipovič, who had a neurotic streak, was accused of being against the Union, he admitted it readily, even stridently. He wanted peace within the Commonwealth, and knew that it could be realized only if the Union were abolished. He considered that to be the only way to put an end to the Cossack wars.

Filipovič also wrote a loyal "supplication" to King Władysław IV, in which he thundered against the Union and respectfully pointed out all the alleged evidence that the pope had severed himself from the other four patriarchs. But he also wrote something more unusual: he complimented the king on sending a pretender to the Muscovite throne back to Moscow for investigation; he praised him for loving the holy concord (i.e., for not pushing too strongly for the Union), for loving the Eastern people (i.e., the Orthodox), and—for loving Moscow. If we collect more data of this kind, we may be able to proceed beyond guesses.

The polemicists of the period we have investigated did not seek truth—they possessed it already, regardless of which side they were on. The arguments they used were not meant to convince adversaries, but to strengthen the beliefs and resolve of their own supporters. The importance of the polemics does not lie in their intellectual content, but in the stimulus they provided for an intellectual movement in Ukraine. During their early period, the polemical debates between Catholics, Uniates, Protestants, and the Orthodox created a climate that made the success of the Kiev Mohyla *collegium* possible.

Notes

1. On the works of Lev Krevza and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj, see: Omeljan Pritsak and Bohdan Struminsky, Introduction to *Lev Krevza's "Obrona iednosci cerkiewney..." and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's "Palinodija,"* Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. xi-lviii.

2. On Meletij Smotryc'kyj and his works, see the series of articles by David Frick: "Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Question in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 (1984), pp. 351-375; "Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language Question," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9 (1985), pp. 25-52; Introduction to *The Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. xi-xxxviii; Introduction to *The "Jevanhelije učytelnoje" of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. ix-xvi.
3. Cf. *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1887), pp. 242, 243, 261; cf. also Myxajlo Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1921), p. 123. This and the subsequent translations from the sources are by the author of the present article.
4. Myxajlo Voznjak, *Pys'mennyc'ka dijal'nist' Ivana Borec'koho na Volyni i u L'vovi* (L'viv, 1954), p. 48.
5. Cf. *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, vol. 7 (1882), p. 485; cf. also Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 41.
6. On Syl'vestr Kosov and his works, see Paulina Lewin, Introduction to *Seventeenth-Century Writings of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. xi-xxiv.
7. On the history of the book trade in Ukraine, Belarus, and Muscovy during this period, see Iaroslav Isaievych, "The Book Trade in Eastern Europe in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds. (London, 1993), pp. 381-392.
8. Lists of polemical writings are found in: Myxajlo Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2: *Viky XVI-XVIII*, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1921), pp. 356-376 (some inexactitudes); 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, vol. 20 (Lille, 1938), pp. 132-141; A. Brückner, "Spory o Unię w dawnej literaturze," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1896, no. 3, pp. 578-644. Biographical data on authors of the polemical writings, lists of their works, and related bibliography are provided by Leonid Maxnovec', *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk*, vol. 1: *Davnja ukrajins'ka literatura X-XVII st. st.* (Kiev, 1960).
9. *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury*, vol. 2, Petr Giltebrandt, ed. (= *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, vol. 7 [St. Petersburg, 1882]), pp. 497-498.
10. These years refer to the respective dates of publication of Piotr Skarga's *O iedności Kościoła Bożego* and of Fedor Polikarpov's *Leksikon trejazyčnyj*.
11. Platon Žukovič, "Protestacija mitropolita Iova Boreckago i drugix zapadnorusskix ierarxov, sostavlennaja 28 aprelja 1621 goda," in V. I. Lamanskij, ed., *Stat'i po slavjanovedeniju*, vyp. 3 (1910), pp. 135-153, esp. p. 143.

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Orthodox Centres and Organizations in Podlachia from the Mid-Sixteenth through the Seventeenth Century*

Antoni Mironowicz

This article traces the changes that took place in Orthodox centres and organizations in Podlachia (Pidliashshia) from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. Hitherto the subject has not been studied in detail.[1] Yet it was here, in the Podlachian region, that the earliest religious organizations of the Orthodox laity came into existence in Ukrainian and Belarusian territories as religious consciousness grew among the confessionally diverse population of the larger towns. The influence of the laity on the character of the church and on parish organization was more noticeable here than anywhere else. Previous studies have dealt with that influence in the context of patronage (*ktytorstvo*) and cultural activities.[2] More detailed analysis reveals complex relations between clergy and laity of the same confession, relations that strongly influenced the activities of the Orthodox church, especially after the establishment of the Uniate church in 1596.

Orthodox parishes in Podlachia constituted a rather uniform entity despite their division between eparchies and their differing proprietary status. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were the west-

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ernmost outposts of the Orthodox church. Shortly before the Council of Brest the process of delineating Orthodox Podlachia's territorial borders was completed, as was the establishment of their proprietary structure. The termination date for our period of study is 1702, when the last Orthodox bishop of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Dionysii Zhabokrytsky of Lutsk, became Uniate. The close of the seventeenth century effectively put an end to the evolutionary process as Orthodox parishes became Uniate, although a number of "Greek faith" (i.e., Orthodox) centres continued to exist up to the demise of the Commonwealth at the end of the eighteenth century.

The vast literature on the Union of Brest is not free of tendentiousness in the interpretation of historical facts. Traditional research on the union was influenced by either the researcher's religious point of view (Orthodox, Uniate, Roman Catholic) or political affinity (Polish, Russian, Ukrainian). Contemporary research on the subject now often adopts a critical approach, but studies of this kind have only just begun.

The documentary sources for this article are manuscript documents found in the libraries and archives of Poland (Warsaw, Wrocław, Lublin, and Białystok), Russia (St. Petersburg, Moscow), Belarus (Minsk) and Ukraine (Kiev). Among them the most valuable document is the "Registry of Greek-Catholic Metropolitans," preserved in the State Historical Registry in St. Petersburg. Published documents, including the multi-volume editions of the Archeographic Commissions published in Vilnius, Kiev, and St. Petersburg between 1864 and 1917, were also fully utilized.[3]

Prior to the Union of Brest the Orthodox church in Podlachia had at least 146 parishes.[4] They were administratively divided between the two eparchial sees of Kiev (Podlachia was under the Vilnius-based administrator) and Volodymyr. In Podlachia the line of division between these two sees changed periodically, according to administrative needs; eventually it came to coincide with the boundary separating the two Roman Catholic dioceses of Vilnius and Lutsk. Administratively, Orthodox parishes in Podlachia were separated into five presbyteries located in the administrative centres. In the area of Podlachia belonging to the Kiev eparchy there were two presbyteries, located in Horadnia and Zabludiv (Zabłudów), whereas in the area belonging to the Volodymyr eparchy there were three presbyteries, located in Bilsk (Bielsk Podlaski), Brest, and Dorohychyn (Drohiczyn).

The growth of Orthodox parishes in Podlachia was determined by several factors: the extent of Ukrainian-Belarusian settlement; the construction of new churches in towns and villages; the manufacture of sacred objects; the degree of autonomy of affiliated agencies; and the

proprietary structure of parishes, which was related to the Podlachian szlachta's tendency to group their serfs according to parish membership. The social situation of the Orthodox clergy varied according to differences in land apportionment caused by proprietary relations within each individual parish. In parishes belonging to royal estates each priest was given two *voloka*s (33.5 hectares) of land. That land was not the Orthodox clergy's only source of income. They received a rent paid in money and in kind, they took payment for sacramental services, and they were entitled to free use of woods, rivers, and lakes in landed estates.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the main cultural and religious centres of Podlachia were the following: the monastery of Suprasl (Supraśl), the town of Zabludiv, the monastery of Iablochyn (Jabłeczna), and the towns of Bilsk and Dorohychyn. The monastery of Suprasl was the second in importance (after the Kievan Caves Monastery) among monastic centres of opposition to the Union of Brest.[5] In Zabludiv, in 1569, Hryhorii Khodkevych established the first printing press to serve the needs of the Belarusian-Ukrainian Orthodox church.[6] The monastery of Iablochyn was an important religious centre for the Orthodox,[7] and the towns of Bilsk and Dorohychyn were notable for their churches and monasteries.[8]

Orthodox clergy and laity from Podlachia who were present at the Council of Brest opposed the creation of the Uniate church. Nestor Kuzmych, an archpriest from Zabludiv, presided over the anti-Uniate synod, held separately. Ilarion Maslansky, the archimandrite of the Suprasl monastery, became a target for Uniate attacks after voicing his opposition to the Union of Brest: he was forced by his patron (*ktytor*) Ieronym Khodkevych and the Uniate metropolitan Ipatii Potii to leave the monastery. The administration of the Suprasl monastery changed, and after 1609 it ceased to function as an Orthodox cultural and religious centre.

The Union of Brest changed the legal status of the Orthodox church in Podlachia and shattered its organizational structure: canonically it no longer existed. After the Union of Brest, the cultural and religious life of Orthodoxy in Podlachia became concentrated in fewer centres—namely, in the lay organizations known as confraternities and in the churches and monasteries with which they were associated. The town of Bilsk (at the time its population was approximately 4,000) became the largest Orthodox centre in Podlachia. The Theophany Confraternity (after the patronal feast-day of the church in Bilsk, which was under the auspices of this organization) was established by Ipatii Potii when he was eparch of Volodymyr and, presumably, still Orthodox.[9] This confraternity was one of the wealthiest in the Commonwealth. Its membership consisted

primarily of furriers, members of a rich and powerful trade guild. There were also members of other guilds—cobblers, shoemakers, tanners, butchers, and blacksmiths—and social structure within the confraternity reflected the hierarchy of the trade guilds. Members of the confraternity often held highly placed municipal offices in Bilsk—one of them, Savko Hlyvko, was mayor. The confraternity was governed by a board, which in its work followed a special statute. Following the model of statues adopted in Lviv and Vilnius, it defined the rights and duties of the membership, regulated the competence of the board members, and controlled internal relations. The statute imposed an obligation to conduct charitable, educational, and cultural activities on the confraternity's members. Accordingly, the Bilsk confraternity maintained a school and a poorhouse. Every adult male who contributed to the fund and complied with the statute became a member of the confraternity. In the conflict over church buildings and property that developed following the Union of Brest, the Theophany Confraternity of Bilsk became the defender of the Orthodox position. It continued its anti-Uniate work until 1645, when it finally accepted the union. Once the Theophany Confraternity accepted the Catholic faith, four of the five Orthodox churches in Bilsk were taken over by the Uniates: the Nativity of the Theotokos, the Resurrection, the Trinity, and the Theophany Church itself. The other important centre for Orthodoxy in Bilsk was the St. Nicholas Confraternity, which existed under the auspices of the monastery of the same name. Following the Theophany Confraternity's acceptance of the union, the St. Nicholas Confraternity, which remained Orthodox, took up charitable and educational work on behalf of the Orthodox population.

Dorohychyn, the capital of the palatinate, was second in importance among the Orthodox cultural and religious centres in Podlachia. Two monasteries existed there, the Transfiguration and the Trinity monasteries, and two confraternities, named after the Transfiguration and St. Nicholas. They performed a function similar to that of the monasteries and confraternities of Bilsk. Several other monasteries were active in Orthodox religious and cultural life in seventeenth-century Podlachia: the St. Onuphrius Monastery in Iablochyn, the Dormition of the Theotokos Monastery in Zabludiv, and the Transfiguration Monastery in the Naraŭ (Narew) forest. These centres took advantage of the tolerant religious attitudes of the magnates of the Leszczyński, Radziwiłł, and Massalski families. Many of these Orthodox congregations were active up to the partition of the Commonwealth. Beside Bilsk and Dorohychyn, there were two other Podlachian towns under royal patronage: Klishcheli (Kleszczele) and Melnyk (Mielnik). The Orthodox churches in these towns functioned under the protection of the laity. The St. Nicholas Confrater-

nity in Klishcheli, its membership drawn from the Orthodox merchant elite, survived until the middle of the seventeenth century.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the growth of the Uniate church had left only a few Orthodox monastic centres in Podlachia. A small group of Podlachian monasteries remained under the Kievan metropolitanate, which maintained an administrative centre in Slutsk (Słuck). They included the St. Symeon and Nativity of Christ monasteries in Brest, the St. Nicholas Monastery in Bilsk, the Trinity and Transfiguration monasteries in Dorohychyn, the St. Onuphrius Monastery in Iablochyn, and the Dormition of the Theotokos Monastery in Zabludiv. These institutions, whose patrons were descendants of a long line of Orthodox townsmen, remained vital centres of the "Greek faith" in Podlachia. Two Orthodox confraternities continued to provide leadership and organization in the Podlachian Orthodox community: the St. Nicholas Confraternity in Bilsk and the Transfiguration Confraternity in Dorohychyn.

The development of religious and national consciousness among the townspeople of Podlachia stimulated their participation in seventeenth-century Orthodox cultural life. The confraternities assumed patronage over the churches in royal towns because the magnates and landed gentry did not undertake these responsibilities. The strength of the Orthodox confraternities derived from the weakness of the Orthodox church hierarchs, the changes in socio-political life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania following the introduction of Magdeburg law, and, finally, the new religious attitudes that appeared as a result of the Reformation. The religious, cultural and educational life of the Podlachian Orthodox community was influenced by the ethnic diversity of the region, which included settlements of Polish (Mazovian), Lithuanian, and Belarusian-Ukrainian immigrants.[10] Despite this ethnic and religious diversity, Podlachia remained the westernmost outpost of Orthodoxy and Belarusian-Ukrainian culture until the end of the seventeenth century.

Notes

1. Podlachia was given its name by the Rus' who populated this region bordering on ethnic Polish territory. Political and ethnic borders constantly changed over the course of history, and the boundaries of Podlachia were never exactly fixed. During the Middle Ages (i.e., from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries) Podlachia included the towns of Brest, Melnyk (Mielnik), Dorohychyn (Drohiczyn), Surazh (Suraż), Branske (Brańsk), Bilsk (Bielsk Podlaski), and Kamianets (Kamieniec). The southern border of the region

reached the marshes of the rivers Włodawa, Piwonia, and Tyśmianka. The northern border went somewhat north of Augustów and Rajgród. In the east, the area reached the western outskirts of the Belavezha (Białowieża) forest. In the west, the border followed the woods between Kossów and Miedzna and reached the river Liwiec. Territorially, this article includes not only the areas of historical Podlachia, but also parts of Navahradak and the Trakai and Brest palatinates (*województwa*) that are within the borders of present-day Poland. Podlachia was inhabited by people of Ukrainian, Belarusian, Lithuanian, and Mazovian origin.

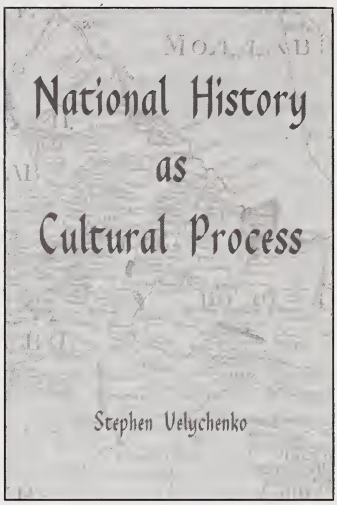
2. W. Zaikin, "Kapłaństwo panującego," *Voskresnoe chtenie* (Warsaw), no. 6, 1935, pp. 69-70; W. Abraham, *Początki prawa patronatu w Polsce* (Lviv, 1889); Metropolitan Makarii (Bulgakov), *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 9 (St. Petersburg, 1879), pp. 220-222; M. F. Vladimirsky-Budanov, Introduction to *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 8, vol. 4 (Kiev, 1907), pp. 30-54.
3. *Akty izdavaemye Vilenskoiu arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov v Vilne*, vol. 1-30 (Vilnius, 1865-1905).
4. Podlachian Orthodox parishes at the end of the sixteenth century (place names in Polish): Andryjanki, Augustów, Baciuty, Biała Podlaska, Bielsk Podlaski (5 parishes), Boćki, Boguszewo, Brańsk, Bukowica, Choroszcz, Chotycze, Ciechanowiec, Ciełuszki, Czarna Cerkiewna, Czyże, Dobryń, Dojlidy, Dokudów (2), Dołha, Dowspuda, Drohiczyn (5), Dubicze Cerkiewne, Fasty, Gnojno, Gródek, Gródek Wieś, Grodzisk, Gruzka (2), Hodyszewo, Hola, Hołówno, Horodyszcze, Hryniewicze Duże, Jabłeczna, Jabłoń, Jaczno, Jałówka, Janów Podlaski, Jurowlany, Kaniuki, Kijowiec, Klejniki, Kleszczele (2), Knyszyn, Kobylany, Kodeń, Kodeniec, Kolechowiec, Konstantynów, Korczew, Kornica, Koroszczyn, Kośna, Kosów Ruski, Kożany, Krasnybór, Krynki, Krześlin, Kuścin, Kuźnica, Lebiedziów, Lewkowo Stare, Lipsk, Łazów, Łoknica, Łomazy, Łosice, Łuków, Łukowice, Malesze, Miedzna, Międzyrzec Podlaski (2), Mielnik (2), Milejczyce (2), Mokobody, Mordy, Mostowlany, Narew (2), Nosów, Nowe Berezowo, Nowy Dwór, Opole, Orla, Ostromęczyn, Ostrów, Paprotnia, Pasynki, Pawłów, Piszczac, Prochenka, Proniewicze, Puchły, Radzyń Podlaski, Rajsk, Rogacze, Rogów, Rozwadówka, Rudka, Rudno, Ryboły, Sasiny, Sawice Ruskie, Seroczyn, Siemiatycze, Skiblewo, Sławatycze, Sokołów Podlaski, Supraśl, Suraż (2), Swory, Szóstka, Telatycze, Tokary, Topilec, Topolany, Tykocin, Wasilków, Wesółka, Wirów, Wisznice, Witulin, Włodawa, Wohyń, Wołkusz, Wysokie Mazowieckie, Zabłudów, Żerczyce, Żurobice.
5. A. Rogov, "Suprasl kak odin iz tsentrov kulturnykh sviazei Belorussii s drugimi slovianskimi stranami," *Slaviane v epokhu feodalizma* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 321-334; A. Mironowicz, *Supraśl jako ośrodek kulturalno-religijny* (Leiman, 1984).
6. V. Tumash, "Hetman Hryhor Khadkevich i yahonae vydavetsva," *Zapisy*, Belarusian Institute of Arts and Sciences (New York), no. 14, 1976, pp. 3-42; E. Nemirovsky, *Ivan Fedorov v Belorussii* (Moscow, 1979).
7. S. Żeleźniakowicz, *Historia Jabłoczyńskiego Święto-Onufriewskiego monasteru*, pt. 1 (Warsaw, 1963).

8. I. Iaroshevych, "Tserkvi goroda Belska," *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, no. 20-24 (1845), pp. 273-280; G. Sosna, "Historia miasta i dzieje prawosławia," *Wiadomości Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego*, no. 1-2 (1981); A. Poppe, "Drohiczyn," *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskiej*, vol. 1 (Wrocław, 1970), p. 386.
9. *Akty izdavaemye Vilenskoiu arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 33, p. 138.
10. There was a strong influx of settlers from Volhynia to Podlachia, who spread throughout the southern part of the region, up to the Narva river in the north.

National History as Cultural Process:

A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian Historical Writings from the Earliest Times to 1914

Stephen Velychenko



National History as Cultural Process is a comparative study of historiography as a component of elite political culture. The book reviews chronicles and survey histories of Russia, Poland, and Ukraine, describes the interpretive evolution of Ukrainian history and identifies the images of the Ukrainian-Rus' past held by successive generations of literate Poles, Russians and Ukrainians.

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Zyzanij and Smotryc'kyj (Moscow, Constantinople, and Kiev): Episodes in Cross-Cultural Misunderstanding

David A. Frick

I begin in the middle, with perhaps the most curious episode in the series of events I shall seek to link together here. At the end of February 1627, Lavrentij Zyzanij, the Ruthenian archpriest of Korec, took leave of Moscow after a stay of nearly a year. Zyzanij had come to Moscow in April 1626, apparently with the purpose of having his catechism of the Orthodox faith corrected and printed by Patriarch Filaret. The archpriest received a much altered version of his work and said his farewells in words of extreme gratitude (at least according to the Muscovite protocol):

> I marvel at the great wisdom of the Orthodox lord, most holy lord Filaret, Patriarch of Moscow and of all Rus'. What understanding, what intelligence, what great God-given wisdom does he have in himself! How did he, this sovereign, make such a large book in so little time! Truly God works in him.[1]

Then, we read, Lavrentij "took the book and pressed it to his breast, embraced it with his arms, and lovingly kissed it all over."[2]

I find something odd in this encounter. Why was Lavrentij so grateful to receive a book that had undergone so many changes in translation, excision, and alteration, as he himself complained to his Muscovite collocutors at one point?[3] Further, how often did Ruthenian churchmen of the early seventeenth century look to Moscow for doctrinal enlightenment? And—considering the issue from the other side of the fence—why did Filaret finally agree to print a work on doctrine by an archpriest from "Lithuania?" After all, the Orthodoxy of Ruthenian churchmen was generally subject to doubt in Moscow. What did the two sides expect to gain from this apparently uncomfortable and quite clearly

misunderstanding-ridden encounter?

I approach this encounter with several working assumptions: that this episode and the events surrounding it were informed by a complex of cross-cultural dissonances ranging from misrepresentations to misunderstandings; that these seams in the text may allow us to get beyond the polemical programme of the Muscovite editor of the protocol; and that a micro-investigation of such disjunctures may offer us new insights into the workings of two Orthodox Slavic national cultures at different stages in the process of coming to terms with each other and with the early modern West.[4]

In the 1620s, at approximately the time when Zyzanij was working on his catechism, Ruthenian cultural leaders (who were not only under pressure from Polish Catholic and Protestant proselytizers, but were also engaged in Uniate-Orthodox internecine competition) were generally aware of the need for an authoritative statement of correct doctrine in the form of a handbook for popular instruction. The archpriest from Korec was not alone in his efforts in that direction: Meletij Smotryc'kyj was also at work in those same years on his own Ruthenian catechism of the Orthodox faith and had recently travelled to Constantinople, manuscript in hand, ostensibly to have the work approved by Patriarch Cyril Lukaris.

Zyzanij and Smotryc'kyj were adversaries, and it is entirely possible that *part* of Zyzanij's motivation was a personal need to oppose the archbishop of Polack. That adversarial relationship would reach its climax after Lavrentij's return from Moscow and, specifically, at the Orthodox council in Kiev in August 1628, where Zyzanij played a leading role in anathematizing Smotryc'kyj's Uniate writings, including the archbishop's new catechism of the Orthodox faith, and in charging their author with suspicion of apostasy. But that antagonism may well have been growing for some time. Zyzanij and Smotryc'kyj had probably encountered each other by the 1590s in Vilnius, when Lavrentij was active in the Orthodox confraternity and Meletij was a student at the Jesuit academy. In the earliest record of a connection between the two churchmen, an entry in the Barkulabov Chronicle for 1600, we read (in addition to a report on the weather) that Prince Bohdan Solomerec'kyj had replaced the older Lavrentij with the younger Meletij as a tutor in Latin to his son, Bohdan.[5] We do not *know* that it was this incident that set the tone for the relationship between the two men, but it certainly could have given rise to some enmity in the future archpriest toward the future archbishop. Smotryc'kyj was soon to accompany the young prince Solomerec'kyj on a study tour of German academies. It was by displacing Zyzanij that Smotryc'kyj was able to continue his studies, and he later thanked "God, the Ostroz'kyjs, and the Solomerec'kyjs" (in that order) for his educa-

tion.[6]

Smotryc'kyj continued from that time on to eclipse Zyzanij in importance in the Vilnius confraternity and in the Ruthenian church in general. There were other occasions when a direct comparison between Smotryc'kyj and Zyzanij would once again have been inevitable. In 1618 Smotryc'kyj published a grammar of Church Slavonic that effectively replaced Zyzanij's own effort of 1596. He may well have included Zyzanij's grammar in his considerations when he wrote in the preface to his own work that Church Slavonic grammar had until that point sorely lacked a good description of inflectional morphology.[7] As Smotryc'kyj rose to prominence in the church and nation, Zyzanij retired into the background. In 1620 Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, who was returning home from Moscow (where he had consecrated Filaret), made Smotryc'kyj archbishop of Polack and bishop of Mstislaŭ and Vicebsk. This was a part of the general "illegal" restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in Rus' in October 1620. Zyzanij was elevated at some point from priest to the position of archpriest (the highest position in the hierarchy that a married man could occupy), and there is some reason to speculate that he, too, may have been consecrated to this (lesser) position at the same time by Patriarch Theophanes. A parallel biography of these two churchmen and philologists might make Zyzanij seem a less successful version of his younger competitor.

Smotryc'kyj had published his first catechism in 1610 in what he would later characterize as a "colophon" to the widely read Orthodox polemical pamphlet *Threnos*. On one occasion the Uniate Smotryc'kyj stated that he had begun work on a new catechism of the Orthodox faith in 1621, the year that marked the beginning of his defence of the newly consecrated Orthodox hierarchy; but he also portrayed his work on that catechism as an important point along the road to his ultimate conversion to the Uniate church. One of the main reasons for his trip to Constantinople (according to the Uniate Smotryc'kyj's representations) was to have his catechism censored by Patriarch Cyril Lukaris. When he discovered that Lukaris' own catechism was Calvinistic in several key doctrines, Smotryc'kyj was determined not to show his work to the Greek authorities.[8] He returned to Rus' and secretly converted to the Uniate church on 7 July 1627. Over the course of the next year he discussed his catechism with Orthodox churchmen—Metropolitan Jov Borec'kyj of Kiev and Peter Mohyla (who would soon become archimandrite of the Caves Monastery)—in preparation for the Orthodox synod scheduled for August 1628 in Kiev. But during that same period he was covertly showing the same work to Uniate and Catholic authorities. The Uniate metropolitan of Kiev, Josyf Ruc'kyj, served as the main corrector of his

work on that side of the fence.[9] Apparently Smotryc'kyj thought that a catechism that had been approved in advance by leaders of both sides could serve as the linchpin for his plans for a reunion of Rus' with Rus'.

But the Orthodox side seems to have had doubts about Smotryc'kyj's reliability well before he was publicly charged with suspicion of apostasy at that council in Kiev. It is difficult to say with certainty when these doubts first began to surface. According to later Orthodox representations, the Orthodox sheep never completely trusted this particular shepherd, but this may have been, to some degree, sour grapes.[10] We should note, however, that the Uniate side had devoted much of its attention in the polemical pamphlets of 1621-1622 to encouraging just these sorts of suspicions, portraying Smotryc'kyj as a near convert to the Uniate church in 1617, just before he took holy orders in the Orthodox church.[11] Apparently there were some doubts about Smotryc'kyj's trip to Constantinople, especially after he returned to Rus' with a letter from Cyril Lukaris annulling the stauropegial rights of the confraternities. And Smotryc'kyj himself was to write to Ruc'kyj that he had nearly been "found out" in 1627-1628, while he was still an undercover Uniate.[12]

The general atmosphere of suspicion surrounding Smotryc'kyj's behaviour in the period 1623-1628 formed part of the background for Zyzanij's trip to Moscow in April 1626. But was there a direct connection between Smotryc'kyj's actions and Zyzanij's decision to set off for Moscow? The timing was curious at the least. Smotryc'kyj seems to have returned to Rus' from Constantinople in late 1625 or early 1626. He was in Kiev by the Sunday of Orthodoxy, 26 February 1626, when the Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev, Jov Borec'kyj, publicly defended his own, as well as Smotryc'kyj's, *bona fides* against suspicions that the two leaders had betrayed the church to the Uniate side.[13] Zyzanij must have known that one of Smotryc'kyj's reasons for travelling to Constantinople was to acquire an authoritative censor for his catechism of the Orthodox faith. Smotryc'kyj had spent some time in Kiev in 1623 before setting off for the East, and he seems to have discussed some of his plans with some of the Orthodox, including another future "defector," Kasijan Sakovyč. Let us recall that Zyzanij would have been residing in Kiev at that time and acting as a corrector of church books at the printing house of the Kievan Caves Monastery.[14] Sakovyč wrote during Smotryc'kyj's absence in the summer of 1625 that the archbishop would answer rumours about his activities upon his return from that place "whence power and permission for the pacification of such matters is wont to come."[15] I assume that one of those "matters" was an authoritative statement on Orthodox doctrine. Smotryc'kyj had returned to Kiev by early 1626, and Zyzanij set off from Kiev for Moscow a few months later. Zyzanij returned to Rus' about the

time Smotryc'kyj was engaged in his "secret" negotiations with the Uniate side. Thus, while Smotryc'kyj was gathering support for an Orthodox synod and was showing his catechism in secret (or half secret) to leaders of both sides, Zyzanij was waiting in the wings with two catechisms: his own Ruthenian-language manuscript (assuming he had retained a copy for himself) and the Slavonic version corrected and printed by Filaret. And when Smotryc'kyj stepped forward publicly with his catechism at the Orthodox synod in Kiev in August 1628, Zyzanij was ready to lead the attack of the lesser clergy, laity, and Cossacks against the apostate archbishop.

Let us now return to that curious middle episode in the chain of events. Zyzanij seems to have arrived in Moscow shortly after 24 April 1626.[16] His purpose in coming would seem to have included having his Ruthenian catechism corrected and approved by Patriarch Filaret. Ten months later, on 18, 19, and 20 February 1627, Zyzanij discussed and defended "his" work (or, at least, the version of his work as it had been translated and adapted in Slavonic at the Moscow printing house) with Muscovite authorities. Filaret had ordered the correctors, a certain Il'ja (who was a hegumen) and a certain Grigorij, in the presence of the boyar Prince Ivan Borisovič Čerkasskij, and the state councillor ("dumnyj djak") Fedor Lixačev, to discuss those articles in the catechism that "were in disagreement with the Russian and Greek translations."[17] Our source is a Muscovite protocol of that encounter.[18]

If we do a little reading between the lines, some aspects of the relationship between the interlocutors emerge from the record of their conversation. This is a question of tone and thus is not subject to "proof" in the usual sense of the word. And yet, it is crucial to consider this aspect of the testimonies, especially given the fact that the Muscovite side controlled the shape of the document: what was obscured in the overt statements may nonetheless have come through in more indirect ways, and we should not neglect to make cautious use of such interpretive clues.

First, then, let us note that *the* power and authority in this discussion was an absent one: Filaret did not take direct part in the debates. He is portrayed as having corrected (or perhaps having supervised or ordered the correction of) the translation of Zyzanij's work, and as having commanded the correctors to discuss the work with its author. I receive the impression that the correctors also reported on the progress of their talks at the end of at least the first day and that Filaret made further suggestions concerning issues to be raised with the Ruthenian archpriest.[19] It would seem that Lavrentij did not actually see the patriarch, at least not during this last encounter with the Muscovite

authorities. Further, Filaret had ordered the correctors to conduct their discussions with Lavrentij *amicably*.[20] This leads me to wonder whether in fact an inimical conversation might have been a possibility, and whether Zyzanij might in fact have been in danger of some stricter ecclesiastical censure, depending upon his performance during those discussions.

There is some support in the protocol for taking these suspicions seriously. There was a marked difference in tone between the first day and the following two. Filaret had ordered his correctors at the beginning of the first day to give Zyzanij "his" book and to discuss with him "those articles that were in disagreement with Russian and Greek translations." But the correctors gave the book to Lavrentij only at the *end* of the first day, and Lavrentij seems not to have known until then that his request had been fulfilled. Zyzanij defended his work during that first day as if his life depended on it. Four times during that first conversation Lavrentij blamed apparent errors upon the translator.[21] And one other time, when the correctors sought to prove to him that he, not the translator, had been in error, the archpriest "swore vehemently" («клятвами клялся») that he had not been responsible for a particular heretical formulation concerning the nature of the Trinity.[22] The correctors presented the book to Lavrentij at the end of this long discussion, immediately after the archpriest had attempted to blame the translator for the fifth time. At this point, the correctors expressed disdain for Lavrentij's behaviour, pointing out that the patriarch had fulfilled his request (something Zyzanij had apparently not known until that moment) and had only demanded a discussion of the questionable issues.[23] Lavrentij's reaction showed considerable relief: he "took the book honourably and kissed it lovingly and said: 'God save the lord, most holy Filaret, patriarch of Moscow and of all Rus', that he, a great sovereign, has fulfilled our request.'"[24]

In my reading of the first day's conversation there is something of the haughtiness of underlings given rein to exercise the power of their superior over someone at his mercy. But there is an added wrinkle here. Another source would seem to indicate that this translator whom Lavrentij attempted to make into the scapegoat was none other than the hegumen Il'ja.[25] Zyzanij was apparently not aware of this fact. Nor are readers of the protocol given this important piece of information. Perhaps this helps explain some of the occasional oddities in tone in the account of the first day's discussions. Zyzanij sought every means to defend both himself and his catechism because, at this point, with the outcome still uncertain, they may have been the same thing. The correctors withheld from Lavrentij the information that his work had already achieved a certain kind of acceptance, and Il'ja did not betray that he himself was

the much-maligned translator—hence his impatience with what he portrayed as Lavrentij's needless whining.

After the first day, Zyzanij no longer made a scapegoat out of the translator, and he accepted the Muscovite corrections with greater and greater willingness. Six times, on days two and three, Zyzanij said something of the sort: "I came here precisely so that I might receive better doctrine here from you. It was precisely for this reason that I petitioned the Orthodox Sovereign and most Holy Lord Filaret."[26] That is, Zyzanij continued to put up a fight, but he became much less tied to his stated opinion. In fact, Zyzanij seems on several occasions to have been willing to shape generalizations concerning what the Ruthenians believed in ways that would be acceptable to his Muscovite collocutors, but which were not necessarily reflective of the truth about what Rus' believed.

Let us consider, for example, the question of the status of Greek authorities. Il'ja and Grigorij seem to have suspected that Lavrentij belonged to a nation that accepted the new Greek texts. Echoing Maksim Grek, the Muscovite correctors told of new Greek texts that agreed neither with the old Greek nor with the Slavonic texts and that they did not accept because, "although they are indeed printed in the Greek language, the Greeks now live under great oppression in infidel countries and are not able to print them according to their custom."[27] Asked by Lavrentij whether they knew Greek, the Muscovite correctors responded that "we know enough Greek that we do not add any syllable to any phrase, or take one away."[28] In spite of this attitude on the Muscovite side, Lavrentij continued to attempt to gain a polemical advantage by appeal to Greek authorities; and, still, twice he was forced to retreat, assuring his collocutors that "we, too, do not accept the new translations of books in the Greek language."[29]

But was this true? By "translations," the Muscovite correctors clearly had in mind "editions" of all sorts: after all, Filaret had ordered them to discuss with Lavrentij those passages where his catechism differed from Russian and Greek *translations*.[30] And the reigning attitude among the Muscovites toward Greek texts printed in the West encompassed all Greek texts—scriptural, canonical, patristic—which, in this view, had been taken from the Greeks by the Latins, printed in the West in corrupt form, and then destroyed, such that all appeal to Greek authority was invalidated. We can find this view in the works of Maksim Grek, Meletij Smotryc'kyj (but only as author of the Orthodox *Threnos*), and, eventually, the Old Believers as well as the "Latinizer" Silvester Medvedev.[31]

Lavrentij was clearly searching for some authority to support his side of the argument, and he attempted twice to make Greek texts his author-

ity. Apparently he suspected that the Muscovites might bow before Greek authority; even better—that they did not know Greek, and that he might thus be able to gain a polemical advantage. "In the Greek language it is said thus," Lavrentij began his challenge, and he continued, "Who among you knows Greek?"[32] But the Muscovites managed to maintain the authority of *genuine* Greek texts and still undermine Lavrentij's argument: we adhere to the new Greek texts and to the Slavonic texts translated from them; you adhere to the new Greek texts that have been corrupted by the "Latins." And twice Lavrentij retreated after some argument, agreeing that these texts were indeed corrupt. And not only did he concede that this was the case, but he asserted that "we" (i.e., the Ruthenians) also believed this.

But the prefaces to the Kievan editions of liturgical and patristic texts published in the 1620s, on some of which Zyzanij had himself collaborated as corrector, explicitly defended recourse to precisely those new Greek texts published in the Latin West. Zyzanij himself had served as corrector of the 1623 edition of the sermons of St. John Chrysostom, and he had carried out his correction according to "the most reliable Greek archetype, which was most excellently imprinted in the city of Eton" (i.e., in Protestant England).[33]

This exchange calls in doubt Zyzanij's claims that he had come to Moscow for spiritual enlightenment. In my reading, Zyzanij on both occasions first argued one way, expressing views that were in keeping with the Kievan programme; and both times he finally gave in not because he had been convinced (he attempted *twice*, after all, to make the same point), but because he despaired of convincing the Muscovite authorities with this argument. That is, Zyzanij shifted his statements—subtly and not so subtly—whenever he felt the need to do so during his conversation/interrogation with/by the Muscovite authorities.

The "why" is, at one level, clear enough: Zyzanij wished to survive the discussion and to obtain Filaret's approbation. Perhaps a consideration of the "how" will lead us somewhat further. What aspects of the relations between the two sides made this sort of shifting a viable tool for dispute? I would point, among other things, to the levels of knowledge each side had of the other. In short, considerable mutual ignorance seems to have separated Zyzanij and the Muscovites in 1627. Both sides devoted much of their attention to establishing the differences between "you" and "us." Some of the ignorance may have been feigned; much of it was clearly genuine. Each side sought knowledge of the other, but both players could also retreat behind mutual ignorance (or feigned ignorance) in moments of danger.

What did the two sides actually know about each other? And,

perhaps more interesting, what things did they fear (and thus—consciously or subconsciously—seek to discover) in their collocutors? How had they defined each other before this encounter began? In 1627 we are, after all, at the very beginning stages of the Ruthenian-Muscovite encounter. The Muscovites were willing to accept Lavrentij as one of their own, but only up to a certain, very limited point. They were willing to print his book on "their" doctrine (after the necessary corrections had been made) and to converse with him in their own language about the faith. Throughout their conversation, however, the Muscovites seem to have suspected that they did not entirely understand this man who had appeared on their doorstep with a "Lithuanian" catechism they claimed was in a language foreign to them.

The attitudes of the Muscovite correctors toward Zyzanij seem to have been shaped by a certain amount of ignorance and a few cultural stereotypes. This ignorance began—so we are led to believe—at the linguistic level. Zyzanij wrote his work in Ruthenian, apparently under the assumption that his interlocutors would at least be capable of understanding it. But although they knew some "Serbian" words, the Muscovites claimed not to be able to understand "Lithuanian" or "Polish" (the two terms the Muscovites used to refer to the language of Zyzanij's work).[34] "If I had only known," Lavrentij exclaimed at one point, "I would have submitted my book to the sovereign, most holy patriarch, entirely in the Slavonic language."[35]

By paying attention to the things that Il'ja and Grigorij seem to have expected—*and, especially, feared*—from Zyzanij, we can begin to recreate some part of Muscovite perceptions of Rus' in the 1620s. Grigorij objected to Zyzanij's assertion that "the Father *collected* (*собра*) the Son and the Holy Spirit," saying that "we do not speak of the *collecting* (*собрание*) of the Holy Trinity."[36] Zyzanij asked to see the translation (he seems no longer to have had direct access to his original), and he then blamed the translator, claiming that he "had written that the Father *deduced* (*извеге*) the Son and the Holy Spirit."[37] It would seem reasonable to assume that in the oral discussion Lavrentij was offering Slavonic equivalents of the words in his Ruthenian original. But at this point Prince Ivan Borisovič Čerkasskij asked Zyzanij:

> "How do you say in Lithuanian *собра*?" And Lavrentij said it is the same in the Lithuanian language—*собра*. And then [the prince] asked: "And how do you say *извеге*?" And Lavrentij said: "it is also *извеге* in our language."[38]

Thereupon "we" (i.e., the correctors, Il'ja and Grigorij) said that whether it was *извеге* or *собра* was not the point: it was still theologically incorrect.[39] Zyzanij seems not to have spoken through an interpreter.

What did he mean by the curious statement that *собра* was *собра* and *извеже* was *извеже* in "Lithuanian?"

Was Zyzanij perhaps wilfully exploiting the distance between himself and his Muscovite interlocutors here? Was the mutual ignorance of use to Zyzanij, especially on the first day, when he seems to have been in a panic to defend himself and his book? On the first day he may have benefited from this situation of linguistic unclarity since it allowed him to make himself less "clear" to his collocutors, thus rendering it more difficult for them to declare him a heretic. On the second and third days there was a more genuine will on Zyzanij's part to discover who the Muscovites were and to communicate to them somewhat more accurate information concerning the Ruthenians. Day Two began with Zyzanij posing questions to the Muscovites, itself a sign that the dynamics had changed considerably. (And again, we may wish to take the claims of incomprehensibility with a grain of salt. After all, remember that one of those men present and claiming not to know "Lithuanian" was the "translator" of the work, Il'ja.)

But let us continue for a moment with the Muscovite fears of Zyzanij. At the doctrinal level, the Muscovites' first worry seems to have been that Lavrentij was a secret Arian, in other words, that he had come under the influence of the Polish radical Antitrinitarians who were active in the eastern lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Several of their questions, including the first ones, were thus devoted to probing Lavrentij's beliefs on the Trinity.[40]

Other areas of concern (or, as we will see, even annoyance) were more general. On one occasion, when Lavrentij sought one excuse after another after having been caught in an apparently heretical formulation on the Trinity, he "began to speak in terms of orthography."[41] Here, again, Zyzanij sought a polemical advantage by recourse to the tools of sacred philology. Once again, the Muscovite protocol represented this as an act of desperation, and the Muscovite side responded with annoyance at the Ruthenian grammarian's argument:

> "This, Lavrentij, is the childish affair of those who are learning letters, that through the characters one understands singularity and plurality; but we are not occupying ourselves today with such a matter." And to this, Lavrentij answered nothing.[42]

The Muscovites neutralized Lavrentij's appeal to grammar in the same manner as they had dealt with his appeal to Greek texts—in both instances by co-opting the authority in question.

In other cases the Muscovite side would simply reject the authorities to which Lavrentij either overtly adhered or (perhaps more interestingly)

which they suspected behind his utterances. The Muscovites alleged, for example, that Lavrentij had drawn some of his information from what they might otherwise have termed "worldly philosophy." He had taken his view of man from the fables of Aesop.[43] Even worse, he had accepted a cosmology formed on the basis of handbooks on astrology "taken from the Greek magi."[44] Zyzanij defended himself by drawing a distinction similar to that between analytical and judicial astrology, which were the traditional terms in Western discussions: he wrote only descriptively of God's creation, not in order to foretell the future.[45] The Muscovites responded with the fundamentalist position, which rejected all speculation about the structure of the universe: "we" have all our knowledge concerning the cosmos from the Bible, especially from Gen. 1:17, where it is written "and God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth."[46] Still Lavrentij pushed the issue: "Then how do the lights make their motions?"[47] When the Muscovites returned once again to the Bible to explain how the heavens go,[48] Zyzanij finally gave in, saying that he had come to Muscovy, after all, precisely in order to receive enlightenment from Filaret.[49]

But again, was this true? If Lavrentij knew (or suspected) he was wrong, why did he put up such a fight in the first place? Was he really so easily convinced to change his views on how the motions of the heavens were to be described? Was he speaking for a Ruthenian consensus? Since we do not have Zyzanij's original (and since, according to the correctors themselves, the passages on the heavens had been excised), we can only speculate on the archpriest's "original" cosmology. But we can note at a minimum (and it was a significant minimum) that the two sides adhered to different rules in their descriptions of the motions of celestial objects—the Muscovites drawing *all* their knowledge from the Bible, and Zyzanij *apparently* willing to read other books, including perhaps the book of nature.

This is one of those misunderstandings that may have resulted from the beginnings of a change in world-views. Whether Zyzanij's views were geostatic or geokinetic (probably the former), the archpriest of Korec lived in a world where, owing to the discussion of the new and old calendars if nothing else (the new calendar had been introduced in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1583), theorizing about the movements of heavenly bodies could have formed part of the background of confessional debate. Not so, apparently, in Muscovy. For the correctors Il'ja and Grigorij the question seems not to have been geokinetic versus geostatic world-views, but whether in fact there should be any speculation at all beyond the information provided by a few biblical passages. A recent history of Orthodox theology has offered as a token of continuing

conservatism the fact that as late as 1808, an Orthodox theologian was still attempting to adapt the compromise solution offered by Tycho Brahe (d. 1601), in which the moon and the sun revolved around the earth and the other planets around the sun;[50] and yet, even this belated willingness to play the game by Western rules, to answer the questions posed by the West, marks a step away from the position of Lavrentij's Muscovite opponents, who still refused to debate these issues.

There were other passages where Zyzanij's original text may have reflected a certain "modernity" that was unacceptable further to the east. The Muscovites objected forcefully to the relative quantity and quality of descriptions Zyzanij had devoted to the Godhead and to man, respectively:

> Why, Lavrentij, did you write in your book very boldly and audaciously questions and answers concerning the Divinity and His essence? And when the question was about Man—"What is Man?"—then you say in answer, "This is an unfathomable thing."[51]

What was behind this disagreement? Apparently, for one thing, the Muscovites continued to adhere to a kind of apophatic theology. This was part of their reaction to the fact that Zyzanij had *much* to say about the nature of the Divinity (and in terms of positive knowledge, rather than as a resignation to assess the ineffability of the godhead). Conversely, when Zyzanij wrote that man was a mystery, he may have been reflecting "new" ideas that put man more in the centre of attention by making his nature a matter for speculation and by lending him some of the transcendence of the divinity. In treating at length of the nature of God, Zyzanij was perhaps reflecting the sense prevalent among Ruthenians that the Orthodox needed to provide positive answers to precisely those questions raised by Protestants and Catholics. Orthodox Ruthenian definitions of faith in this period were informed in large measure by their reactive nature; as late as 1627, it seems, the Muscovite side had yet to begin to define itself in reaction to the Western confessions.

Lavrentij led off the second day of discussions (19 February 1627) by posing the following question to his Muscovite interlocutors: "How do you call your faith, and what name do you give it?"[52] The Muscovite answer—"we call it the faith of Christ, transmitted to us by His Holy Apostles and confirmed by the Holy Fathers, who had gathered at the seven holy ecumenical councils"[53]—did not satisfy Lavrentij. This was for him an unexpressive minimum. Zyzanij knew from experience that it was what everyone said, Catholics and heterodox included. Lavrentij wished to know "what do you call it [your faith] in your own person («от своего лица»)? When someone asks you 'What is your faith?'—what do you call it for him?"[54] I suspect that Zyzanij was genuinely hoping for

enlightenment here on the question of how an Orthodox Christian was to respond to challenges from a variety of corners denying that the Orthodox faith was the Christian faith. This, it seems, was the kind of challenge that Ruthenian churchmen had to meet on a daily basis, but one that was still foreign to the Muscovites.

This sort of Muscovite ignorance concerning the ways of the world in the western borderlands of Orthodox Christendom gave rise to a disagreement over whether non-priests had the right to perform a baptism when no priest was present. This situation often arose for Orthodox Christians living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; it was thus a matter of grave concern for Lavrentij, who had written that "if no priest is present, a person can be baptized by a deacon, or a clerk, or a monk, or a layman."[55] Il'ja and Grigorij responded with apparently unfeigned amazement: "What city is there where there are deacons and clerks, but no priest?"[56] Zyzanij's response was eloquent in its terseness: "there is much of this in the world."[57] The Muscovites simply could not fathom this, arguing that "without a priest, not only is it improper for the faithful to be baptised, but even to be born or to die."[58]

Lavrentij attempted in vain at this point to defend himself (and what was apparently common Ruthenian practice) by stating that he had not invented this idea, but had based his statement on old authorities: "bishop Augustine" and Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople (ca. 758-829).[59] The Muscovites not only rejected Zyzanij's point of doctrine, but they questioned the manner in which he established his authority. First, this doctrine was not to be found, so the Muscovites argued, in the rules of St. Nicephorus (whose authority they acknowledged).[60] Second, the Muscovites had some problems with according authority to St. Augustine. The Muscovite attitude was curious: either it showed an ignorance about the life of the bishop of Hippo, or it reflected an Orthodox tradition that sought to "accept" Augustine, but to blame most of his writings on Latin falsifications. Both interpretations imply a certain discomfort with Augustine and uncertainty as to how to neutralize (or co-opt) his authority. Now, for the first and only time, so the tone would seem to reveal, it was the Muscovite side that was on the defensive. First, they argued that although "we know Augustine, nonetheless, his rules and his other writings are not found in Greek translations, because his writing was corrupted by Latin sophists according to their heretical custom."[61] When Lavrentij defended Augustine as "the Orthodox bishop of the city of Hippo and the author of many authoritative works,"[62] the Muscovites offered a highly unusual life of the bishop to "prove" their point: "we know that Augustine was an Orthodox bishop and that he then renounced the Christian faith and was returned to the true path by

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; thereupon, up to his death, Augustine finished his life in repentance, and he did not write any more writings and commandments, or teachings and epistles, since the Fathers do not allow such people to teach."[63] Lavrentij stuck to his guns: "You are quite right that Augustine abandoned the Christian faith and was returned to the true path by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; but his sermons are even in the book of Meletios, Archbishop of Constantinople."[64] Still the Muscovites managed to appear unimpressed: if Augustine's works were used by Meletios, it was because he wrote to refute the Latins "on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on unleavened bread, and on other Latin customs." And the Muscovites made their point one more time: "we do not have his doctrine; but even if it is found somewhere, we do not accept it, because his doctrines are of the Latin custom."[65] Further, "they [the Latins] have yet another interpreter, called Jerome; nor do we accept his writing, because they corrupted many Greek books according to the Latin custom."[66]

By this point a tired Zyzanij agreed: "We know Jerome, and we do not accept his writing either."[67] But again: was this true, or was Lavrentij simply worn out by the series of mutually contradictory objections that the Muscovite side had offered in an oddly frantic attempt to discredit Augustine? In his *Threnos* of 1610, the Orthodox Meletij Smotryc'kyj had placed both Augustine *and* Jerome in the ranks of the teachers of the "Universal Apostolic Eastern church" next to Basil the Great, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Gregory of Nazianzus.[68] The exchange recorded in the protocol revealed a certain amount of discomfort on the Muscovite side in the face of Zyzanij's continuing insistence on the authority of St. Augustine's writings: why else would the side that was, after all, in control of the discussion resort to a series of shifting, contradictory critiques of this church father?

Was there a general pattern in all these disagreements, misunderstandings, and inconsistencies? I suggest that each side began with a set of unexpressed assumptions concerning its needs and goals, that these assumptions were given direct expression only rarely and almost inadvertently, but that they nevertheless in large part informed the arguments. Central to these assumptions, I suspect, was a definition of the main opponent, the immediate "other," against whom each side defined its articles of faith and its method of argumentation and appeal to authority. This attitude expressed itself indirectly, but it was anterior to the choice of argument and thus of crucial significance in moments of misunderstanding. Lavrentij seems to have defined his position primarily against that of the Roman Catholics, who were, in his opinion, the most

immediate threat to Orthodox Ruthenians. The Muscovites were, of course, overtly anti-Catholic (perhaps, in a sense, even more so than Zyzanij: the fact that the archpriest was engaged in a protracted debate with Uniates and Catholics required him to accept some of their authorities in an effort to beat his opponents at their own game); but their deepest suspicions were directed toward traitors to Orthodoxy, first the Greeks and now (they feared) the Kievans.

These attitudes gave rise to some of the irony in the misunderstandings between the two parties. Consider the following case: the Muscovite correctors objected to Zyzanij's teaching on the disposition of righteous souls at death. In their representation, the Ruthenian archpriest had posited a "first hell" for the souls of those who had repented before death, and a "second hell" for unrepentant sinners; those righteous souls that had been sent to the first hell could later be freed by the prayers of the living.[69] The Muscovites argued in response that souls "with pure and true acts of repentance do not descend into hell, but for those souls that have descended into hell without repentance there is no confession, according to the saying of the prophet [Ps. 6:5]: 'for in hell, who shall confess thee, O Lord?'[70] Further, in the Muscovite argument, it was the doctrine of Chrysostom, Athanasius, and John of Damascus that "the souls of Orthodox Christians who have died with pure repentance depart unto bright places, into the hands of God, where God knows."[71] The Muscovites offered as proof of this assertion the instance of the righteous thief, who, according to Christ's own words, was to be with him in paradise. This argument "convinced" Lavrentij: after having considered "for some time" where the righteous thief went after his death, Zyzanij allowed that the Muscovites had "got him that time."[72]

The irony here was that the Muscovites reacted to Zyzanij's teaching on the disposition of righteous souls using arguments that foreshadowed the objections that the Uniate Meletij Smotryc'kyj would soon make to the similar teachings of Lavrentij's brother Stephen. And the irony was heightened by the fact that, a year and half after he had bowed to Muscovite pressure on this issue, Zyzanij would be instrumental in having Smotryc'kyj charged with suspicion of apostasy, ostensibly because he had objected to the teachings of the Zyzanijs (among others) on points of doctrine, including precisely this one.

In his *Protestatia Przeciwo Soborowi w tym roku 1628* (Lviv, 1628) against the treatment that he had received at the Kievan Council of August 1628, Smotryc'kyj made Zyzanij into the greatest foe of the Union and into his own personal adversary. In Smotryc'kyj's representations, he had been led into a trap in Kiev prepared by the lesser clergy—Zyzanij together with Andrij Mužylovs'kyj, who was archpriest of Sluck. In this

account, Smotryc'kyj had carefully prepared for this council in meetings with the appropriate church leaders, above all with Metropolitan Borec'kyj and Archimandrite Mohyla, who had expressed their agreement with those portions of his *Apologia* they had seen. Smotryc'kyj came to Kiev under the assumption that the leaders were still in agreement with him and without realizing that the hierarchy had been upended, that Zyzanij and Mužylovs'kyj, together with the laity, had usurped the power rightfully belonging to the bishops. Instead of achieving official church approval for his unionizing catechism (remember: he had recently been showing this work to the Uniate metropolitan Ruc'kyj at the same time as he was negotiating with the Orthodox leaders), Smotryc'kyj was forced to participate in a solemn ceremony in the church of the Caves Monastery, during which his *Apologia* was condemned and pages from it were burned and stomped underfoot.[73]

When Smotryc'kyj criticized the Ruthenian "new theologians" in *Apologia* and elsewhere, he wrote of "your Zyzanijs, Philalets, Orthologs," etc., and in referring to the "Zyzanijs," he made a pun on the sowers of ζιζάνια or tares. But in this case alone, he also had actual referents for his plural: the brothers Stephen and Lavrentij. In fact, almost all of Smotryc'kyj's references to "Zyzanij" were to Stefan Zyzanij. Only in the *Protestatia* did he refer to Lavrentij. But even here he was purposefully vague in his references to the brothers, and he often allowed his readers to maintain the impression that the Zyzanij whose "heretical" works he had refuted in *Apologia* and the Zyzanij who was his main opponent in Kiev were the same person. He wrote in his *Protestatia* that while the church leaders gathered in the Caves Monastery were anathematizing his *Apologia*, he was in his heart doing the same to "the blasphemies, errors, and heresies of their sowers of chaff, the Zyzanijs, who were refuted by me in my work; *them* did I tear; upon *them* did I put the candles out; and *them* did I cast under my feet":[74] here Smotryc'kyj counted upon a linking of the two brothers, the one who had been a false teacher to the Ruthenian nation and the other who was now condemning Smotryc'kyj and supporting his brother's errors.

Smotryc'kyj delighted in unmasking the contextual contingency of the "truths" expressed by his Orthodox opponents. In his *Apologia* he argued that the Ruthenian new theologians and the Greeks who were gathered around Patriarch Cyril Lukaris had made heterodox doctrine into their own pseudo-Orthodox doctrine simply in order to contradict Catholic dogma, not stopping to consider whether the Orthodox agreed with the heterodox or with the Roman church on a given point.[75] In particular—at least in the Uniate Smotryc'kyj's representations—Cyril Lukaris (whom he identified in a roundabout way) confessed to him privately that the

reason for denying particular judgement was in order to be in a position to be able to "destroy the Roman purgatory."[76]

Zyzanij's statements on the disposition of souls at death seem to reflect some confusion in his views on purgatory and particular judgement. Asked by the Muscovites how many judgements there were, Zyzanij produced the shocking answer "four." The Muscovites were so surprised by his response that they only allowed him to list two of them (in addition, we may presume, to the last judgement) before they "convinced" him of his error. Lavrentij argued that God had first judged Sodom and Gomorrah (to which the Muscovites replied that God had not judged, but *would* judge) and that there was a judgement when the soul departed from the body (i.e., particular judgement—here Zyzanij "agreed" with Smotryc'kyj—which the Muscovites argued was not judgement per se, but a disposition).[77] This exchange came on the second day and was, perhaps, prompted by the longer debate on the first day concerning the disposition of righteous souls.

In his refutation of Stephen Zyzanij, Smotryc'kyj used several of the same arguments employed by the Muscovites in their debate with Lavrentij. Like the Muscovites, Smotryc'kyj drew on the story of the righteous thief at Christ's crucifixion and on Chrysostom, Athanasius, and John of Damascus to "prove" that a decision was made concerning the disposition of souls at death and that the souls of the repentant went to some "light and peaceful place."[78] Thus, we might falsely conclude, the Uniate Smotryc'kyj "agreed" with the Muscovite authorities in rejecting the teachings of the Zyzanijs on this particular point. But this "agreement" tells us little and is in fact misleading if we do not also determine how it happened that those two otherwise inimical parties were suddenly in agreement.

In this particular case, Smotryc'kyj cited the story of the righteous thief against Stephen Zyzanij's argument on the disposition of repentant souls, which the archbishop represented as a direct borrowing from the Protestants. Smotryc'kyj cited these biblical passages, together with the authority of the Greek fathers (Chrysostom, Athanasius, Damascene) in order to "prove" the licitness of Roman doctrine on particular judgement and purgatory. His argument was that "we" (i.e., the Eastern Orthodox church) believe these same things (even if we do not give them the same names), so why do we condemn the Romans as heretics?

Lavrentij seems to have been seeking to distance himself somewhat from the position of his brother, who had denied particular judgement, the existence of purgatory, and the efficacy of prayers of the living for intercession for the souls of the dead. He seems to have reached a stage in his thought where he recognized that the Ruthenian "new theologians"

(including his brother) had become a polemical liability for the Orthodox in their debates with the Uniates and the Catholics. It thus became necessary to find an Orthodox position that was neither Roman nor markedly Protestant (and—most important—to gain some authoritative support for that position). Lavrentij's dilemma may explain some of the curious elements in his doctrine and in his manner of argumentation: not two judgements (and not one judgement), but four; not purgatory (but also *not*-purgatory), but "first hell," whence souls could be freed through prayers for intercession.

The Muscovites were less directly worried about opposing Roman positions, more comfortable with their own authority on this particular issue, and most suspicious of Ruthenians and "new Greeks." Thus they had no difficulty in reacting to Zyzanij's position in a way that would have been for the Ruthenian archpriest compromisingly close to the "unionizing" position of Meletij Smotryc'kyj. Yes, souls are sent to good and bad places according to their merits at death (but this, according to the Muscovites, is, technically speaking, a disposition rather than a judgement). Yes, there is a place outside of hell for the souls of those who, although sinful in life, had repented before death (but there is no particular name for this place). The church prays for the souls of those who died repentant (but it prays for the souls of all, living and dead, in hell or elsewhere).

And there were many other points in the cultural and confessional debates of the seventeenth century where representatives of sides that had little in common, and were otherwise inimical, made use of similar or even identical arguments. The point is that the "truth" in these debates—as Smotryc'kyj himself frequently pointed out—was to a certain degree contextually determined. We should note that in 1627, "orthodoxy" and "heresy" were terms that had not yet reached even the *relatively* clear state of the late seventeenth century, to say nothing of the modern definitions. On these particular issues all sides—Zyzanij, Smotryc'kyj, and the Muscovites—espoused some doctrinal points that would make their way into the current definition of Orthodoxy and some that would be declared in error. The crucial point is that it is of little importance to discover what a given party held on questions like particular judgement, purgatory, Greek authority, etc., if we do not also determine "against whom" they held these opinions and to what end.

This tale of two men and three cities actually "ended" with a third man and a fourth city: Peter Mohyla and the Romanian see of Iaşi. Mohyla was in the beginning stages of his rise to power when Smotryc'kyj and Zyzanij were seeking official approval from the various sides for their catechisms. One of the early tests of Mohyla's political savvy

may have been in the events surrounding the condemnation of Smotryc'kyj's catechism in Kiev in August 1628. According to Smotryc'kyj, Mohyla had privately expressed his agreement with the archbishop's unionizing position, but through cowardice and fear of pressure from the Cossacks and from the lesser clergy (including Zyzanij), he had allowed himself to be swayed for the moment to a rigid anti-Uniate position.[79] There may have been some truth to these obviously self-serving allegations. Once he had neutralized the influence of the Cossacks and the lesser clergy and had gained the support of the Ruthenian gentry and regular church hierarchy, Mohyla would show himself open to much of what had been Smotryc'kyj's programme.

One crucial difference seems to have been that Mohyla had created a stronger power base, and he had a better sense how far this power base would allow him to move toward the Romans. With his well-established "Orthodox" credentials, Mohyla was in a position to include many of Smotryc'kyj's doctrinal points, including the teaching on particular judgement and purgatory, in his own catechism of the Orthodox faith. Mohyla did not send his work to either the patriarch of Constantinople or the patriarch of Moscow for correction and approval; rather, he submitted it in 1642 for acceptance by the Eastern patriarchs gathered in Iaşi. The translation of Mohyla's work into Greek marked the official adoption of a work much closer to Smotryc'kyj's than to Zyzanij's as the Orthodox standard.[80]

By now "everyone" (the catechism was supposed to have been a definitive statement of Orthodox belief) "believed" the same thing on this particular point, and what they "believed" was more or less what Smotryc'kyj had argued: that the Orthodox faith accommodated something akin to what the Catholics called particular judgement. But why did many of the same people "believe" this now but not a few years earlier? The answer lies in considerations of power and authority. The crucial thing was not *only* (although this played a role, too) *what* people believed, but *who* expressed the belief, *against whom*, and *to what end*?

Smotryc'kyj and Zyzanij seem to have been working alone. The most plausible reconstruction I can offer is that Smotryc'kyj went to Constantinople in the hope of gaining Lukaris's authority for some version of a unionizing national Orthodox church in Rus'. When he saw that this would be impossible, he decided to return to Rus' and work for a bilateral agreement on such a vision, perhaps under a local independent patriarch to be established on the Muscovite model.

The curious episode remains Zyzanij's trip to Moscow. Clearly Zyzanij was hoping to gain some sort of authority through Filaret's approval. It seems to have been important to him, and he was willing to

put himself in some danger and to agree to opinions that were not his own to get it. But then, why did he make no use of this authority when he returned to Rus'? As far as I know, Ruthenian documents are silent on Zyzanij's trip. Is this a significant or a fortuitous silence? Or did Zyzanij simply lack the authority to be heard in the Ruthenian debates?

And what did the Muscovite side expect to gain? Perhaps there were at the outset some expectations that the Ruthenian scholar might offer a usable statement of the Orthodox faith. (But *against whom* would this document have been exploited at that time? Against the Greeks?) Perhaps the Muscovite authorities realized that they had not got what they were after. The work seems to have had little resonance with mainstream church culture.[81] In fact, 1627 marks the beginning of an official Muscovite reaction against Ruthenian books.[82] Did the encounter with Zyzanij play a role in this move to control access to Kievan printings? Perhaps at this point the Muscovite side was simply seeking information about a representative of this nation that was soon to become such a significant "other" in the Muscovite psyche. In other words, viewed from the Muscovite side of the fence, the "Prenie" may have recorded an important early debriefing in the realm of national-confessional intelligence gathering.

Notes

1. "Prenie litovskogo protopopa Lavrentija Zizanija s igumenom Ilieju i spravščikom Grigoriem po povodu ispravlenija sostavlennogo Lavrentiem katexizisa," in *Letopisi russkoj literatury i drevnosti*, vol. 2, Nikolaj Tixonravov, ed. (Moscow, 1859), p. 100: «дивлюся великой премудрости православнаго государя святейшего кир Филарета, патриарха московского і всеа Руси: каков разум, каков смыслъ, какову великую Богом дарованную премудрость имат в себѣ! как онъ, государь, тол великую книгу в невеликое время учинилъ! Во истинну Богъ дѣствует в немъ.»
2. "Prenie," p. 100: «И взяв книгу к персем своим прикладывалъ я, руками обнимал и любезно всюду ея цеповал.»
3. "Prenie," p. 94: «...иное, мнит ми ся, кабы не всѣ с моего переводу писано, кабы иное переступлено.»
4. For programmatic discussions of microhistorical approaches, see: Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Peter Burke, ed. (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1991), pp. 93-113; Edward Muir, "Introduction: Observing Trifles," *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds. (Baltimore, 1991), pp. vii-xxviii; Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore, 1989), pp. 96-125.

5. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisiej*, vol. 32 (Moscow, 1975), p. 185: «Того року была зима люта и снежная. Благовещение было на святой недели в [пя]ток. Почали орати по святе на четвертой неделе. Того ж року, месеца апреля у понеделок на святого Мартина папы римского, взявши з науки от Лаврентия зараз дано до науки латинския до пана Максима Герасимовича Смотрицкого.»
6. Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Jevanhelije učytelnoje* (Vevis, 1616) (= *The 'Jevanhelije učytelnoje of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass., 1987), v[r]/13: «То бовѣмъ все щоколвек в розумъ могу, если що могу, по ласце Б[о]жой, и по ласце Ясне Освецоных Книж. Острозскихъ, ласце и добродѣйствам В. Книж. М. домовства, приписовати повинен найдую ся: которого при боку и тубытных и чужоземских Академій вызволеных наукъ вдячности, ведлуг мѣлкого довтѣпу моего, звѣдати здарил ми Г[оспо]дь Богъ...»
7. Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Grammatiky slavenskija pravilnoe sintagma* (Vevis, 1618; facsimile ed., Nimčuk, 1979), 2[v]: «[This grammar] Научитъ в речениихъ розознаня розличности Грамматичных слова частий: научитъ Именъ склонения, а Глаголовъ споряжения, ведлугъ власности окончений *на чомъ намъ барзо сходило* языка чисте Славенского» (emphasis added).
8. See Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Apologia peregrinatiey do Kraiow Wschodnych* (Lviv, 1628; facsimile ed.) (= *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 105-06/576; Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Exęthesis abo Expostulatia* (Lviv, 1629; facsimile ed.) (= *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass. 1987), 3[r]/697.
9. See Smotryc'kyj's letter to Ruc'kyj in M. I. Kojalovič, *Litovskaja cerkovnaja unija*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1861), pp. 361-67.
10. For the post-conversion Orthodox allegations, see Andrij Mužylovs'kyj (Andrzej Mużyłowski), *Antidotum, Przezacnemv Narodowi Rvskiemv, Albo, Warvnek Przeciw Apologiey Iadem Napełnioney; ktorą wydał Melety Smotrzysky, niesłusznie Cerkiew Ruską prawosławną w niey pomawiaiąc Haeresią y Schismą, dla niektorych Scribentow. W porywczą przygotowany y podany* (Vilnius, 1629), 6[v],11[v].
11. For the Uniate allegations of 1621, see *Sowita Wina. To iest Odpis na script, Maiestat Krola Iego Mości honor y reputatią Ludzi Zacnych Duchownych y Świeckich obrażaiący, nazwany, Verificatia Niewinności* (Vilnius, 1621) (Reprint: *Arxiv* [1887], pp. 443-510), pp. 69-71/492-93; *Examen Obrony, To iest Odpis na Script Obrony Werificatije nazwany* (Vilnius, 1621) (Reprint: *Arxiv* [1914], pp. 562-96), pp. 43-46/590-92.
12. See Kojalovič, *Litovskaja cerkovnaja unija*, p. 367.
13. See S. Golubev, *Kievskij Mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki (Opyt istoričeskogo issledovanija)*, vol. 1 (= *Materialy dlja istorii zapadno-russkoj cerkvi*) (Kiev, 1883), pp. 280-83.
14. See V. V. Nimčuk's introduction to Lavrentij Zyzanij, *Hramatyka slovens'ka, Pam''jatky ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1980), p. 18.
15. See Golubev, *Kievskij Mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki*, p. 123, and Sakovyč's preface to Kasper Wilkowski, transl., *Desiderosus abo ścieżka do miłości Bożej i do doskonałości żywota chrześcijańskiego* (Cracow, 1626),) 1[r-v]: "O

ktorey ksiąszki [i.e., *Desiderosus*] zaleceniu bym dobrze nic nie powiedział, to samo wielką iey v każdego z nas powagę ziednać może, iż ią tak wiele narodow w Europie naszey swoiemi ięzykami przetłumaczoną chcieli mieć, aż też z Polskiego ięzyka na nasz Ruski wiele ich sobie przekładaią y przypisuią, nawet w Monasterzech przy Trapezach do stołu braciey Nowicyuszom ią czytywaią, iakośmy w Kiiowskim Bratskim Monasterzu, za rezydenciey Oyca Smotrzyckiego człeka wielmi godnego czynili, (ktorego niech Bog w pobożnych zamysłach iego szczęści, ktore *amore veritatis in causa pacandae nostrae religionis* w serce swe zawziąwszy, *lubens libensq[ue] suscepit*, odieżdżaiąc tam, skąd moc y dozwolenie na vspokoienie takich spraw zwykło wychodzić, ktory z spokoynym swoim do nas się zwroceniem, może znieść opaczne o sobie rozumienie)."

16. See K. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'* (Kazan', 1914; reprint, The Hague, 1968), p. 103.
17. "Prenie," p. 81: «Исправя, государь святейшиі патриархъ велѣл еѣ протопопу Лавреньтию отдат, а о тѣх статьях, которые в ней несходны с рускими и греческими переводы…[поговорити].»
18. This work often accompanied manuscript versions of the catechism. It is available to the wider scholarly community in two editions: a printed edition of a seventeenth-century manuscript in Prenie 1859 and a facsimile of a seventeenth-century manuscript published in *Zasedanie v knižnoj palate 18-go fevralja 1627 goda po povodu ispravlenija katexizisa Lavrentija Zizanija* (= *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva 17*, St. Petersburg, 1878). I have cited from the former.
19. The report on the second day's proceedings began with the information that Filaret had once again ordered Il'ja and Grigorij to discuss the catechism with Lavrentij. "Prenie," p. 88: «На завтриеж Февраля въ 19 ден велѣл государь святеишиі кир Филарет, патриархъ московскиі і всеа Русиі, ігумену Илие да Гришке от книжные справы быти у протопопа Лаврентия на подворье и говорити с нимъ о тойж книге Бесѣдословиі.»
20. "Prenie," p. 81: «…а велено поговорити любовным обычаем и смирением нрава…»
21. "Prenie," p. 81: «То де переводчик погрешил»; "Prenie," p. 82: «а то все от переводчика»; "Prenie," p. 87: «То де переводчик написал…»; "Prenie," p. 88: «а то де много переводчик не так поставил.»
22. "Prenie," p. 86: «И Лаврентий о том клятвами клялся, что он не писывал: оба существа, но существо писал.»
23. "Prenie," p. 88: «И потом игумен Илья, востав с книгою, и реклъ ему: Да уж то де ты, Лаврентие, и не кручинся: для того тѣ статьи тебѣ и объявлены, которые были в твоеи книге не прямо написаны, и тѣ всѣ статьі государь святейшиі Филарет, патриархъ московскиі і всеа Русиі, самъ исправил и, изправя, нам велѣл напечатати и, напечатов, тебѣ отдати. И говоря ту рѣчь, книгу ему отдал.»
24. "Prenie," p. 88: «И Лаврентий книгу взял чесно и целовал любезно и говорилъ: Спаси Богъ государя святейшего Филарета, патриарха московского і всеа Русиі, что он, великиі государь, наше прошение исполнил.»

25. *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, vol. 9 (St. Petersburg, 1884), p. 441: «...а великій государь святѣйшій патриархъ тѣ тетради, для переводу, отдалъ богоявленскому игумену Ильѣ.»
26. "Prenie," p. 99: «А яз для того сюды и приѣхал, чтобы мнѣ от вас здеся лутчая наука прияти, а вѣдою и сам, что в моей книге много было и не дѣла писано того ради яз и бил челомъ провославному государю и святейшему кир Филарету, патриарху московскому и всеа Русии»; "Prenie," p. 95: «И что мнѣ спроставалос; простите, Бога ради»; "Prenie," p. 95: «яз ему, государю, о томъ и бити челом приѣхал, чтобы мнѣ недоумение мое изправил, а то я и самъ вѣдою, что в книге моей и не дѣла много писано»; "Prenie," p. 97: «Добро такъ. Яз рад покарятися, для тог сюды и приѣхал, да лутчье навыкну отъ вашег преподобия»; "Prenie," p. 100: «Всегда рад яз с вами бесѣдовати и лутчье избирати.»
27. "Prenie," p. 99: «да многия книги греческаго языка есть у нас старых переводов, а ныне к нам которые книги входят печатные греческагож языка и будет сойлутца с старыми переводы и мы их приемлем и любим; а будет что в них приложено ново и мы тѣх не приемлемъ, хотя они и греческим языком тиснуты, потому что Греки живут ныне в великихъ теснотах в неверных странах и печатати им по своему обычею невозможно.»
28. "Prenie," p. 95: «Умѣем по греческиі столко, что не дадим ни у каковы рѣчи никакова слога ни убавити, ни приложити.»
29. "Prenie," p. 99: «И мы новых переводов греческаго языка книгъ не приемлем же.» And also "Prenie," p. 88: «То де и мы новых переводов книгъ греческаго языка не приемлем же: искажены де по стронам.»
30. "Prenie," p. 81: «...несходны с рускими и греческими *переводы*...» (emphasis added).
31. For the Old Believer texts, see N. Subbotin, *Materialy dlja istorii raskola za pervoe vremja ego suščestvovanija*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1876), pp. 86-87; N. Subbotin, *Materialy dlja istorii raskola za pervoe vremja ego suščestvovanija*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1878), p. 15; N. Subbotin, *Materialy dlja istorii raskola za pervoe vremja ego suščestvovanija*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 1878), p. 257; N. Subbotin, *Materialy dlja istorii raskola za pervoe vremja ego suščestvovanija*, vol. 6 (Moscow, 1881), p. 157. For Maksim Grek, see Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821): Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (Munich, 1988), pp. 46-47 and the literature cited there. See also Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos* (ΘΡΗΝΟΣ) *to iest lament iedyney ś. powszechney apostolskiey cerkwie* (Vilnius, 1610) (= *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 125^{r-v}/141-42.
32. "Prenie," p. 95: «По греческому языку так говорится.... Кто у вас умѣет по греческиі?»
33. Xv. Titov, *Materijaly dlja istoriji knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI-XVIII vv.: Vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv* (= *Ukrajins'ka Akademija Nauk, Zbirnyk istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu*, no. 17) (Kiev, 1924; facsimile edition, with an introduction by Hans Rothe, *Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven*, vol. 16, Cologne, 1982), p. 57: «Разсудивъ же и оусмотрѣвъ свободна и оупразднена быти, бл[а]гословѣнна мужа, Словеснѣйша Дїдаскала

и Вѣтію, художнаго же Еллинно Греческаго языка оумѣніе и искусство стяжавша, преч[е]стного отца кир Лаврентіа Зезаніа Тустановского, Пресвитера, и С[вя]тыя Православныя Вѣры исповѣдника и проповѣдника, того оумоли, выже люботруднѣ потщатися Превожденіе тое изъслѣдовати, и исправити: иже и любезно въспріимъ врученное, *съ извѣстнѣйшим архітипомъ Еллинскимъ, изрядньe в градѣ Етонѣ изображеннымъ, дволѣтствовавъ в дѣлѣ, сътвори моя книги исправленіе*» (emphasis added).

34. "Prenie," p. 81: «И князь Іван Борисович спросил Лавреньтея: По литовскому де языку как бы говорите...?»; "Prenie," p. 87: «...только мы языка полского не разумѣем....»
35. "Prenie," p. 88: «И мы ему рекли: Вѣдаем сербским языком купина, а по руский кустъ. И потом учал говорити, чтобы де я толко вѣдал, и я бы де свою книгу подал всю на словенском языке государю святейшему патриарху, а то де много перевотчик не так поставил.»
36. "Prenie," p. 81: «Писано у тебя в ответе: Отецъ Сына и Духа святого равных себѣ собра, от которог богословия взято? Понеже аще Отецъ Сына и Духа Святаго собра: то откуду собра? мы собрания святыя Троица не глаголем.»
37. "Prenie," p. 81: «Лаврентей тоѣ рѣчи отпирался и рѣклъ: Покажите ми писмо мое, а я тово не писывал. И как писмо ево показали ему, и он сказалъ: То де перевотчик погрешил, а не я; я де писал: Отецъ Сына і Духа Святаго изведе, а не собра.»
38. "Prenie," p. 81: «И князь Іван Борисович спросил Лавреньтея: По Литовскому де языку как вы говорите: собра? И Лаврентіі сказал тож и по литовскому языку собра. И потом спросил: А изведе как? И Лаврентей сказал: по нашему и изведе.»
39. "Prenie," pp. 81-82: «И мы ему: А хотя и изведе, ино и то о Святей единосущней Троицѣ не богословно, понеже купно Святая Троица, а ни един единог не последи, ни преже ни изведе, ни собра.»
40. "Prenie," p. 82: «Мы же к нему рекли: А не глаголи, Лаврентие, сего, еже с плотію страдати божеству; сие убо Ариі и прочіі еретицы глаголют, насже, православных християн, да сохранит Господь Богъ от таковаг злаго начинания.»
41. "Prenie," p. 87: «И потомъ Лаврентіі от грамотики почел говорити олфографѳею.»
42. "Prenie," p. 87: «И мы ему отказали: Та, Лаврентие, дѣцкая рѣчь учащихся буквам, что писменами разумѣти единство и множество, а мы ныне не о таковом дѣле упраздняемся. И Лаврентіі к тому ничтож отвѣщал.»
43. "Prenie," p. 94: «Мы паки рѣхом: Иную ты притчю о человѣце реклъ, душу и плот, как орел со свиньею связаны. Ино в наших обычаех греческих книгъ таковыя бесѣды о человѣце не ведутся; а мнится нам: тѣ простые прилоги иманы из книги Езопа, франского мудреца, баснослагателя.»
44. "Prenie," p. 94: «Мыж рѣхом ему: Переступили, что нам велѣл государь святейшіі кир Филарет, патриархъ московскіі і всеа Русіі, что было у тебя в книге написано о крузех небесных и о планитах, и о зодиях, и о затмѣніи солнца, о громе и о молніи, и о тресновеніи, и о шибеніі, и о перунѣ, о комитах и прочих звездах, потому что тѣ статьи из книги острологіі, а та

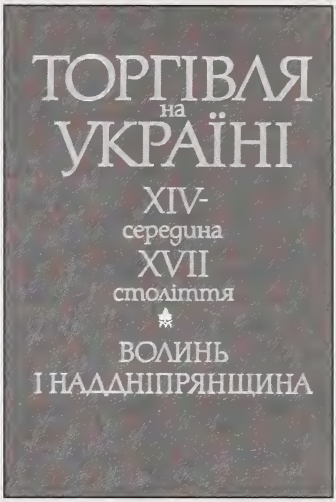
книга острология взята от волхвов елленских и от идолослужителей, ино туто в книгѣ к нашему правовѣрию несходна.»

45. "Prenie," p. 94: «Лаврентиі рече: Чего ради несходна? Я звѣздъ не писал, ни кола, ни счастия, ни рожения человѣческаго, ни по звездам правления житию нашему: толко яз написал вѣдомости ради, чтобы человѣкъ вѣдал, яко то есть твар божия, а то и мы о том не мудръствуемъ, чтобы звездам правитися житию нашему.» On contemporary Western debates over astrology, see Eugenio Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life* (London, 1983).
46. "Prenie," pp. 94-95: «Лаврентиі рече: Да как по вашему писат о звездах? Мы паки рѣхом: Мы пишем і вѣруем, како Моисей написа: и сотвори Богъ двѣ светиле великия и звезды и постави их Богъ на тверди небеснеи, яко светити по земли і владетi днем и нощию, и розлучити между свѣтом и между нощю, а животными и зверями не рек Моисей.»
47. "Prenie," p. 95: «Лаврентиі рече: Да как светила шествия творят?»
48. "Prenie," p. 95: «Мыж рехом: По повелению божию ангели служат, твар водяще. Писано бо есть во втором законiі: оних, рече Моисей, постави предѣлы языком по числу ангелъ божиіх; тако и о твари тѣмиж ангелы служити повелѣ: ангели, рече, гром, ангели молниею, ангели дождей, ангели снѣгом, ангели мразом, ангели вѣтром и прочая.»
49. "Prenie," p. 95: «Лаврентиі рече: Волен Богъ да государь святейшиі Филарет, патриархъ московскiі и всеа Руси; яз ему, государю, о томъ и бити челом приѣхал, чтобы мнѣ недоумение мое изправил, а то я и сам вѣдою, что в книге моей и не дѣла много писано.»
50. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, p. 353.
51. "Prenie," pp. 93-94: «Потомъ рѣхом ему: Что, Лаврентие, в твоей книге о божествѣ и о существѣ его писано вопросы и отвѣты дерзосно зело и смѣло? А егда о человѣце вопрос: Что есть человѣкъ? Тогда глаголеши во отвѣте: Непостижна сия вѣщь.»
52. "Prenie," p. 88: «Как мы к нему приѣхали и первие спросил нас: Как вы называете и что именуете вѣру свою?»
53. "Prenie," pp. 88-89: «І мы ему отвѣщали: Вѣру наричаем христову, преданную намъ святыми апостолы его и утвержденную святыми отцы, иже на седми святых вселенских соборех сошедшихся.»
54. "Prenie," p. 89: «Протопоп рече: Ино то стала вѣра христова; как же ты ее назовеш от своего лица? егда кто тя спросит: что твоя вѣра? и ты ему как ея наречешь?»
55. "Prenie," p. 97: «Писал яз таковыя рѣчи, понеж, аще гдѣ не прилучится священника, может крестити человѣка диякон, и клирик, и инок, и мирскiі человѣкъ.»
56. "Prenie," p. 97: «Да кои град бывает ли таков, iдеж были диякони и клирики, а попа не было бы?»
57. "Prenie," p. 97: «Лавреньтиі рече: Много того бывает не земли.»
58. "Prenie," p. 97: «Понеж, аще попа не будет, ниже вѣрниі тут могут быти; а гдѣ вѣрных нѣтъ, ни крещения тут бывает во обстоянiі и не во обстоянiі: вѣрным бо без попа не точию креститися, но ни родитися, ниж умрети лѣпо есть.»

59. "Prenie," p. 97: «Лаврентий рече: Яз то написал не собою; до меня написано есть в правилех Августина епископа да Никифора, патриарха Царяграда.»
60. "Prenie," p. 97: «Мыж ему паки рѣхом: Никифора, патриарха Царяграда, правила знаем, яже сут изложены о церковных счинениях двадесят и три иже с ним святых отецъ, а тово правила в них нѣтъ, о коем ты нам сказываеш; да быти не лзѣ. А егда бы то было в никифоровых правилех, было бы то і во иных святых отецъ правилех.»
61. "Prenie," p. 98: «Мы паки рѣхом: Августина мы знаем, а правил его и прочих списаней в греческих переводехъ нѣтъ, потому что писание его искажено от латынских мудрецов на свои еретическіі обычай.»
62. "Prenie," p. 98: «Лаврентіі рече: Да Августин православен был епископъ иппонского града и много писание его положено есть.»
63. "Prenie," p. 98: «Мыже рѣхом: Вѣмы Августина, что он православен был и потом христовы вѣры отверглъся и едва Амвросием, медиаланским епископом, паки направлен бысть, потомже и до смерти своея Августин в покаянии житие свое скончал, а уже писание и заповедей, и ученей и посланей никаких не писал, потому что таковым учити отцы не повелевают.»
64. "Prenie," p. 98: «Лаврентіі рече: прямо было так, что отступал Августин християнские вѣры и паки направлен бысть Амвросием, епископом медиаланским; толко есть ево словеса і в мелетиеве книге, архиепископа Констянтина града.»
65. "Prenie," p. 98: «Паки мы ему рѣхом: Аще і в книзе мелетиеве есть словеса августинова, ино для тово есть, что Мелетий ту книгу писал Латином о исхождении Духа Святаго и о пресноцех и о прочих латынских обычеях, и тѣм Августином обличал их, потом что его наричаютъ себѣ учителя. И Мелетиі, не прославляя учения августинова, писал; но латинскую ересь тѣм обличал; а у нас его учения нѣсть, а хоть гдѣ и обрящется и мы не приемлем для того, что латинского обычея учения его.»
66. "Prenie," p. 98: «есть у них и другой толковник, Ероним зовом; такоже его писания не приемлемъж, потому что многия книги греческия по латинскому обычею исказили.»
67. "Prenie," p. 98: «Лаврентіі рече: Вѣдаем Иеронима, а писание его и мы не приемлем же.»
68. Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, 4[v]/21: "Gdzie teraz Basilius on dla osobliwego o trzodzie Chrystusowey starania y pilności, wielki nazwany. Gdzie Ambrozius Mediolański Biskup, y Ian ś. od złototocznych struy niebieskiey iego do pokuty nauki Złotousty mianowany. Gdzie Hieronym Bogiem podanych pism tłumacz wyborny. Gdzie Cyprian, gdzie Augustyn gorliwi Haeretyckich plew rozproszyciele.... Gdzie Athanazius y Cyrillus Alexandryiscy Patriarchowie, y Grzegorz Nazianzeński Biskup."
69. "Prenie," p. 84: «И глоголет отвѣт Лаврентиев: Православных християн души, которые с покоянием умерши в первом аде суть, а под ними в другомъ мѣсте суть некрещеных души.»
70. "Prenie," p. 84: «Мыж рѣхом ему: Мы глаголем о отшедших душах: с чистым и истинным покоянием не сходят во ад, а во аде сошедшимъ душам бес покаяния нѣсть исповѣдания по пророческому речению: во аде же кто

исповѣсть ти ся, Господи?»

71. "Prenie," pp. 84-85: «Мы же рѣхом ему: Что нам разумѣти умыслы своими? Писали о том до нас Іван Златоустыи и Афонасиі Александриіскиі и Домаскин Іванъ и прочиі святиі отцы вси, что с чистымъ покаяниемъ преставшихся душа православных християн отходят в мѣста свѣтла, в руцѣ божиі, идеж Богъ вѣсть.»
72. "Prenie," p. 86: «Мыж рѣхомъ ему...Скажи нам о разбойницѣ, иже при страсти господни распятому: праведным или грѣшным его наричаеши, егда бысть в жизни своей? Лаврентиі рече: Яве есть, яко злодѣй той был. Мыж ему рѣхом: Да гдѣ душа взята его по исповѣданиі, во аде или в раю? Лаврентиі, о том не мало помыслив, рече: А то нынѣ дошол ты меня, а потом и я тебя дойду. Мыж к нему рѣхомъ: Доходи, а мы от тебя не бежим, гонити хотим; а которое слово правдою само себя изяснит, тому паче і вѣровати подобает.»
73. See the account in Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Protestatia Przeciwo Soborowi w tym Roku 1628. we dni August Miesiąca, w Kiiowie Monasteru Pieczerskim obchodzonemu, vczyniona przez vkrzywdzonego na nim* (Lviv, 1628; facsimile ed.) (= *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass., 1987), Ciii^{r}-iv^{r}.
74. See Smotryc'kyj, *Protestatia*, Diii^{v}/641.
75. See Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Paraenesis abo Napomnienie* (Cracow, 1628) (= *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 44/667.
76. See Smotryc'kyj, *Apologia*, p. 44/545: "Pytałem ia drugim Hierarchalney władze stopniem w dostoieństwie moim pierwszym, wyższego nad mię, czemu by w swym Kathechiźmie offiary y modlitwy zaduszne niepotrzebne bydź napisał? odpowiedział: że Czyściec Łaciński inaczey zniesiony bydź nie może."
77. "Prenie," pp. 91-92: «Какие четыре суды божия возвещаеши? Святаяж писания вѣщают намъ два пришествия христова на землю, а един судъ страшный, егда во второе и страшное пришествие свое воздастъ комуждо по дѣлом его. Протопоп рече: А то Содому и Гомору судил есть Богъ. Мыж рѣхом: Не судил, но судити имат.... Протопоп рече: а егда душа от тѣла разлучится, не суд ли ей отъ Бога изыдет, гдѣ еі быти повелит? Мыж рѣхом: Прямо ты глаголеши, гдѣ ей быти повелит, и сие есть повеление, а не суд.»
78. See Smotryc'kyj, *Apologia*, 26-35:539-41.
79. See Smotryc'kyj, *Protestatia*, Ciii^{r-v}/636-37.
80. On Mohyla's catechism, see Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie*, pp. 232-36.
81. Il'inskij believes it was burned by Filaret. Nonetheless, it existed in more than a hundred copies and—another contextual irony—enjoyed a certain following among the Old Believers. See Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*, p. 107.
82. This is the year Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj's Homiliary Gospel was banned in Moscow. See Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*, p. 108.



Торгівля на Україні: XIV-середина XVII століття: Волинь і Наддніпрянщина

Compiled by Volodymyr Kravchenko and Nataliia Iakovenko

This is the first collection of documents about commerce and trade in medieval and early modern Ukraine. Of the 255 documents included in the volume, only 38 have been previously published. Most of the documents originate in the Volhynian territories between 1550 and 1650. The documents contain a wealth of information that sheds light on economic and social trends in earlier periods and other territories.

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До питання про соціально-економічне становище селянства Волині в першій половині XVII ст.

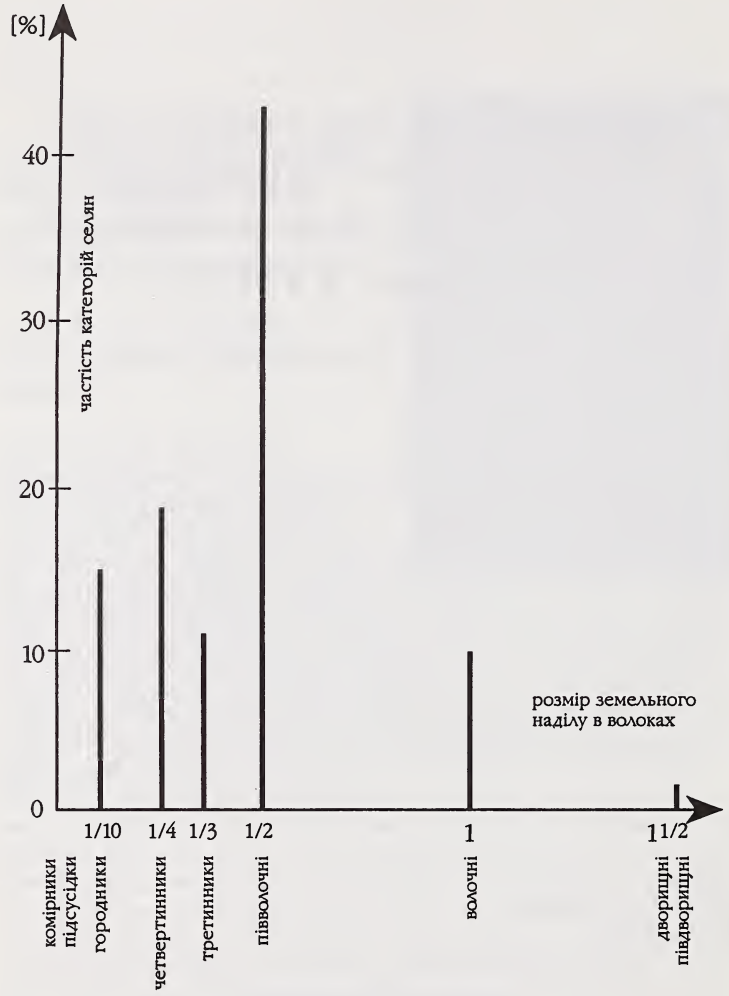
Ірина Ворончук

Всебічне вивчення історії України неможливе без глибокого дослідження історії селянства окремих її регіонів та періодів, що може бути здійснено тільки шляхом широкого використання архівних матеріалів.

Дослідження соціально-економічного становища середньовічного селянства дозволяє розширити наші уявлення про тогочасне суспільство в цілому та його окремі сторони, допомагає глибше розібратись у таких важливих питаннях як характер та еволюція селянського господарства, стан окремих його галузей, життєвий рівень селянина, ступінь розподілу праці в суспільстві, участь селянського господарства в обміні й товарно-грошових відносинах, економічні мотиви селянських виступів та ін.

Джерелом для повідомлення прислужилися документи актових книг гродських і земських судів Волинського воєводства. Гродські і земські суди були органами шляхетського самоврядування. Але оскільки селяни входили в коло матеріальних інтересів шляхти, виявилось, що актові книги містять у собі значну за обсягом і цінністю інформацію з найрізноманітніших аспектів становища селянства. Зокрема, у них можна знайти дані про структуру селянства, склад селянської родини, розмір земельних наділів, живий та мертвий інвентар, про посіви та врожаї та ін. При цьому слід зазначити, що в актових книгах міститься не тільки якісна, але і достатньо репрезентативна, кількісна інформація про різні аспекти становища селянства, що дозволяє визначити статистичні оцінки його найбільш важливих характеристик.

У зв'язку з неможливістю в невеликій статті дати всебічне висвітлення становища селянства Волині зупинимось тільки на двох найважливіших аспектах, що мали вирішальний вплив на його загальний економічний стан.



Мал. N. 1. Розподіл частості категорій селяи Волині в 40-х рр. XVII ст.

Такими на наш погляд є забезпеченість селянського двору землею та худобою.

Нормальне селянське господарство базувалось на земельному наділі, розмір якого найбільшою мірою і визначав його економічне становище.

У середині XVI ст. в становищі селянства Великого Литовського Князівства сталися великі зрушення, викликані аграрною реформою Сигізмунда-Августа. Дворищне селянське землеволодіння, що історично склалось протягом віків, було зламано. Згідно «Устави на волоки» 1557 р. було введено наділення селян земельними ділянками-волоками.

На власне литовських землях цей процес переводу селянства з дворищного землеволодіння на волочне відбувся значно раніше, ніж на українських землях. За підрахунками Д. Л. Похилевича в кінці XVI ст. в Литві і Білорусії 60-80% селянських господарств перебували вже на волоках.[1]

На українських землях волочна поміра проводилась поступово і розтягнулась майже на століття. У першу чергу на волоки переводились селяни державних маєтків—так званих «королівщин». У сер. XVI ст. на Волині на волоки були переміряні селянські землі тільки в Кременецькому старостві.[2] Реорганізація інших державних і приватних маєтків на фільварково-панщинну систему відбувалась повільно. Так, у с. Ощів Луцького повіту в 1562 р. всі селянські господарства були ще «подворищными.»[3] За інвентарем маєтку князя А. Масальського від 1570 р. в усіх його семи селах, що знаходились у Луцькому повіті: Ботині, Сускові, Бодачеві, Носачевичах, Петрашевичах, Олешковичах, Смердині селяни перебували на дворищах.[4] У 1572 р. дворищами мешкають селяни маєтку Вишкова Луцького повіту, ще через десять років у 1582 р.—селяни сіл Конюхів, Млинова, Білополя, Кутів, Деречина, Завидова Володимирського повіту та с. Григоровичів Луцького повіту.[5] У 1588 р. на дворищах бачимо селян с. Верхова Луцького повіту та с. Хренова Володимирського повіту.[6] Навіть ще в першій половині XVII ст. в деяких маєтках селяни повністю перебували на дворищах. Так, у 1626 р. селяни с. Городка Луцького повіту мали дворища.[7]

Однак у цей час з кінця XVI ст. поступово починається перевід селян Волині на волочну поміру. Так, у 1582 р. в Митищах Луцького повіту селяни ведуть господарство на волоках, а в Житанах і Синівцях Володимирського повіту селяни «сидять» не тільки на волоках, а вже і на півволоках.[8]

Це привело до того, що з кінця XVI ст. на Волині співіснували разом дві системи селянського землекористування: дворищна і волочна. Часом у маєтках одного власника були села як з дворищною, так і з волочною системою селянського землекористування. Так, за інвентарем Острозької маєтності 1626 р. в Долбунові, Бущі, Борщовці та ін. селах існувала

дворищна система, а в Белмазі, Завидові, Новосілках, Хореві цієї ж маєтності—волочна. Більше того, у багатьох селах одночасно були як «подворищні», так і «волочні» селяни. Наприклад, у Білому Стоці Луцького повіту в 1619 р. мешкали разом «подворищные», «пулдворищные» і «ланники», тобто волочні.[9] У 1646 р. в Тростенці Луцького повіту разом з волочними, півволочними та ін. були підданні «на дворищах седячие».[10]

Таким чином, залежно від розміру наділу землі селяни Волині в першій половині XVII ст. поділялись на наступні категорії: дворищні /«подворищные»/, півдворищні /«пулдворищные»/, чвертьдворищні, волочні або ланники, півволочні, третинники, четвертинники, днинники, городники або «загородники», халупники та підсусідки або «коморники».

Дворище обіймало в собі ділянки землі—садибної, орної та угіддя, що перебували в володінні одного господаря. У документах дворище описується як господарство: «зо всим на все, з землею, з пашнею, з боры, з лесы, з озеры, з ловы звериными и пташими, яко се тое дворище в границах и обыходех своих само в себе маеть».[11]

У літературі зазначалось, що визначити земельну площу дворищ дуже важко, бо вони не рахувались певними земельними мірами і дуже різнились. Д. Л. Похилевич вважав, що важко було навіть знайти два дворища, однакових за площею.[12] На матеріалах Білорусії М. В. Владимирський-Буданов наводив розміри дворищ у Гегровичах Пінського староства, що становили 6 волок 22 морги землі та 11 волок 22 морги і 18 волок у Семиховичах цього ж староства,[13] що дорівнювало відповідно 114, 209 і 342 га.

У зв'язку з відсутністю безпосередніх даних про розміри дворищ на Волині в першій половині XVII ст. скористаємось більш ранніми даними. Так, у с. Підгайці Луцького повіту в 1528 р. до одного дворища належали в різних місцях 17 нив, що становили 76 днів поля і сіножатей на 26 косарів.[14] Тут рахунок землі йде за кількістю часу, що був потрібний для оранки певної ділянки землі, а розмір сіножатей визначався кількістю косарів, яка потрібна була для їх косіння в один день. За даними іншого документу було підраховано, що «день» поля становить 0,03 волоки, або 0,64 га.[15] За цими розрахунками до даного дворища належали 2,3 волоки або 45,6 га орної землі та 15,6 га сіножатей.

Однак деякі документи свідчать, що на Волині були дворища і значно більші за площами орної землі. Так, у скарзі Г. Горностая про наїзд на його маєток—село Піски Луцького повіту в 1587 р. йдеться про «витоптання» зернових у селян і, зокрема, двох ланів у Богдана Короткого, у Жданца Черепеги одного лану і ще п'ятьох «нив», розмір яких досить великий за кількістю різного збіжжя, що він з них «нажинав». А в Яцка Цокотуна було понищено «жита лан..., гречки ланов два..., овса ланов два»,[16] тобто як мінімум у цього селянина було п'ять ланів або 106,8 га

землі. Однак можна вважати, що до дворища цього селянина входила значно більша кількість орної землі, бо структура культур кожного окремого господарства не могла обмежуватись тільки житом, гречкою та вівсом.

Протягом першої половини XVII ст. кількість дворищних та півдворищних селян, що становили переважну більшість селянства Волині в XVI ст. зменшувалась. У 30-х-40-х рр. XVII ст. ці категорії селян вже були малочисельними і мешкали переважно на Волинському Поліссі, де землі були неякісні.

Волочні селяни мали в користуванні наділ, що дорівнював одній волоці /лану/ землі. Литовська волока /лан/ дорівнювала 21,36 га або 213600 кв. м. Відповідно півволочні, третинники, четвертинники мали половину /10,6 га/, третю /7,1 га/, четверту /5,3 га/ частини волоки, а городники—город. Іноді городники мали також і польові наділи. Так, у с. Тудорів Луцького повіту в 1644 р. передавали в заставу шістьох «загородників», три з яких мали «поля».[17] Дослідження актових книг дало можливість виділити ще одну категорію селян на Волині в цей період.[18] Це так звані «днинники», що «по дню поля тримали».[19] Халупники мали свої будинки «халупи». Комірники не мали свого власного житла, а знімали житло в більш заможних селян, виконуючи за це певні роботи в їхньому господарстві.

Для оцінки емпіричного розподілення селян Волині за ознакою розмірів земельних наділів, які вони тримали в 40-х рр. XVII ст., були виконані статистичні дослідження на підставі даних по 13 волинських селах /Хотин, Бронне, Поляни, Лизяна, Городище, Березня, Тициця, Гнидава, Красне, Голешов, Радомишль, Колчино, Княжа/, що становили досить показну вибірку з 561 господарства.[20] При цьому були одержані такі дані: дворищні й півдворищні становили близько 0,5% селянських господарств, волочні—10%, півволочні—43%, третинники—10%, четвертиники—20%, городники—15%, комірники /підсусідки/—1,5% /малюнок №1/. При цьому оцінка середнього значення розміру землі волинського селянина має значення в 0,4 волоки /тобто 8,4 га/, а середньоквадратичне коливання—біля 0,25 волоки /тобто від 4 га до 5,4 га/.

Проте документи свідчать, що фактично кількість землі в селянських господарствах була значно більшою, ніж фіксують джерела. По-перше, більшими були розміри наділів орної землі за рахунок ділянок незручних для землеробства /болото, піски, лісові зарослі/, за які селянам надавалась компенсація—прирізки придатної землі. Так, вже в трьох селах Кременецького староства, де грунт кваліфікувався як поганий, селянам були відведені наділи не в 33 морги /волока/,[21] а в 36 моргів.[22] Крім орної землі кожне селянське господарство мало город і сіножаті, які становили не 1-3 морги, як зазначилось у літературі, а як показують джерела, були значно більшими за площею.

Так, в акті обмірювання всіх грунтів підданих с. Ружина Луцького повіту від 1606 р. зазначається, що на кожне селянське господарство припадало не тільки по півлана орної землі, а ще й городи. У цьому документі перелічуються всі 54 селянські господарства з зазначенням місця розташування садиби і розміром городньої ділянки. Так, «перший пляц з хатою и огород там же... до полланка» надавався Грицу Литвину, а Гриц Федчич, що «на полланку своем хату маеть» одержав город «за селом у рова до полланку».[23] Таким чином, всі селяни цього села крім півлана польової землі мали ще по півлана землі під городами. Під час поміри враховувалась також якість грунтів і, якщо земля була неякісною, селяни одержували «наддатки». Так, вже згадуваний селянин Гриц Литвин, вважаючи «на подлости кгрунту писковатого» одержав прирізок до свого півлана. Всього такі «наддатки» одержали 44 господарства з 54. Ці наддатки були досить великими «наддаток один на шестнадцять сажон вшир».[24] Таким чином, якщо рахувати всі землі /польову і городню/ разом з прирізками, то загальна земельна площа кожного селянського господарства цього села становитиме волоку і більше, хоча в документі враховується тільки орна земля і селяни числяться півволочими.

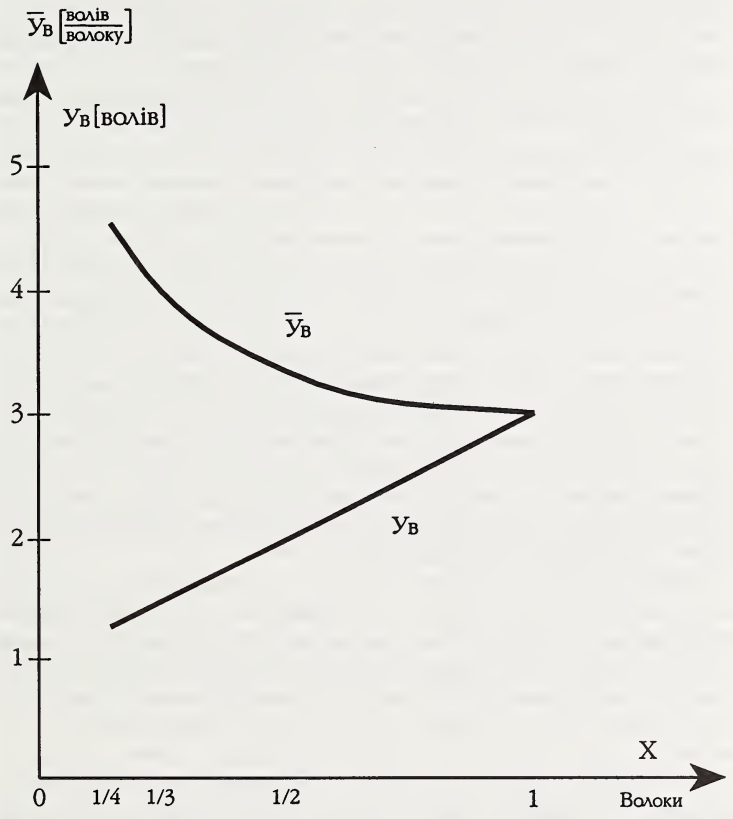
Важко вважати це випадковим явищем. Скоріше всього поміра проводилась у відповідності до встановленої практики і традиції. Тим більше, що анологічна картина прослідковується і в Білорусії та Литві. Д. Л. Похилевич зазначав, що в результаті «наддавков» розмір волоки в Білорусії коливався від 32 до 45 моргів,[25] тобто від 1,06 до 1,5 волоки.

Необхідно зазначити, що всі селяни с. Ружина одержали ще й сіножаті. Причому, виходячи з якості сіножатей у різних місцевостях, всі господарства одержали сіножаті як «на болоті... розмероные подданым до полланков пятдесят и чотырех», так і «за огородами подданых на поплавех... на каждый полланок по осми сажон вшир».[26] «Остаток тых синожатей» також у вигляді прирізків «до одного полланка» був наданий п'ятьом селянам, садиби яких знаходились на городніх ділянках.

Як правило, селам відводились вигони для худоби, а іноді і ділянка лісу для власних потреб. Селянам с. Ружина відводились «на бору... полланки мужицкие... по дванадцять сажон, где длужей, а где коротшей по чотырнадцати сажон... с хоросты, сеножатями».[27]

Крім того, за селянами зберігалось право обмеженого користування панськими лісами, річками, озерами, болотами. Селяни могли тримати борті, заготовляти будівельні матеріали, дрова, косити сіно, випасати худобу, ловити рибу, збирати гриби, ягоди та ін.

Одним з найважливіших і визначальних показників становища селянства та його диференціації є ступінь забезпеченості робочою та продуктивною худобою. (У зв'язку з відсутністю достатньої кількості безпосередніх прямих даних з цього питання, будемо виходити також і з



Мал. N. 2. Характеристика забезпеченості селян робочою худобою

випадкових епізодичних свідчень.

З точки зору наявності робочої худоби селяни Волині в першій половині XVII ст. поділялись на дві категорії—«тяглые» та «нетяглые». Найкраще були забезпечені робочою худобою звичайно дворищні, півдворищні, волочні селяни. Вони, як правило, мали «плуг волів». У цей

час, як показують документи, у плуг запрягалось від 6 до 10 волів. Так, у Пожарках, Топільному, Малому та Великому Шибенях, Дубищах Луцького повіту «в кождым плугу по шестю волів» запрягалось.[28] У Куєлумині цього ж повіту в 1624 р. заставлялись піддані з «плугом о осьмю волов»[29]. У ряді скарг шляхтичів про наїзди на їх маєтки зазначається про «заграблення» плугів, в яких було запряжено «волов десять».[30]

У Борисковичах у 1643 р. волочні селяни Стефан Калномис та Йовка мали по «плугу волов» і підводу, тобто коней для підводи.[31] У Хорохорині Стефан Кловача, що мав волоку землі, мав «плуг волов і клячу».[32] У с. Єзів Володимирського повіту волочні також працювали «своїм плугом цалым».[33] За інвентарем 1631 р. в Богурині Луцького повіту було «волочних три, каждый своим плугом оре».[34] У с. Шпанів у 1631 р. волочні мали: Андрій Івашкевич—чотири воли і три коні, Семен Морозович та Юрій Грицейкович—по три воли і по три коні, Кирилих—два воли і два коні, Гудрніха—два воли і одного коня.[35] Картина забезпечення худобою півволочних селян була більш строкатою. У тому ж селі Борисковичах у 1647 р. півволочний Грицько мав «плуг цалый» волів.[36] У Гудчому Броді Луцького повіту в 1644 р. шляхтянка Гулевичова заставляла «Данила Солочка на пулволоке седячого, шесть волов до плуга і коня єдного маючого».[37] У Дмитровцю Луцького повіту в 1643 р. «пулланики Шолуха, Мируба, Бандзера, Арапіха мали по чотири вола і одному коню, Гордій та Перепутка по три вола і коню, Омелько три вола, Клим два вола і коня, а Грабарчик тільки одного вола».[38]

У Молчині Луцького повіту в 1643 р. з трьох півволочних «Мискова вдова» мала коня і плуг волів, а два інших Семен Михрович і Грицько Марценя мали по три воли і по одному коневі.[39] У Бискупичах Луцького повіту в 1642 р. з п'ятьох півволочних один Редько мав чотирьох волів і коня, другий Сербин—трьох волів і коня, третій Войтек—трьох волів, четвертий Сидор—двох волів і коня, п'ятий Гредчененца—«вола єднего».[40]

У с. Шпаків Луцького повіту на 15 півволочних селян приходилось 22 воли і 16 коней, а всього—38 голів робочої худоби, або на одне півволочне господарство цього села припадало 2,5 голів робочої худоби.[41]

Для визначення оцінки ступеня забезпеченості селянства Волині худобою в 40-х рр. XVII ст. було вибірково досліджено 244 селянські господарства на підставі інвентарів 7 сіл, де мешкало 45 волочних селян, 150 півволочних, 24 третинники і 25 четвертинників.[42]

Виявилось, що існувала залежність кількості робочої худоби від розміру наділу землі. У середньому на господарство волочного селянина приходилось 2,9 вола і 1,8 коня, тобто приблизно 4,7 голів робочої худоби, півволочного—відповідно 2 і 1, третинника 1,3 та 0,4, четвертин-

ника 1,16 та 0,56. На одну волоку припадало в середньому 3,4 вола і 1,7 коня /малюнок №2/. Для порівняння нагадаємо, що за підрахунками М. В. Довнар-Запольського в західних маєтках Білорусії біля половини дворів мали двох волів і одного коня, а решта—більше.[43] У сусідніх польських воєводствах господарства, що мали десять моргів орної землі, тобто третю частину волоки /третинника/ тримали трьох-чотирьох волів.[44] А. Вичанський, дослідник цього питання для Польщі вважав, що плуг з упряжкою в 2-4 воли забезпечував повністю обробіток 1-1,5 лану землі.[45] Крім того, відома думка А. Ґостомського, дбайливого господаря XVI ст., що півволочне селянське господарство, в якому були два воли і один кінь, добре забезпечені робочою худобою.[46]

Відтворення худоби, як правило, відбувалось у власному господарстві, хоча селяни часто і продавали і купували худобу.

Значно гірше представлено в джерелах, а також і в літературі становище з продуктивною худобою та птицею. Якщо в інвентарях перелічується робоча худоба, то продуктивна—значно рідше. Досить часто ці дані зустрічаються в протестаціях, але оскільки вони випадкові, фрагментарні і стосуються окремих господарств, важко вивести статистику і зробити загальні підрахунки. Але все ж таки вони дають певне уявлення про стан речей. Так, у с. Користів Луцького повіту в 1641 р. під час румації «у Сакулихи вдови» було заграбовано «волов робочих чотири, клячу з жеребятем... овец шестеро...».[47] Під час наїзду в 1641 р. на селах Богурино і Куняткове Луцького повіту в селянки Зенковичової «взято волов шесть, коров шесть с теляты..., коні..., овец з ягняты осмнадцать, вепров кормных чотиры..., свиней осм с поросяты..., гусей осмнадцать..., каплунов дванадцать..., кур тридцать п'ять».[48] У 1642 р. в с. Кунятків в підданої Желюбовської було вісім волів, чотири коні, чотири корови з телятами, 19 свиней, 20 овець, 70 курей.[49] У Лизянах Луцького повіту в селянина Мищеня було сім волів, п'ять коней, сім корів, п'ять телят та одинадцать свиней. Водночас Олексій Хоменя з цього ж села мав тільки одного вола і одну корову, Федір Новак—лише три вівці.[50] Подібних поодиноких прикладів багато. На їх підставі не можна вивести певної статистики, але загалом вони свідчать про хорошу забезпеченість селянства Волині худобою.

Таким чином, документи актових книг свідчать, що на Волині в першій половині XVII ст. дворищна система селянського землекористування остаточно змінюється волочною, тобто спостерігається тенденція до зменшення середнього розміру земельних наділів селян при одночасному зростанні його коливання. Перше означає, що відбувається процес погіршення середньоекономічного становища селянства, а друге свідчить про посилення процесу диференціації серед селянства.

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17. Архив ЮЗР.—Ч.6, т.I.—С.184-85.
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19. Там же.—Ф.25, оп.1, спр.245.—Арк.46-49, спр.252.—Арк.50-52.
20. Там же.—Ф.25, оп. 1, спр.245.—Арк.903-920 зв.—Ф.26, оп.1, спр.43.—Арк. 185-88.
21. В приватних маєтках волока становила 30 моргів, в королівських /державних/—33 морги.
22. Архив ЮЗР.—Ч.7, т.II.—С.76.
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28. ЦДІА України в м.Києві.—Ф.25, оп.1, спр.230.—Арк.99-104 зв.
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32. Там же.—Ф.28, оп.1, спр.76.—Арк.995-97 зв.
33. Там же.—Ф.28, оп.1, спр.78.—Арк.695-696.
34. Архив ЮЗР.—Ч.6, т.І.—С.481-86.
35. Там же.—С.479-81.
36. ЦДІА України в м.Києві.—Ф.25, оп.2, спр.255.—Арк.249-51 зв.
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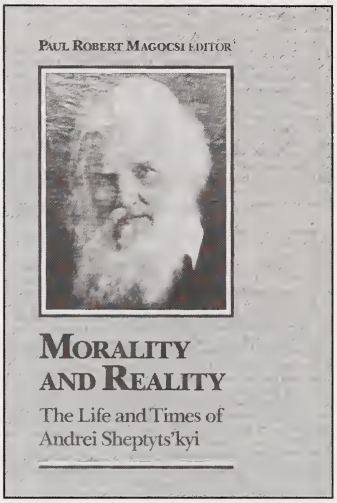
Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi

Edited by Paul R. Magocsi with the assistance of Andrii Krawchuk



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The Legal and Social Status of the Jews of Ukraine from the Fifteenth Century to the Cossack Uprising of 1648*

Shmuel Ettinger

Whereas the history of Jews in Poland has been discussed extensively in Jewish historiography, no special attention has been given to the Jewish community in Ukraine. To this day we lack not only a general study, but even partial preliminary works on this topic.[1] This may be because from the time of the dissolution of Kievan Rus', Ukraine did not achieve independent statehood. The territory was annexed in the fourteenth century to the Lithuanian state; in the middle of the sixteenth century—as a result of the union of Poland and Lithuania at Lublin in 1569—to the Polish state; and after the partitions of Poland, to Russia. Even following the partitions, Ukrainians were not all under Russian rule, for some were inhabitants of Galicia.

S. Bershadsky summarized the history of Jews in the Lithuanian state from 1388 to 1569 in his *Jews of Lithuania*, a Russian-language work published in 1883.[2] Bershadsky's book remains the only general work on the topic, and it has retained its value. His treatment included Jews who lived in Ukraine—it seems that in this period there were no discernible lines of demarcation between them and other Jews of Lithuania. From his examination of the primary sources,[3] it emerged that the Jews of Lith-

* This essay is a chapter of my doctoral dissertation, entitled "Jewish Settlement in Ukraine from the Union of Lublin to the Cossack Revolt," which was written at the Hebrew University under the supervision of Professor B. Dinur. I am grateful to him for his assistance. Special thanks go my teacher and friend, Professor Y. Halpern, for the advice he gave me throughout my writing of the work.

uania were close to the local inhabitants and distant from the other Jews until the coming of Polish rule, which brought to Lithuania "the Talmud, Jewish autonomy, and the solidarity of the *kahal*."[4]

After the Union of Lublin the situation became quite different. In the wake of the rapid and extensive settlement of the steppe, in which Jews took an active part, there developed various elements in the legal and social status of Jews, in their economic activity, and in their organization that were different from those of Jews in other parts of Poland and Lithuania. In these respects they were most similar to the Jews of the Ruthenian palatinate (later Eastern Galicia), but they, too, differed from the Jews of Ukraine (here by "Ukraine" I mean the Ukrainian territories ruled by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until 1569). The political and cultural attachment of the Ruthenian palatinate to Poland was greater than to Lithuania, and urban areas were under the German-Polish cultural influence characteristic of Poland proper. This was of great importance from the Jewish point of view, for Jews lived mainly in the cities.

The Jews of Ukraine can be viewed as a separate entity from the time of the Union of Lublin. This article examines the singular aspects of their legal and social status, as well as the elements common to the Jews of Ukraine and Poland proper until the harsh decrees of 1648.*

A. From the beginning of the fifteenth century to the Union of Lublin

The earliest news of Jewish communities in Ukraine comes to us from the charters of settlement that were granted by the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas in the years 1388-89 to the Jewish communities in the Lithuanian state, which at that time included most of Ukraine. One of the charters, it seems, applied also to the communities of Volodymyr and Lutsk in Volhynia.[5] The explicit information we have today, however, is from the fifteenth century, from the time that civil war between advocates of independence and the advocates of political union with Poland raged in Lithuania after the death of Vytautas in 1430. Two years later (1432), King Jagiełło confirmed the rights of the inhabitants of Volhynia and granted its various corporate orders the same rights enjoyed by equivalent orders in Poland. In the same charter, he also granted the Jews of

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* Literally, (evil) decrees of 1648: the usual way of referring to the Khmelnytsky uprising in Jewish writings. In rabbinic literature, these decrees are taken to be a punishment for sins, a testing of the righteous, or simply the chaos preceding the end of time. *(Translator's note.)*

Lutsk the same rights as those enjoyed by the Jews of Cracow and Lviv.[6]

We know little about Jewish settlement in Ukraine in the fifteenth century. Wealthy Jews were favourites of the grand duke: they served as tax farmers, and some lent him money.[7] In return for their services they were generally paid in kind, as were his other servants.[8] Jews also held estates and farms that were worked by indentured tenants, some of which they received as gifts from the grand duke himself.[9] We do not know, however, to what extent the charters granted to the Jews were actually implemented.[10]

The edict of expulsion from Lithuania (annulled eight years later) caused several changes in the lives of Jews. Even before it was issued, many Jews converted, especially wealthy Jews,[11] and the expulsion, of course, increased their number. Most of the converts continued to work at their previous occupations,[12] but the state's need to have Jews organize the economy diminished. Moreover, immediately after the expulsion, the government launched several efforts at urban development in the state. From 1496 on, many towns received Magdeburg law,[13] and the burghers, organizing themselves accordingly, became a force that would compete with and fight against the Jews for centuries to come.

King Alexander agreed to the return of Jews to Lithuania on the condition that they provide money for 1,000 horsemen in his service. A brief time later, however, the Jews turned to the same king and requested his support for the "ancient custom," that is, to exempt them from obligations to the military. The king complied by exempting them from going to war and from equipping soldiers. He made their status equal to that of the burghers in matters of taxation and exempted those who refused to use non-Jewish courts from paying fines. In 1514, Zygmunt I confirmed the charter, added to it the freedom to "engage in all means of livelihood together with the city [that is, the burghers—*Eds.*], in commerce and in the trades," and promised not to infringe upon the Jews' religion and privileges.[14] In Volhynia, an officer of the king had jurisdiction in Jewish matters,[15] whereas in Polish Podillia that jurisdiction was in the hands of the palatine or his deputy.[16] It seems that after the introduction of a written law—the First Lithuanian Statute—restricting Jewish privileges in several areas, officers and estate owners began to show contempt for the charters of Jews and their special jurisdiction. The king ordered that they be adhered to as before.[17] At the beginning of the sixteenth century there was still a tendency to see the Jews as dependent on the grand duke, not on his officials[18] (hence, in 1514 the Jews of Lutsk were exempted from paying the *starosta* for their synagogues).[19] But, under pressure from the *szlachta*, the king abandoned [his support for the Jews—*Eds.*].

A certain change in the status of Jews came in the wake of the "conversion libel" of 1539-40.[20] On the one hand, it strengthened the ties among the various communities,[21] whereas on the other, the king felt compelled to restrict the privileges of the Jews in accordance with the spirit of the Lithuanian Statute and the demands of the nobility. The council of the grand duke debated the whole matter in his absence, and that debate seems to show deviation from the principle that jurisdiction over the Jews was the sole preserve of the grand duke.[22] Indeed, the Jews were found innocent, but they did not escape suspicion. Restrictions were imposed on their relations with Christians, in keeping with the spirit of the church's regulations,[23] and they were forbidden to go to Turkey without the knowledge of the king. Apparently the king could not withstand the pressure of the corporate orders hostile to the Jews, and was forced to make their protection—and, in any case, his authority over them—a matter common to him and the magnates.

The autonomous jurisdiction of the Jews was acknowledged by the authorities,[24] but there were differences between Volhynia and Podillia. The framework of Jewish autonomous organization in Lithuania was apparently still rather weak (witness the great discord in Horodnia in the middle of the sixteenth century),[25] and its power of coercion was not strong, since we find many Jews going to non-Jewish courts for litigation among themselves.[26] This was not the case in the Ukrainian territories belonging to Poland, where the principle of personal autonomy was mandated more coherently. There the removal of a Jew from the jurisdiction of the Jews and their rabbis required a special order from the king.[27]

As we have seen, the king and the magnates attempted to defend the Jews, but throughout the sixteenth century the opposition of the other corporate orders grew. The nobility was content to demand that taxes exacted from Jews be increased,[28] but the burghers did not miss any opportunity to attack their Jewish competitors. The struggle was especially intense in the royal cities where Magdeburg law had created a framework for the consolidation of the independent organization of the burghers and helped to strengthen them. The burghers tried to reduce the area where Jews could settle[29] and to limit the range of their occupations.[30] They plotted against them,[31] and some took the law into their own hands.[32] The Jews defended themselves through appeals to royal charters[33] or by means of payments and bribes to the officers of the king and heads of the burghers.[34] The process of government centralization in the state and the tendency to impose monetary taxes instead of corvée led the government to group the Jews together to some extent with other city residents. Previously, the Jews had been subject to special municipal

payments and, together with the burghers, had paid only a special defence tax—the *serebshchyna* (giving of silver). In the course of time they began to impose on the Jews a certain percentage of the city's taxes. Thus in Kovel (1547) Queen Bona cancelled most of the Jews' labour obligations and replaced them with a uniform annual tax and participation in payment of the burghers' tax.[35] In 1556 the Jews of Bar were forced to compromise with the burghers and to define their obligations to the city and its defence.[36] Dependence on the burghers grew in the wake of Zygmunt August's regulation (1557) exempting the burghers from various labour obligations and replacing them with uniform monetary payments;[37] Jews were included in this arrangement.

Relations between the two sides continued to worsen and the position of the Jews deteriorated. We learn this from one of the early documents in the registers of the *Kehillot*. The "Liuboml community made the following agreement in the year 5318 [1558]: 'In the ban on any house-owner going and buying a house or land from any non-Jew within the wall,' because it has been seen that if non-Jews dwell in the city among the children of Israel (heaven forbid they should mix together), it is feared, heaven forbid, lest they burn down the houses of the Jews, or insist on expulsion (heaven forbid they should demand that the Jews be expelled from the city), heaven forbid. Therefore they decreed in the ban, in that same regulation, to establish it for themselves and for their offspring'." So strict were they in observing the regulation that "some who transgressed the regulation were prohibited from returning and selling to non-Jews."[38] Yet one cannot infer from this that there was no place for cooperation between the burghers and the Jews, especially in efforts to reduce taxes or in the struggle against foreign merchants.[39]

B. The legal status of the Jews after the Union of Lublin

The legal status of the Jews of Lithuania (including the Jews of Ukraine) was defined anew just before the Union of Lublin, in the Second Lithuanian Statute of 1566. This statute later became known as the "Volhynian Statute" because it was retained only in the Ukrainian territories annexed to Poland in 1569, whereas in the rest of the Lithuanian territories it was replaced by the Third Statute of 1588. The Second Lithuanian Statute ruled against disqualifying the testimony of Jews (and Tatars) in real estate cases. But one can infer from its language that the statute disqualified Jews absolutely from serving as witnesses in all cases, in contrast to the specific permission granted by the First Statute.[40] Similarly, the Second Statute forbade Jews (and Tatars) to hold

Christian slaves. Slaves purchased by Jews (or Tatars) were immediately expropriated from their servitude without compensation; for those enslaved because of debt, conditions were established for their release.[41] Moreover, the Second Statute contained restrictions that were not in the first: Jews, like merchants and other burghers who were not members of the nobility, were forbidden to sue for debts according to the register of debts they held, unless these debts had been registered in the books of acts, administered by one of the officers of the king or municipality, that were intended to register claims and complaints. Also, enslavement on account of debt, as well as payments on a debt, were to be registered in the books. Jews were forbidden to convert or to circumcise an indentured slave, and anyone doing so was subject to death by burning. Christian women were forbidden to be wet nurses for Jewish children; anyone compelling a Christian woman to do so was subject to the death penalty. The duke and members of his council were not entitled to grant Jews (or Muslims) possession of an estate and its people. The duke was not entitled to impose on his subjects work or payments to which they were not accustomed. Jews were forbidden to wear clothes decorated with gold or silver, and were, moreover, required to wear yellow hats "in order that there be a sign to distinguish between Christian and Jew."[42]

The Lithuanian statutes did not comprise a written constitution. Like the Polish statutes (for example, that of Wislica in 1347, of Warta in 1423, and of Nieszawa in 1454), the Lithuanian statutes were the nobility's charters of freedom, or, more precisely, deeds of concessions made to them by the king for various reasons.[43] Therefore, the degree to which these statutes were implemented was dependent on the real balance of power between the nobility and the king. It is almost certain that the paragraphs relating to the Jews were never enforced (owing in particular to the continual movement of Jews from the property of the king to that of the nobility, where the Jews were subject to the jurisdiction of the estate owner). Nonetheless, in addition to the statutes, the charter of settlement granted by Vytautas in 1388, reconfirmed by Zygmunt I in 1507, remained in force throughout the sixteenth century. After the publication the First Statute, and the various attacks on the rights of the Jews that apparently resulted, in 1533 Zygmunt I again confirmed the validity of the former charters.[44] The Second Statute confirmed the same charters, published in 1564 and 1565.[45] In Poland at that same time Kazimierz the Great's extended charter of settlement, which granted the Jews various rights in addition to those in Vytautas's charter, was already in effect.[46] One can assume that after the annexation of Volhynia and the Kiev land to Poland, the Jews of these territories asked that their privileges be made equal to those of Poland. During the very time that

the Union of Lublin was being concluded, the palatine of Volhynia, Oleksander Chartoryisky (Aleksander Czartoryski), proclaimed his jurisdiction over the Jews of Volhynia, since according to Vytautas's charter, the Jews were under the jurisdiction of the *starostas*, whereas according to the extended charter they were under the jurisdiction of the palatines. It stands to reason that the Jews had an interest in this. Indeed, on 9 August 1569, a royal charter was issued that transferred the jurisdiction of the Jews to Oleksander Chartoryisky for his lifetime and, simultaneously, granted the Jews of Volhynia all privileges then held by the Jews of Poland.[47]

On 1 December 1576, King Stefan Batory granted a charter of settlement to the Jews of Volhynia generally, to the inhabitants of Lutsk, and to the inhabitants of royal and private towns. The charter made their legal status equal to that of the Jews of Poland. It was granted at the request of the two Jewish communities in Lutsk, Rabbinic and Karaite, who complained to the king about the accessibility of various officials. The political and legal changes that befell the annexed regions apparently proved hard on the Jews. The king confirmed all the rights that the Jews had held in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and added that officers of the state were forced to judge the Jews according to Polish laws, namely: (1) the palatine's deputy in the capacity of "judge of the Jews" (as customary in the Polish lands) was not to judge them except in the presence of two Jewish leaders in their synagogue; (2) if the palatine or one of his officers set a term for a Jew to appear before a court, he was not to designate a place other than a synagogue, unless the Jew was required to appear before a district court;[48] (3) fines and fees for a summons to court would be collected as in Poland; (4) if there was a legal dispute between a Jew and a Christian[49] before the head of the city (*viit*) or the head of the burghers (*burmistrz*) in a case of murder, injury, or physical assault, the Jew would be tried according to Polish law; (5) in mortgage matters Jews would be judged according to Polish law;[50] (6) if a Christian had a case against a Jew, he was obliged to have evidence from two reliable witnesses, one Christian and one Jewish, and the same procedure applied in the case of a Jew against a Christian; (7) if a Jew was to take an oath and the claim involved a large sum—that is, more than 50 *hryvni* of minted silver—the Jew was to swear in the synagogue on the Ten Commandments; but if the value of the claim was less than 50 *hryvni*, he was to swear on the chain [of the door], that is, in front of the synagogue; (8) Jews were permitted to trade in all lands of the kingdom in exchange for payment of the usual customs; in the royal towns they were entitled, as were all other Jewish inhabitants of Poland, to sell honestly (that is, to engage in retail trade); (9) if a fire or other acts of violence occurred in

their neighborhood, the burghers were obliged to show compassion toward them, and the Jews were similarly obligated toward the burghers;[51] (10) Jews were not to be tried on their holidays or on the Sabbath; (11) Jews were permitted to engage in work and trade at all times except on Sundays, Easter, and Christmas, the feasts of the Virgin Mary and the feasts of apostles; on these holidays they were to behave in matters of work and trade according to the customs of Christians; (12) if a Jew rebelled and did not behave according to his religion, his Jewish community was entitled to expel him with the help of the authorities, which was not the case if the Jew wished to convert to Christianity; no violence was to be done to such a Jew and he was to be removed absolutely from the authority of the Jewish community; (13) if Jews came to the synagogue before a rabbi to try a case, officials were not to forbid them this, or to prosecute the rabbi because of it, or to impose a fine on him. The king ordered all palatines and other officials to judge the Jews according to Polish law and the above paragraphs, and to preserve them from all harm and miscarriages of justice.[52]

This charter was a marked improvement over Vytautas's Lithuanian charter in its acknowledgement of the Jewish community and institutions, the defence against libel regarding fires, etc., and in its steps toward the expanded Polish charter. The Jews of Lutsk continued their efforts to secure their position and succeeded. On 17 June 1578, Stefan Batory granted them the freedoms held by Jews in the palatinates of Ruthenia and Podillia,[53] and just several months later, on 5 January 1580, confirmed for them the expanded charter of 1453 in all its paragraphs.[54]

Even before they won application of "Polish law" to them, the Jews of Ukraine had received a number of economic concessions. Given the opposition that the Union of Lublin aroused in certain circles, Zygmunt August was interested in winning over the inhabitants of the annexed territories and convincing them of the advantages of the union. One result was the king's charter to the Jews of Lutsk of 24 April 1570, in which he made their rights regarding exemption from taxation in all areas of the Lithuanian Duchy equivalent to those of the burghers. However, since the Diet that decided upon union also granted the burghers of Lutsk a similar tax exemption even in Polish areas, the following was also granted to the Jews: "It seems right to us, on the advice of several men of our council, to grant this exemption also to the Jews of Lutsk, since they bear all obligations like the burghers. [Therefore] we have graciously and freely given to the Jews of Lutsk, both Rabbinic and Karaite, and we grant them in this our charter, exemption from all taxes in our Kingdom [of Poland], which we have already granted to the burghers of Lutsk mentioned above, and we exclude from

this exemption only the new border tax, which we keep in its entirety for us and for our successors." The king ordered all officials of the kingdom to exempt from taxes all Jews of Lutsk, who saw a copy of this charter signed and sealed by the palatine.[55]

That same year the burghers and Jews of Volodymyr, too, received from the king a charter of exemption "from paying taxes on all of the following: fees for sugar, bridges whenever they occur (except fees for salt and wax) on land or on waterways and rivers, in the Kingdom of Poland and in all other lands belonging to her, on all articles, property, money, goods, and merchandise—forever."[56] The king also ordered officials and tax farmers to exempt from taxes all who showed the seal of that charter sealed with the municipal stamp. Anyone violating that order was subject to a fine of 6,000 zloty—half to the treasury and half to the injured party.[57]

Immediately after his ascension to the throne, King Władysław confirmed all charters relating to the settlement of Jews in the country.[58] In 1635 the king confirmed the charters granted by the *starostas* of Kovel to the Jews of the city (principally in matters of personal justice and in cases between Jews and Christians, which had to be resolved in the presence of a *kehilla* representative),[59] and granted to the Jews of Bratslav and Vinnytsia a charter of settlement "for rights and freedoms."[60] In 1638 the king allowed the Jews of Dubno to establish a synagogue, to maintain their customs, and to engage in trade and in the selling of merchandise, as had been allowed formerly. The king obliged them, however, to pay the same taxes as the burghers.[61]

Clearly, then, the legal status of Jews in Ukraine improved with the annexation of the Ukrainian territories to Poland, although the Second Lithuanian Statute, which restricted their rights, was not annulled in practice until the end of the eighteenth century. Later legislation did not mention that statute's restrictive paragraphs. In fact, "Polish law," which was more amenable to the Jews, prevailed, while in several matters (freedom of trade, exemption from taxes) it made the Jews equal to the burghers. Paragraphs of the previous Lithuanian charter that equated the law of the Jews with that of the nobility (such as the rate of payment for injury) were maintained, as well.

C. The legal status of the Jews in practice

Jews held Christian slaves and indentured servants, and it seems that they were not hindered in this. According to contracts of hire, they received not only the assets of the hired, but also the authority to judge indentured servants and to impose the death sentence (although we know of no case in which a Jew made use of that right). The estate of the

bishop of Pinsk and Turaŭ (Turiv) listed indentured servants who had been bought from Jews.[62] The Jews also held slaves purchased with their own money: captives who returned to their lands and were examined at the seat of the Patriarch of Moscow gave convincing evidence of this. In 1623, one such individual said that he was taken captive when "Lithuanian men" conquered Putyvl "and brought him to Oster in Lithuania, and a Cherkassian (Cossack) sold him to a Jew, and the whole time he lived with the Jew, ate meat on Wednesdays and Fridays (meatless days according to the custom of the Orthodox church), did not see the *ksiądz* (Polish Catholic priest), did not receive the sacrament, and did not embrace the Jewish faith."[63] Another captive, of Tatar origin, said in May 1624 that "he was baptized during the time of Tsar Boris as a lad and was taken captive by men of Lithuania and transported to [the land of] the Cherkassians, Zaporizhzhia beyond the Dnieper, and he was sold to a Jew and that *he embraced the Jewish religion*."[64] It is clear, then, that not only did Jews have slaves, but that sometimes they even compelled them to accept the religion of Israel.

There was a constant struggle between Jews and other corporate orders of the state over the charters of rights granted to the Jews. Most characteristic was the dispute that broke out between Prince Kurbsky and the Jews of Kovel. Prince Kurbsky was the chief military commander of Ivan IV (the Terrible), but because of political disputes he fled Russia and went over to the side of the Lithuanians. As a sign of respect Zygmunt August granted him the town of Kovel as an estate. A dispute quickly arose between Kurbsky, who was unversed in Polish ways, and the local Jews. The content of the dispute was represented in the complaint of the heads of the community of Volodymyr as follows: "An official of Prince Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbsky, the *starosta* in Kovel, Ivan Kelemet, at the instigation of a burgher of Kovel, Lavryn the apostate, became angry without cause at our brothers and friends, the Jews of Kovel Yosef ben Shmuel and Avraham ben Yaakov, at the Jewess of Kovel, Bohdanna, wife of Aharon, and at all the rest of the Jews who inhabit Kovel, and without considering our freedoms, rights, and charters, granted by the forefathers of His Majesty and by the king himself, His Majesty our gracious king, to all the Jews, on the Sabbath, on our Jewish holiday 'Shabbat,' unjustly and completely illegally ordered them arrested in the synagogue, the place in which they prayed to God, had them taken to a prison cruel beyond compare, in a dungeon of water, and sealed the rooms and cellars of their houses and the houses of other Jews, all their property, merchandise, and food."

The Jews of Volodymyr asked that a bailiff (*woźny*, an agent of the court) be made available to investigate and confirm the facts of the

incident, to interrogate the official about his actions, and to demand that he free the Jews and their property. An agent of the court travelled to Kovel together with the heads of the Jews of Volodymyr and a nobleman in the service of Prince Roman Sangushko (evidently a patron of the Jews), but he was not permitted to enter the fortress. From a distance he heard the cries of the Jews: "We are suffering from imprisonment and cruel torture without trial or charges at the hands of the official of Kovel, Kelemet, and at the hands of Lavryn the apostate, and we declare before God and man that we want justice. And if we owe anything to anybody, we are prepared to pay the penalty for it."

The official at Kovel came out and stood on the bridge of the fortress, and the Jews of Volodymyr demanded to know why he was holding the Jews in prison. The official answered: "'It is true that I am holding two of the guarantors who posted bail to Lavryn the apostate for the appearance [at court] of Aharon ben Natan, and they are Avraham ben Yaakov and Yosef ben Shmuel, and a Jewess, the wife of Aharon, Bohdanna. But is the lord not entitled to punish his subjects, not only with prison but with any other punishment, *even with the punishment of death*? Everything that I am doing here [I do] at the command of my lord, His Excellency Prince Kurbsky, for my lord Prince Kurbsky has the right, since the estate of Kovel and its subjects are under his authority, to punish them as he sees fit. Neither His Majesty the King nor any other man has any involvement with the matter. *Since the Jews rely on the king, let the king come and protect them.* I will not release them from prison unless they pay Lavryn 500 groszy.' And then the Jews of Volodymyr said: 'Our brothers, the Jews of Kovel, do not owe Lavryn anything. They also said: *Pan* Kelemet! If the lord is entitled to punish his subjects, he is [entitled to punish them only] in accordance with the law, while you have caused a miscarriage of justice for all of us, in opposition to our Jewish freedoms, which we have from our ruler His Majesty the king, our gracious lord, and from the fathers of His Majesty, in the charters of settlement, which His Majesty has made inviolable.' To this Kelemet answered: 'I pay no attention to your rights and freedoms...'" (the emphases are mine—S.E.).[65]

An official from Koshyr who had come earlier to the fortress "at the request of the Jew Israel, tax collector of Kovel" also asked that Kelemet free the Jews. Kelemet acquiesced and promised not to put the Jews into the dungeon again. Yet immediately after the official from Koshyr left the fortress, he had them imprisoned once again.[66]

The vivid description of this episode is a good reflection of the actual status of the Jews. The Jews put their trust in their charters and were prepared to fight for them. They attempted to exercise various means of

influence, mostly through the officials of landowner-benefactors. If this did not prove useful, they did not hesitate to claim their rights in court or to seek the support of the authorities. Subsequent developments in the Kovel dispute showed that at the end of the sixteenth century the Jews' confidence in the charters and in the help of the authorities was not in vain. The Jews brought their complaint before the king during the Diet of 1569 in Lublin (the crucial one that decided on union between Lithuania and Poland), and he ruled in their favour. Subsequently, the Jews of Kovel again addressed Kelemet, querying him: "'Will you continue to imprison our brothers, the Jews of Kovel, and to drive all of us from the city, giving us until tomorrow to leave?' And he said: 'Yes, I order you to leave the city!' [And they asked,] 'Will you not order our houses opened and our property and our synagogues opened and are you absolutely unwilling to treat us in accordance with the royal command?' And he answered: 'I am keeping the Jews in prison, and I will not order them freed from prison nor will I order your synagogue or your houses or your rooms, which have been sealed, opened....'"[67]

On 15 January 1569, the agent of the court recorded the refusal. On January 23, however, Kurbsky sent a special courier to invite a deputy of the court to the fortress of Kovel, so he would be present at the Jews' release from prison. According to Kurbsky, the Jews were arrested because of bails they had posted and for various debts that they owed (rental fees to the duke and taxes to the city treasury, as well as private debts). The very fact that the debts were itemized (whether true or false) was an attempt at justification. Kurbsky said that all debts would be demanded from the Jews through the court. He was prepared to release the Jews when *the royal chancellor* (head of the royal chamber) *and the royal marshal* (head of the Diet) *intervened on their behalf*, but the Jews themselves were not satisfied with the compromise and obtained an order from the king himself. Although the Jews knew that the prince was present at the Diet, they did not even show him the order. If they had, he would have discussed the matter with them then and there, before the king. He did not know about the order until he returned from Lublin. "In order not to oppose the will and order of His Majesty," he ordered the Jews released.[68]

As the plaintiff clearly admitted, under influence from officials of state, he was prepared to negotiate with the Jews, but the Jews would not agree to compromise and insisted on full recognition of their rights on the strength of the royal order. Hence, the Jews were indeed confident of their rights, and even high-ranking nobles like Kurbsky were compelled to take account of them.

D. Problems of jurisdiction

One of the important problems in the observance of the charters in theory and practice was the problem of jurisdiction: before whom was a Jew to be litigated and according to what law should he be judged? As we know, the Jews were exempted from using the courts of the burghers or of the church, a matter stated explicitly in the expanded charter.[69] Consequently the Jews refused to be judged according to Magdeburg law, to which the burghers were subject, and demanded to be judged according to the "justice of the land,"[70] which applied to the nobility. In practice that is how they were treated.[71] An exception was the agreement made in 1621 between the burghers and the Jews in Pereiaslav, which included the Jews in Magdeburg law (that is, within the autonomous organization of the burghers). Jewish leaders in Pereiaslav were obligated, on their own behalf and on behalf of all the Jews "present and future," to bear all debts equally with the burghers. The latter authorized the Jews, because of the services they had rendered, to enjoy all the privileges of Magdeburg law. The agreement was confirmed by the king in 1623.[72]

Generally the Jews insisted, even in small private towns (to which the charters' paragraphs guaranteeing the Jews separate jurisdiction did not apply), that they were subject only to the "jurisdiction of the castle"—that is, to the jurisdiction of the official of the local ruler.[73] Actions of the court regarding a Jewish defendant (such as detention[74] or release on bail[75]) were all taken by the "castle."

The charters of settlement recognized the authority of the "Jews' judge" to adjudicate claims against Jews. There were, indeed, such Jews' judges in Volhynia, although generally the deputy to the palatine (*podwojewoda*) performed the function. In Volhynia the practice was introduced in the wake of the Union of Lublin; already in 1575, a Jewish resident of Lutsk complained that the palatine's deputy refused to give him a copy of one of the court books of the palatine.[76] In 1593, a case was tried before the "Jews' judge" in which a burgher from Riga claimed property from a local Jew.[77] In 1601, a Jewess was released on bail before the "Jews' judge" of Lutsk (not the judge mentioned in 1593). Similarly, a court was organized "in Volodymyr, in the house of a certain Jew, before the beadle (*szkolnik*) and other heads of the rabbinnic *kehilla* who were present, on the seventh of January, the year of our Lord 1621, before Wojciech Milczewski, deputy to the palatine of Volhynia, who extends the right of his jurisdiction over the Jews of Volodymyr...."[78] The presence of Jewish representatives during court proceedings was one of the rights in the expanded charter. The charters all required that trials

be held before the synagogue or in any other place chosen by the Jews.[79] In the charter granted in 1634 by Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, as *starosta* of Kovel, to the Jews of that city, he ordered that no case between a burgher and a Jew be tried unless a Jewish leader was present.[80]

The charters also figured in court verdicts. According to the 1388 privilege issued by Vytautas, a Jew who had suffered an injury had to be paid compensation "the same as a noble";[81] such compensation was termed a *naviazka*. In 1578, the court of the castle in Volodymyr ordered that a Jew who was injured in the head be paid a *naviazka* of the nobility—30 [Lithuanian] groszy—"in accordance with the charters granted by Their Majesties to them [to the Jews]." Since the guilty party was unable to pay, he was handed over to the Jew to work for him at a rate of 50 groszy per year, as determined by the Second Statute.[82] This was no chance occurrence, but an accepted custom also mentioned in one of the Orthodox polemical writings. The writer complained that in the eyes of the authorities, the status of the Orthodox clergy was like that of a simple peasant and quoted a popular saying: "a pope [Orthodox priest] gets only the *naviazka* of a noble, but he is not considered a noble for this, and like him the Jews, since they also get only the *naviazka* of a noble."[83]

According to the charters, the oaths of Jews were to be sworn in the synagogue or beside it. This, in fact, was the practice. In 1590, two Jewish youths were accused of stoning an Orthodox religious procession. They denied the accusation, and, as there was no detailed evidence against them, they were required to swear an oath to that effect. The oath was sworn in the synagogue, in the presence of the bailiff and in "a wording supplied by the office (of the town castle)." In 1601 Jewish leaders in Cracow and Bochnia asked their counterparts in Lutsk to search for a certain Jew and, if they found him, to send him to Cracow or keep him in detention. The Jewish leaders in Lutsk replied that they had searched for him in all the cities and towns where Jews lived, but had not found him. To this they swore an oath in the presence of the bailiff at the synagogue.[84]

The court also took Jewish regulations into account. In 1601 a noble complained to the acting *starosta* in Lutsk that in his opinion, the judges of the burghers' court were acting illegally. The noble had come to collect a debt from a Jewish resident of Lutsk by the name of Yitshak on the strength of a judgment by the Lublin tribunal. The judges went with the plaintiff to the home of the defendant, but there his wife appeared before them and pointed to a sheet of parchment with Hebrew writing, according to which all of Yitshak's property—real estate and chattels—was mortgaged to her in her *ketubah* (marriage contract). On that basis the court refused to expropriate the property and told the noble to treat with

the Jewess in determining whose judgement took precedence.[85]

That was the state of affairs in Volhynia. In Polish Podillia the situation of the Jews was similar to that in the Ruthenian palatinate, but this is not the place to expand on these matters. The situation was different in the palatinates of Kiev and Bratslav. There the number of Jews under the jurisdiction of the king was negligible: the overwhelming majority lived on private estates. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, hardly any problem of jurisdiction arose in a dispute between a Jew and someone not subject to the lord of his estate. Apparently in any such dispute the landlord appeared as the plaintiff for "his" Jew or as the defendant if the Jew was the accused. In any case, the custom survived to some extent in the claims submitted in the first half of the seventeenth century to the Lublin tribunal.[86]

The innovation introduced in the seventeenth century (after the inclusion, at the end of the sixteenth century, of the palatinates of Kiev and Bratslav in the Lublin tribunal's jurisdiction) was that the Jews themselves appear as plaintiffs and defendants before the tribunal. That change, which did not correspond to the spirit of the charters, can only be explained by the small numbers of royal Jews in these palatinates and by the special conditions in their area of settlement, which to a large extent brought the Jews closer to the other inhabitants of the region in status and manners (noteworthy is that the inclusion of Jews in the burghers' organization also occurred in this region, in the town of Pereiaslav.) In any case, documents from Eastern Ukraine make no mention of the "Jews' judge"; apparently, the office did not exist there. Indeed, the extant registers of the tribunal are not reports of cases tried before it, or even a collection of verdicts, but a list of complaints, sentences passed, declarations of "banishment" (expulsion, or the removal of legal protection from a person who did not obey the law or opposed its implementation) and "infamia" (infamy or the denial of the rights of citizenship.) They do not indicate whether the Jews claimed that the tribunal or another court was authorized to judge them. What they do make clear is that Jews appeared before the tribunal as plaintiffs and defendants in large numbers.[87] The tribunal was the court used by all the nobility without exception, and the possibility of appearing there on their own behalf increased the Jews' confidence in their dealings with the nobility. Jews enjoying the protection of highly influential nobles behaved like them in contesting the court and its decisions. A Jew from Mazrych, accused both of enticing into his service two barrel makers who had previously worked for a certain noble and of stealing money, prevented the carrying out of the sentence—i.e., the collection of damages—from profits accruing to him from the potash furnace. In 1618, another Jew

prevented the execution of a sentence and collection of payment. In 1622, Jews were found guilty of attacking property and destroying the potash furnace. In the same year, the tribunal imposed the penalty of "exile" on the Jews of Korsun when they opposed a verdict handed down in Kiev (in a case involving a potassium nitrate furnace) following a trial or arbitration between them and a noble.[88]

From all the above, it would seem that in the dynamic conditions of Eastern Ukraine during the period of great settlement, most of the paragraphs in the traditional charters carried little weight. Matters there were decided not on the basis of legal authority, but in accordance with the actual balance of power. On the enormous estates of Eastern Ukraine's colonizing nobility, legal authority was entirely in the hands of the local owner (at least, in theory, and in practice to the extent that he was in control). Legal cases came before government courts only when the litigants involved in a dispute were from different estates, and such cases were considered a matter of competition between two nobles. Apparently, too, the Jews disregarded the verdicts of the courts when the balance of power was in their favour, behaving just like the magnates and the nobility [with whom they were associated—*Eds.*].

Overall, the legal status of Jews in Ukraine, as in many other places, was determined by the outcome of a struggle between two elements: on the one hand, the tradition of their treatment by Christian society in Europe in general, as expressed in the charters of the kings of Poland and the grand dukes of Lithuania; and, on the other hand, the actual social conditions that were formed in this region, particularly after the process of rapid settlement. In light of the continual weakening of monarchical rule after the death of Zygmunt August and the rise of other elements in the state, the legal status of the Jews was increasingly determined by the attitudes of those elements toward the Jews.

E. The attitudes of corporate orders toward the Jews

As already indicated above, it was the nobility, especially its prominent members—the magnates—who were the patrons and supporters of the Jews. Of course, that was not their attitude to Jews generally, but to "their Jews," those dwelling on their estates, serving them, and fulfilling economic and administrative functions important to them. Although these measures were intended to defend "their own Jews," they benefited all Jews in the state, since the magnates generally defeated any proposal that came before the Diet or the king's council that was intended to harm the Jews or to impose heavy monetary burdens on them. Moreover, the Jews and the Polish nobility in Ukraine shared a common fate in that the frequent Cossack rebellions threatened both sides

and compelled them to make a common defence. In this spacious region (especially its eastern part), inhabited by a populace equally hostile to the Jews and to the nobility, the Jew was generally the confidant of the noble, while the powerful noble was the main refuge of the Jew. Following the uprising of Nalyvaiko (1595) decades passed without any mention of Jewish victims. In all uprisings that broke out after the agreement of Kurkurkiv (1625), however, Jews, too, were attacked by the Cossacks. About the uprising of Taras (Triasylo) in 1630, evidence has been preserved that "in Ukraine, beyond the Dnieper, there was at that time a great war, there many Jews were killed." Other testimony tells of Jews who accompanied the camp of the Polish army: "It was on Shavuot, in the year 5392, that I had been in an army camp for two years during the war with the Cossacks near Pereiaslav beyond the Dnieper—I found many Jews and one by the name of Avraham...I made an agreement with him to buy in the camp [i.e., to trade in the camp]. I gave him 50 gold groszy and a wagon and horse, then he went to buy liquor with other Jews and they were all, for the sake of our sins, killed...."[89] Similarly, about the rebellion of Pavliuk (1637-39), one source says that the Cossacks burned the town of "Lubny, together with the castle, the monastery, and the church of the Bernardines, and murdered the handful of nobles and Jews who were defending them."[90] At that time fifty Jews were killed in Liakhovytsi.[91] The author of *The Abyss of Despair* also said that at the time "many synagogues were destroyed and about 200 souls of Israel were murdered, many churches were also destroyed; many clergy in Liakhovytsi and Lubny and its environs were killed and the survivors fled to Poland." In 1638 monks from Volhynia told the Moscow voevoda from the town of Putyvl: "...and the Cherkessians (Cossacks) did not want to be under the power of the lords (estate owners) and they killed and robbed the officials in the towns, the Poles and the Jews, and they burned the churches in the towns."[92]

Circumstances like these obviously strengthened ties between the nobility and the Jews. Yet members of the noble class were prone to harm the Jews of their fellow nobles. The register of cases brought to court provides evidence of this. Especially inclined to attack Jews were professional military men or members of the lower nobility, who were themselves servants of the magnates and who were often envious of the Jews because of their advantageous economic position or their excessive affinity to their patrons. Then, too, more than a few conflicts erupted between a Jew and "his" noble, the prince of the town. In such cases the situation of the Jew was particularly difficult. Jewish sources often mention violent and terroristic princes, and even among the "good" princes, the richest and most respected Jew was "considered no more

than a servant."[93]

Because of the special status they enjoyed in the state, the nobles, when angered, were generally disposed to violence in relations among themselves and with other corporate orders. Their relations with Jews were no exception. Cases of murder, assault, and rape of Jews are numerous.[94] In 1625, the heads of the rabbinic community in Lutsk complained of one noble serving in the army who attacked "their charter of settlement, civil law, and the constitutions" that "guaranteed the welfare of the Jews," and who would not permit a Jew to be brought for a Jewish burial, claiming that the territory of the cemetery belonged to him. When the Jews did not heed him, he and his retinue attacked them, injured many in the procession, threw the corpse into a ditch, etc.[95] The register of cases brought before the tribunal mentioned above contains records of acts of robbery against Jews committed under various pretexts. The robbers plundered their merchandise or "blocked their path." For instance, "A minister of the army who passed through the town with his soldiers" demanded from the Jews that they "give him presents and a great deal of food" and then also plundered their stores.[96] Similarly, acts against a Jew "in debt to a violator" were hardly rare, as noted in a *Responsa* stating that "the Goyim are violators" (it is undoubtedly the nobility that is meant here). In fact, it is not at all certain that such an act was considered a crime. On the contrary, it seems that even after a non-Jew committed the violence, "the Jew cannot be released from him and must, against his will, give in or sell to him on credit...."[97]

To sum up: no one acts to destroy his own property. Hence, the majority of the nobles were, in general, careful not to harm the Jews and even acted as the government's main supporter in its efforts to maintain the practices called for in the charters of settlement. In that there was no great distinction between the secular and the ecclesiastical nobility; all this also applied to the Catholic clergy, who mainly interfered with the building of synagogues. According to Catholic tradition, the building of new synagogues was forbidden, but the clergy was not excessively strict in this regard.[98] In Poland the king's consent was required. In 1626, for instance, the king allowed the Rabbinic Jews in Lutsk to build a synagogue of stone in place of the old synagogue, which was apparently made of wood. The king explained his action as due to uncertain security and as a measure to prevent fires. The new synagogue was to be no higher than its predecessor, its roof was to be fortified, and it was to include a place for weapons, which the Jews were to acquire at their own expense. During Tatar attacks they were obliged to provide men to defend the city and to use the weapons as instructed by the officer. The *starosta* and the other officials were not to interfere with construction as

long as the Jews paid all the required fees and "fully keep all of our Kingdom's laws, both those of the state and those of the Catholic church."[99] Apparently the Dominicans in Lutsk tried to interfere nevertheless, for two years later, in August 1628, the king was obliged explicitly to reiterate his permission for the completion of the building. In addition to the reasons given in his previous document, this time he indicated that "at this distance, the above-mentioned synagogue does not interfere with the church of the Dominican fathers in Lutsk."[100] But opposition did not cease. In April 1629 the king issued a new order giving the town's two wooden synagogues, that of the Rabbinics and that of the Karaites, together with the gardens located next to their cemeteries, to the royal notary as a gift, since the Jews were warned that they dare not build synagogues or private houses "without the explicit permission of us or our fathers."[101] The reference is apparently to a wooden house of worship built within the cemetery, not to the stone synagogue, for which the Jews had received special permission. The order appeased those who had opposed the building of the stone synagogue (perhaps the very Dominicans already mentioned). In an order of 1627, Anna Chodkiewicz [Ostrozka Khodkevych], presumably under the influence of the clergy, forbade building synagogues higher than churches, conducting funerals, or making brandy on Sunday in her town of Ostroh.[102] The interference of the church did not absolutely prevent the establishment of new synagogues, however. In the town of Ovruch, which, according to the lustration, contained a total of three Jewish houses, the Jews established a synagogue "with the permission of the *starosta*, even though they had no charter from His Majesty the King."[103] In 1646 the king confirmed the charter of settlement for the Jews of Bar, permitting them to build a synagogue, a cemetery, a public bath, and a water pit (evidently a *mikvah*).[104]

In day-to-day relations, conflicts between Jews and the Orthodox clergy were more numerous than between Jews and the Catholic clergy. Apparently the Jews acted more gingerly toward the Catholic clergy, whose influence was greater. Nevertheless, in 1639 the head of the cathedral in Volodymyr registered a complaint against a Jew who, together with other infidels (*heretyky*), blocked his path while he was taking the Sacrament from the church to a prison where a certain noble was incarcerated. Not only did the Jew not remove his cap, but he urged others to do likewise and called the Sacrament an "error."[105] The details of the incident are not clear: it may have had something to do with relations between the Jew and the imprisoned noble. In 1640, on the other hand, two Jews from Volodymyr and one from Ostropil made a complaint against a Catholic preacher, head of the schools in Volodymyr,

charging that he bullied the Jews, sent his students against them and attacked them on the crossroads, falling upon them with his servants and shouting, "I will teach you to complain about me to the bishop."[106] We learn from this that student attacks on Jews were common in Volodymyr (as in most cities of Poland), although the hierarchy of the church may have looked upon such acts with disfavour.

There is more evidence about conflicts between Jews and the Orthodox clergy, especially closer to the time of the Khmelnytsky revolt. The Orthodox synod in Kiev, which gathered in 1640, forbade Christian women to serve as midwives and cooks for Jews, and Christians to buy meat from Jews.[107] Evidently it was on the basis of these decisions that, in 1647, a priest in the town of Andriiv demanded that the inhabitants refrain from buying meat from the Jews; the municipal officer, however, ordered him to pay damages to the Jews and imposed a fine on him.[108]

The Orthodox clergy at times also tried to defend the Jews. In 1584, the Orthodox nobility made the complaint that the metropolitan of Kiev was granting charters of protection to the Jews: "Against the church of God, to the aid of the Jews, you provide for their enjoyment and benefit and to the additional weakening of our holy religion and to our anguish...."[109] In 1597, the bishop of Volodymyr and Brest determined that there was no substance to a priest's complaint that on a Jewish street in Volodymyr, Jews interfered with the church from their buildings. He also forbade the imposition of a payment on the Jews in addition to one established long before. That decision was upheld by the bishop (a Uniate) who succeeded him in 1638.[110] But such defence of Jews was quite rare. As religious tension in Ukraine grew in the wake of the Union of Brest and the renewal, in the 1620s, of an independent Orthodox hierarchy, the opposition of the Orthodox church to the Jews also increased, as shown by the decisions of the Synod of 1640. In fact, there was no longer any distinction between its attitude toward the Jews and that of the burghers, since the Orthodox church became closely tied to the burgher element after most of the nobility converted to Catholicism.

The relations between burghers and Jews are very important in explaining the legal and social status of the Jews. The Jews were primarily urban inhabitants who lived and worked alongside the burghers.[111] The need to maintain constant readiness in the face of recurring forays by the Tatars perforce strengthened ties between the two groups. The Jews participated in local defence alongside the burghers and were even obliged to be trained in the use of weaponry. One Hebrew source says: "For when there was tumult in Volhynia because of the Ishmaelites, which was common in the large towns of the region, everyone was obliged to be ready with instruments of destruction in

hand to wage war against them on orders of the Prince and his officers. And there was a time when the present man [the writer?] fired the catapult, which in the language of Ashkenaz is called *biks*, from his house through the window to the place marked for him in his courtyard wall, in order to try the *biks* as the instructors had done.... The heathen, who was taskmaster (commander) of Israel and ruled over them because he was the commander, stood outside to warn anyone who came into the courtyard...."[112] The lives of all the "inhabitants of the district" were stamped with "fear of the wars of the Ishmaelites."[113] An inventory of the town of Vinnytsia from 1616 indicates that the inhabitants of the town were "obliged to stand guard against the Tatars and go out against the enemies of the kingdom on horseback and with weapons [in hand] at the side of the *starosta* of Vinnytsia."[114] The burghers of Bohuslav and Pereiaslav (presumably including the Jews) were obliged to go out and take a stand against the enemy upon the guards' first summons. But the burghers and Jews of these towns were forbidden to take part in Cossack wandering, to send out patrols, or to allow Cossacks to enter their houses or equip them.[115] Hence Jews of the border district sometimes took part in the organization of Cossack raids that were aimed against the Tatars or to plunder the Turkish coast.[116]

Cooperation between the burghers and the Jews, intended essentially for defence, existed in other areas as well. For instance, the privilege granted to the burghers of Volodymyr after the Union of Lublin made it incumbent on the head of the town and on members of the town council to take effective measures for local defence and to regulate relations between Christians and Jews. If a fire broke out in a house, the town officials were not to fine the owners of the house, but the head of the town council was to punish the guilty for negligence. All burghers, Christians and Jews, as well as men of the *jurydyka*,[117] were obligated to join municipal guilds (craft societies) and to conduct themselves according to their customs. As mentioned above, burghers and Jews were equally exempt from payment of fees.[118] Relations between the burghers and Jewish inhabitants of Lutsk were established in a mutual agreement arranged by royal dignitaries (elected by the Diet of 1569) and confirmed by the king in 1580. The agreement involved the sum of 350 Lithuanian groszy, which the Jews paid the burghers to acquire liberties for the whole town, and it obliged the burghers to make the Jews partners in their liberties, "owing to their common residence and the bearing of all municipal debts." The burghers were forbidden to impose transport charges beyond the accepted custom on the Jews, to impose taxes on them for defence or other municipal needs by municipal decrees, or to arrange the distribution of taxes *ad hoc*, without the knowledge of the

Jews. Also, they had to include Jews in the preparation of accounts and allow them to participate in tax farming.[119] We have noted how the Jews of Pereiaslav were included in Magdeburg law. In 1609 the king gave a charter to the burghers of Kovel, obligating the Jews to work on repairing the town's walls and dams and to stand guard equally with the burghers.[120] By the privilege given to the Jews of Dubno in 1638, they had to pay taxes on par with the burghers, since they did business with the latter and made a similar profit.[121] Also, an inventory of Bile Pole in 1646 stated that the Jews were obligated to bear all debts equally with the burghers.[122]

There were also more specific instances of cooperation, such as that in Lutsk in 1588, when, at the sound of the town bell, burghers and Jews jointly attacked the house of a local noble and destroyed it,[123] or the joint complaint of the town's burghers and Jews against Cossacks led by Loboda, who attacked the town during the revolt of Nalyvaiko in 1595 and plundered it.[124] Another testament of close relations is the question placed by one remarkable personality of his generation: "the gentiles borrow clothes and jewelry from Israel [the Jews] on their holidays and wear them when they enter their houses of prayer and afterwards return them. Is it forbidden to lend them for the sake of peace, or not?"[125]

Yet, physical and occupational proximity increased the competition between the Jews and the burghers. The burghers attempted, through the authorities, to limit the rights of the Jews and to place them under municipal jurisdiction. In the years 1569-72, the burghers of Kremianets received several royal charters forbidding Jews to interfere in their commerce.[126] In 1576 the king confirmed for the burghers of Kiev "the ancient right" by placing all those who came to the city to trade, Christians and Jews alike, under municipal jurisdiction.[127] Moreover, in 1589 the Jews of Volodymyr were accused in court of evading personal duties imposed on all burghers.[128] Ten years later (1599), pogroms occurred against the Jews of Volodymyr.[129] The charter granted by the *starosta* to the burghers of Bar and confirmed by the king forbade Jews from selling meat other than retail and beside their synagogue; moreover, the number of their butchers could not exceed six.[130] That same year, 1615, the Armenians of Iazlovets received a charter of settlement from Prince Radziwiłł in which Jews were forbidden to interfere in their commerce.[131] In 1624 the burghers of Kiev obtained a privilege from the king making Saturday the city's market day;[132] that, surely, was to diminish competition from the Jews. In 1629 the furrier and tailor guilds in Lutsk obtained a charter forbidding Jews to engage in commerce that could have threatened their guilds.[133]

We also know of several overt conflicts between burghers and Jews

in royal towns. In 1616 King Zygmunt III appointed a commission to investigate burghers' complaints against the Jews in Kovel. The burghers complained that the Jews were destroying the town by buying from Christians taverns and houses facing the street, thereby harassing them and driving them from the town; also, they did not take part in repairing the town wall or standing guard. They also farmed taxes set by the Diet and private levies, collecting twice as much as was imposed, thereby impoverishing the town. The king appointed a commission to investigate the situation on the spot and correct it, but it was to take into consideration the "liberties" of both sides and the charters that had been granted them. Both sides were entitled to appeal the commission's decision before the king.[134] In 1619, apparently as a result of the complaint, a royal charter was granted to the burghers of Kovel according to which royal taxes would henceforth be collected directly rather than through the Jews, who seemed accustomed to leasing the collection of taxes.[135] At about the same time the burghers of Pereiaslav and Bohuslav complained of the "domination of the Jews," that "their number in the town was not small, that they held almost the whole market and the streets with their houses," and that because of "their machinations" they were reducing the burghers to naught. By the charters of settlement given to the burghers in each of these towns in 1620, the king promised to send commissars to the towns to investigate the complaints, to mediate between the sides, and to determine their obligations in regard to taxes, guard duty, repair of walls, bridges, and so forth. If the matter could not be settled, it would then be brought before the king.[136] We know nothing of the activity of the commissars in Bohuslav, but the inclusion of Pereiaslav's Jews under Magdeburg law apparently resulted from a compromise struck by the commissars. In 1619 the burghers of Kiev were granted the right *de non tolerandis Judaeis*. Their complaints were not serendipitous, but part of a political campaign, possibly an organized one, by which the burghers attempted to take advantage of the difficulties of the Polish state and the weakness of the king to supplant their competitors, the Jews.

Finally, in 1637, the following complaints against the Jews by the burghers of Lutsk were recorded: they sell brandy and pay nothing to the municipal treasury; they build houses on municipal land and transfer them to the jurisdiction of the castle; they dig within the wall and build breweries and wineries; they refuse to share with the burghers the burden of guarding and repairing the roads; they seize all leasing from the burghers. The burghers of Lutsk estimated their total damages at the hands of the Jews at 10,000 Polish zloty. Moreover, they complained that the Jewish municipal lessee, who was appointed by the *starosta*, arbitrarily raised the tax rate, which was high to begin with.[137]

The increase in the Jewish population—most of it urban[138]—and the intensified economic activity of the Jews exacerbated their relations with the burghers, especially in the royal towns, where the *starosta*s lacked sufficient power to impose their authority on both sides. The compromises made from time to time through the mediation of special royal commissars were nothing more than temporary solutions, and the dynamic development of the region hardly allowed for stability. The burghers wanted to increase the Jews' portion of municipal debts and taxes, whereas the Jews sought advantages and concessions in their reliance on the "castle" (i.e., on the royal officer residing in the town). The Jewish share in municipal payments actually did increase gradually, but not enough to reassure their enemies. With the coming of Khmelnytsky, even fortified towns fell into the hands of the rebels, in most cases with the help of the burghers.

Notes

1. Y. S. Hertz's book, *Di yidn in Ukraine* (New York, 1949), is a popular sketch, written by a non-scholar. A number of issues in the history of Jews in Ukraine before 1648 were raised by Y. Shatsky in "Historish-Kritisher Areinfir tsum 'Yon Matsula'," published by YIVO in the collection *Gezeires Tach* (Vilnius, 1938); however, in central issues as well as details, the work is problematic.
2. S. A. Bershadsky, *Litovskie evrei* (St. Petersburg, 1883).
3. The documents are included in S. A. Bershadsky's *Russko-evreiskii arkhiv* (St. Petersburg, 1882) (hereafter *REA*).
4. Bershadsky, *Litovskie evrei*, p. 423.
5. Bershadsky (*Litovskie evrei*, pp. 198-202) tried to prove that the charter of 1388 was granted to the Jews of Brest alone, since he thought that the Jews of various cities were not yet united enough to participate in a general charter. But that can be disputed on several accounts. The extant copy of the charter contains no mention for whom it is intended. Bershadsky proposes to read *beresteiskoi* instead of the words *vyshei menenoi* at the beginning of the document. It seems to me, however, that the writer or copyist distorted the text: if the above words were erased, it would seem that the "rights and liberties" were granted "to all Jews inhabiting this kingdom of ours," paralleling the text of Bolesław's charter of settlement to Kalisz of 1264, from which the words were apparently translated into the Rus' language for the Lithuanian document. Also, the phrase "to the Jews of Brest [as Bershadsky amends it] inhabiting this kingdom of ours" is extremely strange. Bershadsky's evidence from the charter of settlement to the Jews of Horodnia, in which the grand duke confirmed for local Jews "the rest of the rights and liberties that we have granted in the charter to the Jews of Brest in 1388,"

does not constitute proof. It is possible that the charter to all Jews of Lithuania was called by the name of its main community—Brest—and that it was mentioned in order to distinguish between it and the charter granted that same year to the Jews of Trakai (the Karaites). When the communities of Lithuania appealed to King Zygmunt the First in 1507 to confirm the charter of 1388, they asked him to confirm it for, and not extend it to, all Jews of Lithuania.

6. "...judaeis vero et armenis [jus] tale, quale habent judaei et armeni in civitatibus Nostris Cracoviensi aut Leopolensi." *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (hereafter *AIuZR*), vol. 7, pt. 5, doc. 1. From this Bershadsky (*Litovskie evrei*, p. 200) concluded that Vytautas's charter of 1388 was granted only to the Jews of Brest. If that were not the case, Jagiełło would certainly have confirmed for the Jews of Lutsk their old rights and would have had no need to mention the rights of the Jews of Cracow and Lviv. But the question remains: why did the privilege of 1432 grant the Jews of Lutsk the rights enjoyed by the Jews of Cracow and Lviv rather than those of the Jews of Brest? It seems to me that Jagiełło intended to enforce Polish law and custom in Lithuania and thereby advance the cause of the union of the two states. Hence he granted the nobles of Lutsk the same rights enjoyed by the nobles of Poland. To the burghers he granted Magdeburg law, an innovation for Lithuania, for until then the law had been granted to only a number of towns and, hence, to a comparatively small number of Jews.
7. *REA*, vol. 1, docs. 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 24, 66, and *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* (St. Petersburg, 1872–) (hereafter *RIB*), vol. 27, docs. 3, 5, 8, give extensive information on Jews as tax collectors from 1482 to the Lithuanian expulsion of 1495. Information has also been preserved about a Jew named "Shan" who collected taxes in Volodymyr during the time of Vytautas and Svidrigaila, that is, before 1430: *Akty iuzhnoi i zapadnoi Rossii* (hereafter *AIZR*), vol. 7, doc. 38. In Kiev there were Jewish tax collectors even before the city was burned by the Tatars in 1482: *REA*, vol. 1, doc. 10.
8. Cf. *REA*, vol. 1, docs. 9, 18.
9. For example, the estate bestowed on the Jew Shan, mentioned above: *AIZR*, vol. 7, doc. 38; *Akty zapadnoi Rossii* (henceforth *AZR*), vol. 2, p. 120; *AIuZR*, pt. 8, vol. 4, doc. 19; *REA*, vol. 1, docs. 28, 36; vol. 3, doc. 83.
10. See Bershadsky, *Litovskie evrei*, p. 241.
11. Shan, the tax collector of Volodymyr and his son Agaron (Aharon), the tax collector of Kiev, converted voluntarily (Bershadsky, *Litovskie evrei*, p. 244). Avraham Juzefovich converted before the expulsion and later served as secretary of the Lithuanian treasury. In a detailed study, "Avram Iezofovich Revichkovich, podskarbii zemskii, chlen rady Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo" (*Kievskaia starina*, 1888, vol. 22, no. 9, pp. 457-99; vol. 23, nos. 10-12, pp. 69-120, 235-65, 417-58), Bershadsky showed that his conversion preceded the expulsion, contrary to the accepted view (for example, Balaban, *Beit Israel be-Polin*, Jerusalem, 1948, vol. 1, p. 15).
12. Avraham, mentioned above, and the tax collectors of Putyvl—perhaps Meruvakh (which should probably be read Mevorakh) and Israel from Kiev—who are mentioned in *REA*, vol. 1, doc. 24. Also, Fedor, Petr, and Ivan

Novokreshchenye, who in 1495 collected taxes in Putyvl for three years (Bershadsky, *Litovskie evrei*, p. 254) and in 1499 collected the taxes of Smolensk (*Chteniia v Obshchestve istorii pri Moskovskom universitete*, hereafter *ChOIMU*, bk. 191, p. 88-89).

13. Cf. Bershadsky, *Litovskie evrei*, p. 261.
14. *REA*, vol. 1, doc. 62.
15. In Lutsk the *kliuchnik* (local manager of the king's property) served as the Jews' judge: *REA*, vol. 1, doc. 150. According to Vytautas's charter, the *starosta* was to serve as the Jews' judge.
16. When, in 1534, the wife of a noble prosecuted a Jew from Medzhybizh, the Jew argued that he was required to answer only before the palatine. His case was transferred to the palatine's deputy in Podillia, L. Białkowski, *Podole w 16-tym wieku* (Warsaw, 1920), p. 111.
17. *REA*, vol. 1, doc. 153; *AZR*, vol. 2, doc. 174.
18. See the letter of appointment of Michał Jósefowicz (*REA*, vol. 1, doc. 60). Michał was to serve as the *direct and sole* link between the Jews and the king.
19. *REA*, vol. 1, doc. 45.
20. A Polish Jew accused the Jews of Cracow and other cities of circumcising Christians, sending them into the Grand Duchy, and smuggling them from there to Turkey. A description can be found in two royal letters in *REA*, vol. 1, docs. 175, 199. Additional details in documents published by E. Zivier, "Juedische Bekehrungsversuche im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Festschrift zum 70. geburtstage Martin Phillipsons* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 96-113.
21. Already in 1507 the communities of "Brest, Trakai, Horodnia, Lutsk, Volodymyr and other cities" had all had the privilege of Vytautas confirmed by the king. The charge of libel called forth the urgent activity of all Jews royal and private, and the communities of Ukraine filled an important function (*REA*, vol. 1, no. 199, p. 242): "And immediately many Jews reached us, such as those from Horodnia, Brest, Volodymyr, and Lutsk, from Ostrih, Kovel and others [living on estates] of princes and lords, after they heard the libel [directed] against them and they wanted to investigate the matter...."
22. The first letter was designated for the council of the grand duke (*Pany-Rady*) during his absence from Lithuania. During that time the council served as the supreme authority in the Grand Duchy. The second letter says, "and We, in our desire that this matter be rectified before a righteous judge, have ordered the lords of our council, their excellencies, from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to hear the evidence of that Jew from the [land of] the Kingdom of Poland (Korona Polska) and the judgement of the Jews of our realm, to investigate this matter and report to Us." All this occurred at a time when less important matters were dealt with only when the king was present, or interim orders were issued pending his arrival. Cf., for example, *Akty Vilenskoi komissii*, vol. 17, p. 83 (a Jew's demand for redemption of his patrimony).
23. Anyone who gave refuge to a convert was subject to the death penalty and had his property confiscated; one could not employ Christian wet nurses;

one could not discuss with Christian employees matters that constituted an assault on the Christian faith; one was not to make them perform hard labour during their holidays; it was forbidden to buy a Christian slave (in fact, Christian slaves were owned by Jews not only in the sixteenth, but even in the seventeenth century, as shown below); debtors could be enserfed for only one year.

24. See, for example, Queen Bona's charter of settlement to the Jews of Kovel, evidently from the 1640s: "...aby się według praw y wolności Żydów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego także i w szkole swej, przed doktorami swemy, według zwyczajów stawali i sądzili się..." (*AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, doc. 30, p. 120).
25. *REA*, vol. 1, docs. 353-54; vol. 2, docs. 9, 35.
26. Cf. Bershadsky, *Litovskie evrei*, pp. 381-83.
27. For example, M. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz dotyczący żydów w dawniej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1911), p. 521.
28. See the appeals of the nobility to the king in 1551 (*REA*, vol. 1, doc. 22) and in 1563 (*REA*, vol. 1, doc. 176; *AIZR*, vol. 3, doc. 33).
29. Compare, for example, the appeals of the representatives of the burghers in Kovel to Queen Bona, asking that the Jews be forbidden to build their houses in the town square and that their place of residence be confined to the Jewish street next to the synagogue. The queen, granting their request, ordered the Jews to move to the Jewish street and the Christians to leave that street (*AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, doc. 15, order of 9 January 1556). The compromise between the Jews and burghers in Bar states: "...quod judei Barenses...eum numerum domorum, quem ab antiquo in hunc usque diem obtinent, retinere, atque hereditarie possidere in civitate Barensi debent." *AIuZR*, pt. 8, vol. 2, suppl., p. 35; Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, p. 70; *REA*, vol. 3, doc. 159.
30. See, for example, the king's order of 1536 forbidding the Jews of Kremianets to make use of the freedoms granted to the burghers (*AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, doc. 9; *Źródła Dziejowe*, hereafter *ZD*, vol. 5, p. 172); the complaint of the tailor and furrier guild in Lutsk in 1539 against the Jews engaged in these crafts (*REA*, vol. 1, doc. 179); the interference of the burghers in the business of the Jews (REA, vol. 2, doc. 52).
31. For example, a Lutsk burgher attempted to exact damages from Jews for a fire, since "the fire came out of their house" (*REA*, vol. 1, doc. 137).
32. Thus, the burghers of Lutsk caught a Jew on a royal estate. Despite the protests of the king's officer and a bail of 10,000 groszy that he put up for him, the burghers sentenced the Jew to death in their court and executed him. *REA*, vol. 2, doc. 238.
33. In the conflict with the craftsmen's guilds mentioned above (p. 30), the king permitted the Jews to produce and sell these goods, but he obliged them to pay five *shuk* to the members of the guild. In 1556, the king granted the Jews in Lutsk the same rights as those enjoyed by the burghers, as defined in a new privilege given to the former, and exempted them from taxes within Volhynia. *REA*, doc. 68.

34. In this way, for example, the Jews of Volodymyr obtained building plots and permission to construct breweries. N. Kamanin and I. Istomin, "Sbornik istoricheskikh materialov izvlechennykh," in *Aktovye knigi Kievskogo tsentralnogo arkhiva*, no. 57, items 63-64.
35. *AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, doc. 12; *ZD*, vol. 6, introd., p. 79.
36. The Jews agreed not to increase further the number of their houses, to bear all rights of citizenship together with the burghers, and to provide a horse from every house in time of war. In turn, the burghers allowed the Jews to live according to their own laws and to engage in trade (cf. fn. 29, above).
37. *AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1; Antonovych's introd., pp. 21-22; M. Liubavsky, *Ocherk istorii Litovsko-Russkogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1910), p. 251.
38. *Responsa Bach (Beit Hadash) ha-yeshanot*, doc. 3.
39. See, for example, the joint request of the burghers and Jews of Lutsk in 1558 to forbid foreign merchants to sell merchandise in their towns. *AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, p. 5.
40. "And also, we determine that it is forbidden for Jews to give evidence in matters of land or proof of title to land and also in all other matters...." *REA*, vol. 2, p 158. The First Statute—*REA*, vol. 1, pp. 169, 337.
41. According to the First Statute, a Christian slave went free after serving his master for seven years. According to the Second Statute, which is more restrictive toward the Jews, it seems that the slave went free immediately. The tenure of seven years was also retained in this statute, but it was applied to an indentured servant: if the amount of the debt was small, the debtor was obliged to pay it back through his work within seven years, but if the debt was large, each year of work was to be estimated at 50 talers for a man and 30 talers for a woman (in the First Statute, 30 talers for both). The ambiguity here was no doubt deliberate and was intended to place a burden on the owners of Christian slaves.
42. *REA*, vol. 2, pp. 157-58.
43. We know that Zygmunt I gave the First Lithuanian Statute to the nobility in exchange for the election of his son, Zygmunt August, who was still quite young, as Grand Duke of Lithuania. It is likewise evident that by granting the Second Statute, Zygmunt August intended to persuade the Lithuanian nobility of the idea of union between the two states. For more than twenty years the demand "to amend" the statute was an essential demand of the Lithuanian nobility. Cf. M. Liubavsky, *Ocherk*, pp. 231-32, 276-90.
44. We mentioned above the complaint of the Jews of Lithuania (1533) about officers of the king who were not acting in accordance with the old charters of settlement, which had also been confirmed by Zygmunt I, "to try to judge them according to the regular law and in accordance with the charters of our fathers, which were available to them (the Jews) as a gift from Their Majesties [the previous kings], and which are the written law for this statute (meaning the First Statute of 1529), which the Grand Duke of Lithuania gave to our kingdom, for in these laws of ours we have done no injury to the charters of settlement mentioned above or to their authority...." *REA*, vol. 1, p. 194.

45. *REA*, vol. 2, doc. 244.
46. The expanded charter was confirmed by Zygmunt I and Zygmunt August. Much remains to be said about this charter, but it cannot be expanded upon here.
47. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, docs. 120, 535.
48. "Gdzie indziej, a nie w powiecie," meaning the new territorial courts, established according to the Second Lithuanian Statute in 1566. To establish these courts the dukedom was divided into fifteen juridical districts (*Sudovye povety*), four of which were in Volhynia and Podillia (Volodymyr, Kremianets, Lutsk, Bratslav) and two in the territory of Kiev (Kiev and Mazyr). The district court was the most important of the local courts, because all nobles of the district fell under its jurisdiction, including members of the duke's council. Cf. Liubavsky, *Ocherk*, p. 280.
49. That is, if a Jew prosecuted a Christian. And even then, the matter was unclear, for in the Lithuanian charter jurisdiction in these matters belonged to the grand duke ("chym maet nam cholom byty"). *REA*, vol. 1, doc. 8, p. 9.
50. The reference is the law of the Jews of Poland, which in the issue of mortgages was also, in several instances, more lenient than the Lithuanian charter.
51. I.e., no side was to bear blame, since the disaster came from heaven and was not intentional.
52. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 152.
53. *AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 3, p. 177.
54. *AIuZR*, p. 78. This is the expanded charter of Kazimierz the Great, mentioned above, which had already been confirmed for the Jews of Poland. Upon his ascension to the throne, Zygmunt III confirmed for the Jews of Lutsk all the charters, rights, and liberties that they had been granted previously, in particular those that had been granted by Stefan Batory (Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 192). Likewise, the king acceded to the request of the duke of Ostroh, who, serving as the palatine of Volhynia, in 1589 granted all rights, laws, and liberties of the Jews of Poland (e.g., freedom of commerce, personal jurisdiction, etc.) to the Jews of Bile Pole. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 193.
55. *AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 3, pp. 176-77.
56. *Tsentralnyi arkhiv starodavnikh aktiv u Kyivi*, V. Romanovsky, ed. (Kiev, 1929) (hereafter, *TsASK*), p. 76, says that book 928 of the Kiev archive (for the years 1590-92, doc. 124) registers the charter of settlement of Zygmunt II from the year 1570 "to the Jews of Volodymyr on rights and liberties." This was probably not a separate charter, but a subsequent registration of the document before us by the Jews of Volodymyr.
57. *ZD*, vol. 5, p. 147. All these charters were confirmed several times by subsequent kings: Stefan Batory, Zygmunt III, Władysław IV. King Stefan even reconfirmed, in 1576, the exemption from taxes of the Jews of Medzhybizh granted them in 1547 and 1557, owing to the injuries they had suffered from the Tatars; Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 159. In 1577, Stefan

confirmed the charter of Zygmunt August in the matter of exemption from taxes during fairs (Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 541). In 1579 he additionally confirmed the rights of the burghers and Jews of Minsk to trade in Volhynia (*TsASK*, p. 76).

58. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 230.
59. *AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, doc. 30.
60. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 233.
61. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 237.
62. "And these are the men who were bought from the Jews: Ostanits and his sons...Aliushko...." *AIuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 57.
63. *RAV*, vol. 2, p. 606.
64. *RAV*, vol. 2, p. 646.
65. [Andrei Kurbsky], *Zhizn Kniazia Andreia Mikhailovicha Kurbskogo v Litve i na Volyni* (Kiev, 1849), vol. 2, pp. 1-5.
66. Kurbsky, *Zhizn*, vol. 2, pp. 5-6.
67. Kurbsky, *Zhizn*, vol. 2, pp. 7-10.
68. Kurbsky, *Zhizn*, vol. 2, pp. 10-11.
69. Docs. 30 and 40, according to the text published by P. Bloch, *Die Generalpriviligien der polnischen Juden* (Posen, 1892).
70. *Prawo ziemskie* was the customary law in that region, based on ancient custom or the ordinances and liberties granted by the kings to the nobility.
71. See Bershadsky, *Materialy dlia istorii evreev v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (= *Evreiskaia biblioteka*) (St. Petersburg, 1879-80), vol. 7-8, doc. 6. The Jews of Lithuania obtained confirmation of this right in 1578 from Stefan Batory (cf. *AZR*, vol. 3, doc. 221).
72. *ZD*, vol. 5, pp. 216-17; Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 224.
73. See, for example, the "charter of liberties" granted in 1630 by the owner of the town of Ostrozhets to the new settlers for 12 years: "...u ochrona Żydów, którzy, pod zamkowy tylko urząd mają, podpadąc...." *AIuZR*, pt. 6, vol. 1, doc. 143.
74. For example, there were two lads (*bakhurchyky*) who were accused in 1590 of stoning an Orthodox religious procession and were held in the town castle of Volodymyr. *AIuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 1, pp. 266-67.
75. For instance, in 1601 two Jews from Lutsk announced that they were putting up bail for a Jewess imprisoned for debt (Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 8). In order to be guarantors, the two Jews relinquished "all their litigation, prerogatives, and [charters] of freedom and entrusted themselves together with all their property to this registration."
76. Book 2049 of the archive in Kiev, pp. 106-107, according to *Trudy II-ogo Arkheologicheskogo sezda* (Kiev, 1899), vol. 2, p. 64.
77. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 6. The burgher alleged that the Jews' judge demanded a bribe from him. It seems that there had been close ties between the judge and the Jews, and that, according to the burgher, the judge was himself *prokurator* on behalf of the Jews. Finally, after compelling the Jew to take an oath, the burgher released him on his own bail.

78. "Jurisdykcja nad żydy Włodzimierskiemi extendującym"—*AIuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 6, doc. 193. The case was registered by the bailiff (emissary of the court) of the Volhynia palatine, who later submitted the verdict for registration in the books of the "territorial court" in Lutsk when that court was in session.
79. See M. Bloch, *Die Generalpriviligien der polnischen Juden* (Poznań, 1892), docs. 24-26; *REA*, vol. 1, pp. 5-14, docs. 3-22.
80. *AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, doc. 30.
81. *REA*, vol. 1, p. 9, doc. 8. It differs from Bolesław's text from Kalisz, according to which there was compensation "...ut iutra terra Nostrae requirunt et exigunt..." (*REA*, p. 8, doc. 9), as well as from the privilege for the Jews of Trakai, which reiterates the Bolesław version (*REA*, doc. 8).
82. *AIuZR*, pt. 6, vol. 1, doc. 41.
83. "Antirrizis," *RAV*, vol. 19, p. 685. The composition was written in connection with the Union of Brest.
84. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 9. It is interesting to note that in the complaint of the burgher from Riga (see fn. 81, above), the Jew was required to take an oath together with three other men. This may have been some vestige of an earlier legal custom.
85. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 10. Prof. Y. Halpern has called my attention to the "regulations of fugitives," which determined that "a marriage contract of a widow takes precedence over that of a debtor of immovable or movable property, even if he was not caught"; they were also included in the charters of settlement to the Jews of Lviv and Cracow granted by Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory. A similar privilege may also have been conferred on the Jews of Volhynia, but it has not come down to us. It may be that the custom in Volhynia was influenced by the custom of the Ruthenian palatinates (Lviv). The case before us, however, does not involve a widow, but a woman whose husband was alive; likewise, the royal authorization to the Jews of Cracow speaks of a marriage contract registered in the book of acts, not "a page written in Hebrew script." In this case the court may have considered the customs of the Jews beyond the definitions provided by the royal charters.
86. Compare, for example, *ZD*, vol. 21, pp. 305, 322, 333, 345, 428, 523, 551, 578, 630.
87. There was a number of cases in which Jews were the plaintiffs. In 1604 Jews obtained a verdict from the tribunal against a noble who did not pay a debt and did not allow payment from his property (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 469). In 1618 a Jew from Kiev obtained an order of expulsion against a noble couple after they opposed the execution of a court verdict against them for forcibly taking back a village that the Jew had previously leased. After two months the tribunal cancelled the order of expulsion (*ZD*, vol. 21, pp. 224, 308). Discussion between the two sides was still going on in 1622 (cf. *ZD*, vol. 21, p. 626). That same year a verdict was given in a case between a prince from Zbarazh and his subject, a Jew from Puchrowiszcz, and nobles accused of removing the Jew from a village that had been leased to him (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 312). At about the same time, a similar claim of a Jew from Kornin against a number of nobles was rejected (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 207). That same year a Jew

"from the servants of Janusz, prince of Ostroh" obtained a verdict against nobles belonging to the Sapieha family for robbing his goods when he passed through their town of Antoniv (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 284). In 1624 a Jew from Bile Pole obtained an order of "expulsion" against Prince Zemski (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 316). The same year there were deliberations before the tribunal concerning mutual accusations between a noblewoman and Jews from Bile Pole on the matter of leasing estates in the vicinity of Pavoloch (*ZD*, vol. 21, pp. 320, 326-27).

There were also several cases in which the Jews were the defendants. The tax collector from Kiev, the Jew Bohdan, was convicted in 1602 of taking various objects from the burgher Holaniki, claiming it was for tax purposes; the owner of the town lodged the complaint against the tax collector (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 88). That same year a Jew from Berdychiv was accused of taking peasants from the village of a noble to the village that he (the Jew) held; his co-defendants were nobles who apparently owned the village (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 85). In 1609 a Jewish tenant was convicted of illegally collecting a tax on the carts of the princes of Zbarazh (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 549). That year Jews were required to pay for firewood they had used in the making of potash (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 136). A similar complaint was lodged against a Jew from Pereiaslav in 1618 (*ZD*, vol. 21, p. 223).

88. *ZD*, vol. 21, pp. 461, 211, 624, 625.
89. *Responsa Bach (Beit Hadash) ha-yeshanot*, doc. 108.
90. *Diariusz Szymona Okolskiego*, p. 70, quoted in Tomkiewicz, *Jeremi Wiśniowiecki*, p. 111.
91. *Pney Yehoshua* (*Responsa* of Yehoshua), pt. 2, doc. 68.
92. *AIZR*, vol. 3, doc. 1.
93. *Responsa Bach (Beit Hadash) ha-yeshanot*, doc. 27.
94. See, for example, the *Responsa* of Maharam of Lublin, doc. 86; or *Responsa Bach (Beit Hadash) ha-yeshanot*, doc. 52, although they do not belong precisely to the area of Ukraine. The killing of Jews in Bile Pole is mentioned, but it is said that they were tried in a court and executed. From the testimony presented it is difficult to reconstruct what happened. See *Responsa Bach (Beit Hadash) ha-yeshanot*, doc. 60.
95. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 12, pp. 28-29.
96. *Responsa of Rabbi Itshak Halevi*, doc. 15. Although the exact place of the event is not mentioned, there is no doubt that this was the general custom.
97. *Responsa Bach (Beit Hadash) ha-yeshanot*, doc. 146.
98. The roots of the prohibition are evidently in Byzantine Christian legislation. See S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 70, fn. 128.
99. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 227.
100. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 228.
101. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 229.
102. Kardaszewicz, *Dzieje dawniesze miasta Ostroga*, pp. 118-19.
103. *AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 2, p. 415.
104. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 245.

105. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 13, pp. 29-30.
106. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 14, pp. 30-32.
107. *RAV*, vol. 4, pp. 33, 37.
108. *AIuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 6, doc. 314.
109. *AZR*, vol. 3, doc. 146.
110. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 7.
111. Most Jews lived in separate neighborhoods, on the "Jews' street" (in Lutsk, Volodymyr, Kiev, Ostroh). But this did not mean total separation, since there were also Christian houses in these neighborhoods and even churches (in Volodymyr). The Jews feared separation. In several towns, as we have mentioned, it was forbidden to buy parcels of land from gentiles lest a continuous Jewish territory be formed. That was dangerous from a security standpoint, since it was feared that during an enemy attack or riots, the burghers might abandon the Jewish part of the town.
112. *Responsa* of Maharam of Lublin, doc. 43.
113. According to *Ba'al Mas'at Benjamin*, doc. 29.
114. *AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 2, p. 393.
115. The charters of rights date from 1620. For Bohuslav—*AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 3, doc. 7; for Pereiaslav—*AIZR*, vol. 10, doc. 9.
116. The Polish government had banned such raids, since they disrupted relations between Poland and Turkey.
117. *Jurydyka* meant the area of jurisdiction of the castle or of the nobles or churchmen within a royal or private town.
118. *ZD*, vol. 5, pp. 144-47. See fns. 56 and 57, above.
119. *AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 3, pp. 177-78.
120. Kurbsky, *Zhizn*, vol. 1, p. 324.
121. Bersohn, *Dyplomatariusz*, doc. 237.
122. Rawita Gawroński, *Sprawy ukraińskie* (Lviv, 1914), p. 194.
123. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 5.
124. *AIuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 1, pp. 111-12.
125. *Responsa Masat Benyamin*, doc. 86.
126. *ZD*, vol. 5, p. 173. 180; M. Baliński, *Starożytna Polska* (Warsaw, 1843), vol. 2, p. 897.
127. *AZR*, vol. 3, doc. 72.
128. *TsASK*, bk. 965, doc. 1589.
129. *TsASK*, p. 77.
130. *ZD*, vol. 5, p. 41.
131. Baliński, *Starożytna Polska*, vol. 2, p. 981.
132. Mukhnov, doc. 237.
133. *AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 3, p. 68.
134. *AIuZR*, pt. 5, vol. 1, pp. 134-35.
135. Kurbsky, *Zhizn*, vol. 1, p. 326.

136. *AIZR*, vol. 10, pp. 520-24; *AIuZR*, pt. 7, vol. 3, doc. 7. On that same occasion the king forbade both the burghers and the Jews to go out on military campaigns of their own accord.
137. Bershadsky, *Materialy*, doc. 11.
138. There were Jews living in villages, especially lessees, but their numbers were still small and they maintained ties with their towns of origin. In this period they were still referred to by the name of their original communities. The strengthening of security in Ukraine brought about the dispersal of the Jewish population into smaller and less fortified towns, but this dispersal did not become substantial. Even in the steppe, settlers were more numerous in the towns than in the villages.

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The Khmelnytsky Uprising and Ukrainian Nation-Building

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The question of "nation" and "nation-building" is a minefield on which the scholar must tread with trepidation. The terms of the discussion—"nation," "nationality," "people," "nation-state"—are at the core of the problem, because they are invested with diverse meanings and great emotion. In using them we frequently become caught up in models: historical and non-historical nations, West and East European nation-building, old and new nations, etc.[1] For the purposes of this discussion, we shall resort to a tried and true model—the distinction between a cultural nation and a political nation. The cultural nation, today frequently described as "ethnic," is a linguistic and cultural community often encompassing both elites and masses (in the past, however, high culture was confined to the literate minority.) The Germans and Armenians of the seventeenth century were such nations, with the distinction that the latter was also a religious community, followers of the Armenian church. The political nation designates a community with allegiance to a political entity, a sovereign state or a local *patria*.[2] In this sense, Bavaria, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Scotland were all seventeenth-century political nations. For early modern Europe, political nation refers primarily to the elite orders who enjoyed privileges and rights in a given territory or fatherland. Such elites could belong to two or more political-national communities (e.g., the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.) The distinction between cultural and political nations is not clear-cut, since no one would deny that political circumstances influenced cultural communities and that linguistic, cultural, and religious affairs influenced political communities. The discussion here leaves aside the endless debate on the nature of modern nations and nationalism, since it is confined to the early modern world. It does not deny that national communities and concepts of nation underwent substantive transform-

ations in the modern age, but it assumes that both have their origins in an earlier period.

A Polish scholar, Józef Chlebowczyk, has put forth a heuristic model for European nation-building that emphasizes the relationship between culture and politics.[3] He separates the evolution of the West European model (state community–language community–national community) from that of the East European model (language community–national community–state community). While he examines mainly nineteenth- and twentieth-century processes, Chlebowczyk avoids the mistakes of Western scholars who declare Eastern Europe a terra incognita for nation-building before 1800 and who see nation-forming as an almost mechanical process through which nineteenth-century national awakeners, influenced by new German ideology, formed national movements that transmitted nationhood to the masses.

Chlebowczyk is also careful to differentiate what are usually called the historical nations of Eastern Europe from the non-historical. In essence, historical nations are those that have existed for considerable periods as political nations, whereas non-historical nations have been almost exclusively ethno-linguistic or cultural nations. The experience of Eastern Europe, however, shows that Chlebowczyk has inaptly named his models, since his "East European variant" does not apply to the historical nations of the region.

Despite the general "stateless" situation of East European nations in 1800, they had different pasts that were to be reflected in different futures.[4] However unfortunate the terms "historical" and "non-historical" nations are, the Poles and Hungarians certainly differed from the Slovenes and Slovaks. The former had long, continuous state traditions, claimed territories beyond their ethnic-linguistic territory as part of their legacy of political control, and had native political elites—nobles dedicated to national and political traditions. The latter had not formed long-lasting political entities, had never existed as united distinct territories, and had no traditional national elites. Polish and Hungarian nationhood was always political—Slovak and Slovene nationhood was at first merely cultural. The strong traditions of Polish and Hungarian medieval and early modern statehood and the *de facto* existence of Hungarian statehood after 1867 distinguish them from the typically "non-historical" and "East European" (according to Chlebowczyk's model) Slovaks or Slovenes.

Between these two extremes fall the Czechs and the Ukrainians. The Czechs had an old historic state, a political and cultural tradition of greatness, and a territory that, although integrated into the Habsburg domains, remained distinct as historic provinces. While unsuccessful, the

Czechs of the nineteenth century focused on the Bohemian "State-Right" and their claim that the Habsburgs should restore the rights of the Czech Crown. By the late eighteenth century, however, the Czech literary language had atrophied and the Czech elite had been assimilated to German culture and Habsburg political loyalty. Therefore, the Czech national movement of the nineteenth century revived Czech culture and marshalled Czech speakers to acquire positions of political, social, and economic power.

The Ukrainians had been the centre of a great medieval empire and had maintained distinct political entities to the fourteenth century (Galicia-Volhynia). Then, after they were integrated into Polish and Lithuanian states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they lost much of their traditional elite to assimilation and conversion. At that point, they followed a singular course in nation-building in early modern Europe. They engendered a new military elite, the Cossacks, who established two polities in the core Ukrainian lands. In the late eighteenth century these polities, the Hetmanate and the Zaporozhian Sich, were abolished and the elite of the Hetmanate were integrated into the nobility of the Russian Empire. By 1800, the Ukrainians, in contrast to the Czechs, had no distinct administrative historic territorial entity. Nevertheless, they probably retained a higher portion of their traditional elite as part of their cultural nation and had more recent traditions of a distinct political nation in control of a *patria*.

In the nineteenth century, Czech nation-building proceeded much more rapidly than Ukrainian, particularly because language became the most important criterion of nationhood. Crucial to the difference between the two peoples is the distinction between the Western and Eastern Christian worlds. The Western Christian peoples began replacing Latin as their secular language—and, in the case of Protestants, their sacred language—during the late medieval and Renaissance periods. The Eastern Christians clung to their sacral languages, which in many cases were more closely related to their modern vernaculars. By the fifteenth century the Czechs had produced a major vernacular literature that in the nineteenth century would inspire a literary national revival. Old Ukrainian literature was written in the Eastern Church's sacred language. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries early literature written in the vernacular never drove Slavonic from the field. Therefore the modern Ukrainian linguistic-literary movement created a new literary language based on the popular vernacular rather than reviving an earlier tradition.

The vernacular linguistic circumstances of the two nations also differed. While the Czechs' assimilators were the Germans, from whom they were clearly linguistically distinct, the Ukrainians' assimilators were

the linguistically akin Poles and Russians. Hence, in the nineteenth century, the Ukrainian movement was to face greater difficulties than the Czech in forming a modern linguistic-cultural community. The difficulties were magnified by the differing political, cultural, and socio-economic conditions of Bohemia and Galicia within the Habsburg lands and between the Habsburg and Romanov domains. These differences furthered the Czech movement and hindered the Ukrainian.

In 1800, the Ukrainians seemed to have some advantages over the Czechs in the process of nation-building, largely because of the different fate of the seventeenth-century revolts in Bohemia and in Ukraine. The Bohemian estates rose against Habsburg centralizing policies and increasing Catholic pressure. When they were put down, the Habsburgs had a free hand even to create a new elite and to emasculate the Bohemian Crown. The period that followed the Battle of White Mountain of 1620 is usually called the "Darkness" in Czech historiography. In contrast, the Ukrainian Cossacks led a revolt against Poland and Catholic pressure that tore part of Ukraine away from the Polish state. By establishing a new political, social, and cultural order, the revolt engendered a new political nation in Ukraine and renewed the cultural nation. The Bohemian revolt retarded Czech nation-building, whereas the Khmelnytsky revolt advanced the process in Ukraine.[5]

Other early modern revolts also affected the process of nation-building. The primary examples are the Netherlands, Portugal, and Catalonia.[6] In recent years, historians have criticized Pieter Geyl's view that the Dutch-speaking community expressed its nationality in the revolt in the Low Countries.[7] Certainly, however, the revolt cast the die for the nation-forming process in those disparate linguistic, cultural, and political possessions of the King of Spain in the German Reich. Rarely has there been an example as clear-cut of a new political order forging a new culture and identity as in the Dutch Republic. New ruling classes and a new official faith, Calvinism, served to reinforce that national identity.

The Golden Age of the United Provinces overshadowed the destruction and dissension that had occurred during the revolt. The revolt did leave many untidy ends. Begun in the south, it succeeded in the north, leaving the Spanish Netherlands eventually to form a Belgian identity common to French and Dutch speakers, based on Habsburg loyalties and Catholicism. Modern linguistic nationalism has subsequently made Walloons and Flemings "nations" within the "Belgian nation," and history keeps them apart from their respective linguistic kin in the Netherlands and France. But if the Spanish Netherlands and nineteenth-century Belgium were, at least, united in a Catholic faith, the Dutch Republic and its Calvinist ethos were to encounter great difficulties

in trying to integrate the large Catholic minority in the Republic into the national community. If the Dutch Republic was too large in religious territory, it was also too small in linguistic territory. In general, the outcome of the revolt, or war of independence, has been the major determinant of the Dutch nation, but it left behind the major obstacles of integrating divergent religious groups and of dealing with the divide of Dutch speakers.

On the Iberian peninsula, two other early modern national struggles were fought by subjects of the Spanish king.[8] The restoration of the Portuguese Kingdom was the simpler—the elite of a long-separate kingdom reasserted its political separateness and restored a collateral of a traditional dynasty after an interlude in which attempts were made to integrate it into the domains of the Spanish Habsburgs. With this action, the political existence of the Portuguese nation and Portuguese cultural integrity were ensured. There would be at least two national communities in Iberia.

Far different was the revolt of the Catalans.[9] Catalonia, a medieval county that became part of the Kingdom of Aragon, contained most, but not all, of the Catalan-speaking population. Mediterranean-facing Catalonia found itself at odds with the Atlantic Spanish Empire centred in "provincial" Castilian Madrid. At the same time, Castilian had made inroads against the Catalan tongue. Military exactions unleashed a long revolt in which the elite and the masses took part, albeit at different times and for different reasons. The rebels called on the French for aid. Ultimately, Catalonia was reduced to obedience, with the transfer of two Catalan-speaking districts to France as the major political change occasioned by the revolt. Catalonia did not become a third independent Iberian state. Its political autonomy was curtailed further, and use of the Catalan language was continuously circumscribed.

The loss of Catalan political autonomy in an increasingly centralized Spanish state did not put an end to the problem. Linguistic nationalism in the nineteenth century revived Catalan consciousness, and the resistance of the Catalans, based in part on the memory of their great revolt, continues to plague Spain to this day. As we shall see, in Ukraine parallels exist with the Dutch, Portuguese, and Catalan nation-building experiences. Contrasts exist as well, however.

What was the state of Ukrainian nationhood prior to 1648?[10] Of course, we can deal with this complex question only in the most general terms. In contrast to the West Slavs and the South Slavs, who had from the first consolidated into separate political entities generally comparable to the modern nations of the region, the formation of the far-flung Kievan Rus' state constituted an extremely important, though fleeting, period of

East Slavic unity. This period, which left behind a name, "Rus'," a dynasty, and a faith, made the process of forming nations in the East Slavic territory extremely complex and extended. By the sixteenth century, clear distinctions were made between the Ruthenians and the Muscovites that reflected different political, social and cultural characteristics, though views that they were both part of Rus' were also expressed.[11] The Ruthenians included the Ukrainians and Belarusians, and they were viewed as one cultural-linguistic-religious community of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Had a Ruthenian polity existed, we might have two rather than three East Slavic nations today. Instead, the Union of Lublin of 1569, which removed most Ukrainian-speaking territory from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, furthered the process of differentiating the Belarusian and Ukrainian peoples, who already lived under different geographic and economic conditions. It also served to consolidate a Ukrainian-Ruthenian community by placing Western Ukraine (already Polish-ruled before 1569) and Eastern Ukraine—Lviv and Kiev—into one political entity, the Kingdom of Poland. This furthered the integration and mixing of the Ukrainian population, as did the massive west-to-east migration. All the while, however, the two parts of Ukraine continued to have different legal and linguistic administrations, as well as different social orders, *de facto*. Unlike Western Ukraine, Eastern Ukraine, in particular, contained numerous magnate-princes and the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

Although the Volhynian, Kiev, and Bratslav palatinates that were annexed to the Kingdom of Poland in 1569 were not a united political entity, they shared a legal code different from that of the Kingdom, Ruthenian as their official language, and guarantees for the Orthodox church. These particularities made these territories (to which the Chernihiv palatinate, conquered from Muscovy in 1618, was added in 1635) a *de facto* Ruthenian-Ukrainian regional bloc, an incipient *patria*, and engendered in its noble elite the sense that they were a Rus' political nation. The West Ukrainian territories, although not part of this political grouping, contained many petty nobles who had a strong identity as Ruthenians. But, just as the Ruthenian nobles of the Ukrainian lands were becoming more articulate in expressing their Ruthenian identity, they were diminishing in number through assimilation and religious conversion and were being diluted by migrants from Poland, thereby undermining the sense of a separate identity for a Ruthenian political elite. While nobles were the only recognized political nation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, three other social groups played a major role in early modern Ukrainian nation-building. The Ruthenian burghers, discriminated against by the Catholic urban patriciates, developed a

strong Ruthenian identity and communal organizations. At times they cooperated with the nobles in defending the Orthodox church, thereby emphasizing a Ruthenian link across the noble-common divide. The Cossacks in Eastern Ukraine were a military frontier population excluded from participating in the nobles' Commonwealth, but possessing an organizational structure that at times made them a virtually autonomous entity in the lands they inhabited. They had the potential to contest the nobles' political and social position, and their support of the Orthodox church associated them strongly with the Ruthenian identity. The identification of the Cossacks with the Ruthenian tradition was primarily propagated in writings of the Orthodox clergy. Although composed of both nobles and commoners, all the Orthodox clergy was relegated to a subordinate position in Catholic Poland and Lithuania.

The entire Ruthenian community of the Commonwealth—Belarusians and Ukrainians—drew its identity largely from the Orthodox Rus' church. In its popular name (the Rus' faith) and in its historical-cultural traditions, the Orthodox church provided an institutional structure that united the Ruthenians and demarcated them from the Latin Christian Poles and Lithuanians. From the early fourteenth century, after the metropolitans of Kiev took up residence in Russian territory (end of the thirteenth century), the rulers of Galicia-Volhynia, the grand dukes of Lithuania, and the kings of Poland had sought a separate metropolitan for their Orthodox subjects. The final creation of two metropolitan sees for the East Slavs in 1458, and the severance of the allegiance to Constantinople of the metropolitan see of Moscow, furthered the differentiation of religious and cultural life between the Ruthenians and the Russians. The existence of one church structure for the Belarusians and Ukrainians served to reinforce the perception of the unity of one Ruthenian nation. The shift of the church's centre to Kiev with the return of the metropolitan to his titular city in the 1580s made the Ukrainian land, in general, and the city of Kiev, in particular, the focus of the Rus' community.

In the sixteenth century the Ruthenian community declined in number as many nobles and burghers converted to Protestantism and Catholicism. Despite translations of scriptural works into Ruthenian in the 1560s, a separate Ruthenian branch of Protestantism, which would have made the Ruthenian community multi-religious, did not emerge. Also, despite loyalties to the Rus' land and Ruthenian ancestors, Orthodox converts to Roman Catholicism inevitably came to be viewed as Poles as they accepted the faith of the *Liakhs* or Poles.

The Union of Brest was the first real fissure in the conterminous situation of the Orthodox church and the Rus' "nation." The refusal of

both Uniates and Orthodox to accept a religious divide in the Rus' church seems to have been motivated partly by concepts of communal unity. By the first decade after the Union, the Orthodox showed that they would continue to wear the mantle of the Rus' national church, for the Uniates had proved unable to inspire widespread loyalty or to gain numerous converts. Even as this situation changed, the Uniates had more success in the Belarusian than in Ukrainian territory. That created a religious divide between Belarusians and Ukrainians, since the Ukrainian areas of Galicia, the Dnieper basin, and most of Volhynia remained staunchly Orthodox. Conversions of Orthodox in Ukraine were almost all to Roman Catholicism rather than to the Union, although the energetic efforts of Bishop Metodii Terletsky of Kholm in the 1630s demonstrated that in time the Union might have more success in the Ukrainian lands.

The defence of the faith was described as the defence of the Rus' nation. The enterprise drew in more and more elements of the population, including Cossacks and burghers, just as religious polemics were sharpening the arguments of the literate classes on national history and traditions. Schools, printing presses, and confraternities arose as part of a cultural revival stimulated initially by the Latin Christian and Polish challenge and later by the internal community religious polemics. It was accompanied by a rediscovery of the Rus' past—an argument on the tenth-century conversion of Volodymyr resounded throughout the Rus' land. With it came greater attention to the Rus' state that once had been centred in Kiev.

The weakest link of this cultural revival for Ukrainian nation-building was the language question. Even though Slavonic was not fully comprehensible to most Ukrainian speakers, the clerical intelligentsia viewed it as the preferred literary language. Ruthenian was used for a new literature and for communication, but, deprived of the authority of Slavonic, it began to give way to Polish, a closely related language useful throughout the Commonwealth.

By 1648, Ukraine was a land in which the elements of national consciousness were rapidly developing, precisely because of the threat to the national inheritance. Still, they remained inchoate. The Ruthenian nobility had only somewhat coalesced into a political nation, with a national myth distinct from that of the Polish nobility. The lands incorporated into Poland at the Union of Lublin had only the rudiments of a separate administrative-legal structure. The various orders cooperated only under duress. The native culture had developed rapidly, but still continued to lose the elite to Polish culture. The Orthodox church had revived and it continued to serve as an institutional framework for Ruthenian identity, but the Uniate church put the association to the challenge, while the

increasing influx of Latin Christians and the growing number of converts undermined the position of the Orthodox church in the Ukrainian lands. The Ruthenians of Ukraine had a more developed sense of being a cultural nation, an ethno-linguistic-religious community with a history and culture (albeit frequently in conjunction with the Ruthenians of Belarus), than the socio-political elite had of being a political nation defending regional particularism in a Rus' *patria* in Ukraine. But, by 1648, a Rus' national consciousness, which had barely existed in Ukraine in the mid-sixteenth century, had strongly emerged. With it, nation-building made major advances just as major losses were also occurring by assimilation and integration into the Kingdom of Poland.

To what degree did national sentiment inspire and influence the Khmelnytsky revolt? We do, after all, have a contemporary case, Portugal, in which a successful revolt was undertaken primarily for national reasons—the restoration of national statehood. We also have the example of the Catalan revolt, in which the opposition to Castilian intrusion combined with Catalan patriotism to incite a great uprising. In judging the role of national sentiment in the Khmelnytsky revolt, we must be careful to distinguish elaborated expressions of national sentiment from widespread popular xenophobia. We also face difficulties in separating the general expressions of national sentiment from the usual goal of nationalism in the modern age, namely, the establishment of a national state. Finally, we must be aware of how closely religious and national sentiments were intertwined in the conception of Rus'.

Extant general manifestos of the rebels in which they presented their reasons for embarking on the war are few. Among them there are certainly no calls for a "national-liberation" war. Unlike in Portugal or Catalonia, no kingdom or well-defined united regional institutions existed for a traditional elite to defend as an embodiment of the "nation." Indeed, the Ukrainian revolt was not launched by a traditional political elite, and even though many nobles joined the revolt, the great nobles opposed its social radicalism. The first statements by the rebels declaring national goals were not made until after Christmas of 1648, including Khmelnytsky's vow that no longer was he fighting for his own cause, but for the liberation of the entire Ruthenian people as far as Kholm and Lviv. While the account of Khmelnytsky's comments of early 1649 included a programme for overthrowing Polish rule in all the Ukrainian lands, and a declaration of hostility against the Poles, the years following brought few elaborated statements of the national elements of the revolt, and those few were intermixed with views of the "Poles" as class and religious enemies. It was not until 1655-56 that Khmelnytsky returned to an open espousal of the unification of the Ukrainian lands and the

overthrow of Polish rule in Western Ukraine as his goal.[12]

If we have few "proto-nationalist" statements by the rebels, we do find that the revolt was immediately viewed by its contemporaries as a conflict between the Rus' and Polish nations. The Rus' "nation" was in rebellion, and in Polish statements resentment against the Rus' nation was expressed in conjunction with anti-Orthodox and anti-Cossack feelings.[13] The amalgam of national, religious, and social factors makes each component difficult to delineate, but, in seventeenth-century terms, the war certainly took on national dimensions. Regrettably, we know more about Polish attitudes toward the war as a national conflict than we know about national sentiments among the Ukrainians. Nevertheless, the taunt of a Cossack colonel to the Ukrainian Orthodox magnate, Adam Kysil, who served as a Polish emissary—"Bone of our bone, you have abandoned us and joined the Poles"—apparently conveyed a widely held sentiment.[14] Whether we choose to call this sentiment national, tribal, or xenophobic, it is clear that anti-Polish feeling, strengthened by its combination with anti-Catholic and anti-landlord-magnate views, pervaded the revolt.

The rebirth of Ruthenian historical consciousness that began in the late sixteenth century informed the leadership of the revolt, which was in practice establishing a new political entity. Knowledge of a Rus' political past underlay Khmelnytsky's self-designation as Rus' autocrat (*samoderzhavets' ruskyi*), as it did the expression of the poet who attached a panegyric to the Zboriv register of 1649, stating that "Rus' had fallen under the twelve sons of Volodymyr, and was being raised up under the twelve sons of Bohdan."[15] The idea that the Volhynian, Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihiv palatinates or some part of them formed a political entity derived from the regional concepts of the pre-1648 Rus' nobility. Khmelnytsky echoed that political idea when he asserted that unlike Poland and Lithuania, Rus' had not sworn allegiance to Jan Kazimierz. In reality, however, the Ruthenian nobles of the lands incorporated under the Union of Lublin had provided no full political programme for a Ruthenian *patria* before 1648, although they had expressed regionalist dissent in the name of Rus' and its Orthodox church. In this fluid situation the Zaporozhian Cossacks, as they formed their new polity, were ultimately able to take over the role of a Ruthenian "political nation," but the process was a slow one and its articulated programme emerged only at the end of Khmelnytsky's hetmancy and the beginning of Ivan Vyhovsky's. A national interpretation of the revolt was fully elaborated only at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the works of Samuil Velychko and Hryhorii Hrabianka.

To what degree the popular masses viewed themselves as part of a

Ruthenian national community cannot be known. Two factors speak for widespread Ruthenian national sentiment. First, the church was defined as Ruthenian; the faith was the Ruthenian faith. The struggle between the Uniates and Orthodox for control of the Ruthenian church had involved large segments of the population. Certainly the burghers had been active in forming a network of Rus' Orthodox confraternities that spread throughout the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands, and the Cossacks had actively intervened in church affairs. Through such struggles and organizational activities, some sort of Ruthenian consciousness that united men beyond their village or town must have reached much of the population. Second, the seventeenth-century Ukrainians were a mobile people. The Carpathians were still being colonized through the sixteenth century. Men from all over the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands were being brought together in the Bratslav, Kiev, and Zaporozhian lands, far from their native villages. Here a heightened consciousness could form, as it would among immigrants to the New World in the nineteenth century, who only became aware of their common Italian, Polish, or Ukrainian identity when they contrasted their linguistic and cultural similarities to inhabitants of distant villages and towns in the Old Country with their "otherness" from other immigrant groups and the native American population. Indeed, seventeenth-century Ukraine contained "other" groups—Poles, Jews, Tatars, Armenians—who could serve to remind the peasants, burghers, and Cossacks that they were all Ruthenians.

In 1648, economic interest, ties of corporate order, religious loyalty, regional solidarity, and sentiments of ethno-historical community all combined into what was perceived as a struggle of the Ruthenians against the Poles. One need not believe in the primacy of national allegiance or the unity of all Ruthenians who carried on the struggle to see that the revolt took on the coloration of a national struggle. The leaders put forth their claims as representatives of Rus', and their opponents saw all Ruthenians as potential traitors. Regional particularism and historical consciousness of the pre-1648 period served as a basis for the view that the emerging Cossack polity represented the Rus' nation and tradition.

The most important result of the revolt of 1648 was to reintroduce the political element in defining Ruthenians. From the Zboriv Agreement of 1649 to the Hadiach Agreement of 1658, recognition grew that at least the territories of the old palatinates of Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihiv should be organized as a Rus' political entity. Of more significance in the long term, the Cossack Host evolved into the civil administration of the core Ukrainian territory. Over the next one hundred years, the polity headed

by the hetman and administered by the Cossack *starshyna* shaped political and national allegiances in Ukraine. The new political formation, combined with its particular social composition, i.e., the designation of a large part of the population as Cossacks, provided the context for a Ukrainian political nation and *patria*. Since this political social order did not encompass all the Ukrainian lands, its role was ambiguous. It was both a piedmont and a distinctive land with a particularist identity.

The revolt was especially significant in differentiating Ukrainians from Poles. The period prior to 1648 had been one in which a maturation of Rus' consciousness occurred simultaneously with an acculturation of the Ukrainian elite to Polish models and, in some cases, assimilation to Polish or Commonwealth identity. Despite their early seventeenth-century development, the distinctly Ruthenian identity and culture were showing signs of slow but inevitable erosion and disintegration within the Kingdom of Poland. That would prove to be the fate of the Ukrainian lands that remained part of the Polish state, but the process was greatly accelerated by the Khmelnytsky revolt, which drew the centre of the Ruthenian cadres and Ruthenian political activities eastward.

In the area where the revolt succeeded, it halted the process of integration of Ukrainians into Polish identity. The revolt drew a sharp line between Poles and Ukrainians as political nations, between the nobles' Commonwealth and the Cossack Hetmanate and Sich. Poles and Polish culture still influenced the Ukrainians of the lands where the revolt succeeded, but they did so as a foreign influence on a community distinct in politics, religion, culture, social structure, and identity. The failure of the Hadiach Agreement demonstrated that the break was final. The Cossack polity became a Rus' in which there could be no *natione Polonus, gente Ruthenus*.

If the Cossack revolt changed the direction of Polish-Ukrainian relations, it nonetheless hastened the preexisting processes that differentiated between Belarusians and Ukrainians. The Union of Lublin had reinforced cultural, economic, and social factors that were dividing the Ruthenians of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Ruthenians of the Kingdom of Poland. These differences were only occasionally expressed, as when Belarusians were called "Litva" and Ukrainians "Rus'." Although the Cossack revolt had reached the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—in particular, the ethnically Ukrainian territories around Horodnia—the "Belarusian" regiment proved to be an ephemeral phenomenon. Cossack campaigns were largely directed toward the West Ukrainian lands, for after 1654, the Muscovites dominated the northern or Belarusian front. Khmelnytsky and, later, the Ukrainian planners of the Union of Hadiach sought to include all the Ruthenian lands of the

Kingdom of Poland in their Cossack polity—that is, the Ukrainian lands. The Ruthenians of the Grand Duchy were falling out of their horizons. Distinctions increased as Ukraine began to be called "Little Russia" and Belarus "White Russia." "Little Russia" had long described Ukraine in whole and in part. In the early seventeenth century it had been used by the Ukrainian Orthodox clergymen to discuss their *Rossiia* and its relationship to Muscovy—*Velikaia Rossiia*. The term *Belaia Rossiia* did not have the antiquity or stability of *Malaia Rossiia*. At first it designated the northeastern lands of Belarus. Now it was broadened to include the Ruthenian lands of the Grand Duchy. In both objective characteristics and subjective views, the Khmelnytsky revolt differentiated between the Belarusians and Ukrainians on a level other than the vernacular linguistic, thus furthering the evolution of two modern nations.[16]

The long-term impact of the period on Russian-Ukrainian national relations is much more ambiguous. The most obvious answer is that through the Pereiaslav Agreement, Khmelnytsky brought the Ukrainians into a political connection with the Russians that was ultimately to result in the political unification of Ukraine and Russia, the creation of the ideology of a "Russian" nation composed of Great and Little Russia, the formation of a joint Russian literary language and culture for the elite, and the linguistic russification of the Ukrainian elite. Such a view is based on the nineteenth-century outcome of the events, far removed from the situation as it existed in 1650s, or, for that matter, from the situation until the early eighteenth century.

What is quite correct is that the revolt and the Pereiaslav Agreement brought Russians and Ukrainians closer than they had been earlier.[17] Before 1648, Russian-Ukrainian relations had consisted of border trade and merchant trips, journeys by Ukrainian clerics to Muscovy in search of alms, settlements by Ukrainians across the frontier into the area of Putyvl and Sloboda Ukraine, and the intervention of Ukrainians in Muscovite affairs during the Time of Troubles, especially the campaign of Hetman Petro Sahaidachny of 1618. These relations were to intensify greatly after 1648, as refugees fled war and plague to Sloboda Ukraine and as more and more Ukrainian clerics took up residence in Muscovy. The settlement of Sloboda Ukraine brought Ukrainian and Russian populations into close proximity for the first time. The Ukrainian clergy's migration to Russia, accompanied by Patriarch Nikon's desire to reform the Russian church, resulted in the recasting of the Russian church and the intensification of the Old Belief schism. The split in the Russian church opened Muscovy to a virtual invasion of Ukrainian churchmen in the late seventeenth century. A third group who came into direct contact with Russians were Cossack envoys and officers, who journeyed to the

Muscovite capital more and more frequently, in contrast to the relatively few missions of the preceding fifty years.

Whereas Ukrainian trips to Muscovy represented tendencies that had predated 1648, Russian trips to Ukraine, except for those made by merchants, were a relatively new phenomenon. Russian clergymen (among them Arsenii Sukhanov) accompanied the Pereiaslav negotiators and then made numerous trips through Ukraine. Russian embassies came to Ukraine frequently and Russian voevodas took up residence in Kiev. Then, too, Russian armies marched into Ukraine.

All these contacts were the beginning of a process of interpenetration that would ultimately culminate in the situation of 1800. In the 1640s and 1650s, however, the results of these contacts were very different. Apparently, they led to an increased consciousness of the two peoples' differences that could not be overcome by any theory of dynastic rights or historical descent. Even linguistic similarities and a common Orthodox faith did not become binding forces, for translations between the two peoples' literary languages were necessary, and then two very different Orthodox traditions viewed each other with hostility. Different political and social structures served to reinforce concepts of estrangement between the *moskali* and the *rusyny* or *cherkesy*. The triumph of the Cossack system in Ukraine probably only reinforced the differences between the two societies, as even the formerly similar institution of serfdom went into decline in Ukraine. Hence, in their early stage, the new contacts probably reinforced the views and broadened the numbers of people in Ukraine who saw themselves as distinct from the Muscovites or Great Russians. Paul of Aleppo, an Arab prelate who travelled in Muscovy and Ukraine, left some of the best testimony of the popular conception of how alien the two lands were at the time.[18]

While the revolt of 1648 in general served to reinforce the Ukrainians' sense of distinctiveness from their neighbours, it also began to break down concepts of unity among Ukrainians. Before 1648, the centre of Ruthenian cultural and religious life had shifted to Kiev, and the Zaporozhian Cossacks had come to play an important role in Ruthenian consciousness and "national" life (albeit more actively in the 1620s than in the early 1640s). In the first surge of the revolt, the Cossack order extended through the entire Ukrainian territory, and in the late 1640s and early 1650s it still had a chance of embracing almost all the lands incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland by the Union of Lublin, including Volhynia, as well as the Podolian palatinate. But despite Khmelnytsky's plans in 1656 and the strivings of the negotiators of the Hadiach Agreement, the land of the Cossacks, "Ukraine," did not include the West Ukrainian lands. Instead, it expanded eastward and northward

to include the Left Bank. Ukrainian Cossack formations even extended into former Russian territory. The centre of the new polity and the Ukrainian nation was situated firmly on the banks of the Dnieper. Ultimately, the "old Ukraine," the Right Bank and towns such as Chyhyryn, would be lost to this socio-political order and the "new Ukraine" of the Poltava and Chernihiv region would remain the heartland of the Hetmanate and later Ukrainian national tradition. It played this latter role until at least the 1930s. The regional division of the Ruthenians of Ukraine into the Cossack nation of the centre and east and the non-Cossack nation of the west had already begun by 1658. With the shrinking of the Cossack Ukrainian polity, even the seventeenth-century concepts of Ruthenian unity of all "Little Rus'" receded. By the late eighteenth, the political or historical unity of "Ukraine on Both Banks of the Dnieper" had also become merely a memory.

The Khmelnytsky uprising is an important example of change in a social constituency and a political nation during the process of nation-building. Before 1648, Ruthenian nationhood had been embodied in the nobility in accordance with the Polish model, although the princes occupied a special position that had no place in the Polish system. The role of the princes, epitomized at the end of the sixteenth century in the powerful figure of Prince Konstantyn Ostrozky, declined as the Polish *szlachta* model took root and as more and more wealthy and great princes converted to Catholicism. At the same time, the nobles of both the old lands of the Kingdom of Poland and the lands incorporated during the Union of Lublin were assuming the social and political outlook, but not the social structure, of the Polish nobility. With this came the view that the Ruthenian Orthodox nobles were the political nation of Rus', an allegiance that did not, however, negate their participation in the political nation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a whole. Conversions in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century diminished the numbers and influence of this Rus' political nation. Consequently, the burghers of the major cities and, later, the Cossacks came to play a greater role in Ruthenian national affairs than that exercised by any non-noble group in the Polish territories in Polish affairs. Although the burghers began the Rus' cultural and religious revival and pioneered concepts of a Rus' *natio*, or cultural-religious-historical community, they lacked the wealth, the strength of arms, and the unity among their burgher communities to supplant the noble Rus' nation. By contrast, the Cossacks, despite their lower cultural level and weaker tradition as representatives of the Rus' nation, had the strength and the means to protect the Rus' church and to overturn the political and social order. The "nationalization" of the Cossacks in the 1620s and the extension of the Cossack order beyond the

lower Dnieper, which had waxed and waned since the 1590s, prepared the ground for the shift of the Rus' political nation to the Cossacks.

The number of inhabitants of Ukraine who were officially recognized as Cossacks by being enrolled in the register and who called themselves Cossacks expanded tremendously. The Zboriv Agreement mandated 40,000 Cossacks, and the Pereiaslav Agreement authorized 60,000. Counting wives and children, this made hundreds of thousands of people part of the new Cossack order. Even larger numbers were considered Cossacks in mid-seventeenth-century Ukraine. Indeed, central Ukraine, where about one million people lived, became the Cossack land, although large numbers of burghers and peasants still lived there, as did some nobles and clergy. Between 1648 and 1658, the terms "Cossack," "Ruthenian," and "Ukrainian" came, in a loose sense, to be synonyms. The process was far from smooth, as the Cossacks only gradually took on their new role and Ruthenian society only slowly accepted the change. By the late 1650s, the Cossacks had come to represent the land of Ukraine and Ruthenian national interests. Their military conquest had created a new political nation to embody early modern Ukrainian nationhood, although from the first the officers and elite groups sought to monopolize rights and privileges.

The revolt ensured that Ukrainians—Cossacks, burghers and clergy—would remain the dominant group in the cities and towns of the area where the revolt succeeded. Otherwise, the towns might have followed the pattern of Ukrainian towns further west, where Poles, Jews, and others were gaining dominance in the economy and later in number. It was still realized that the Ruthenians of the West Ukrainian lands, where Cossacks did not take root, were part of the same cultural-historical community as Cossack Ukraine. But after the 1650s, the Western Ukrainians had almost no political nation left to represent them, and their "nationhood" was institutionalized solely in their church. Only in areas of the Hetmanate did a native Ukrainian landed gentry (Cossack *starshyna*) and burgher traditions develop in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Khmelnytsky years reshaped the religious component in Ukrainian nation-building. Khmelnytsky's victories sealed the unity of church and nation. The Union was rooted out and Roman Catholics and Protestants were weakened wherever the rebels triumphed. Nevertheless, the higher Orthodox clergy, many of whom were nobles, only reluctantly accepted the new role of the Cossacks. They were also aware that any identification with the rebels on their part might cause the loss of the Ukrainian and Belarusian eparchies and parishes outside the rebels' control, and they strove mightily to keep their jurisdiction over them.

While their efforts in the eparchies of Lviv and Peremyshl constituted, in practice, an attempt to maintain Ukrainian national unity, their striving to retain the Belarusian lands was an attempt to keep the entire Ruthenian community intact. Their subsequent failure, and the Muscovite church's assumption of authority over the Belarusian dioceses conquered by Muscovite armies in 1654, would further the national differentiation between the Belarusians and the Ukrainians.

Although in the long run the common Orthodoxy of Russia and Ukraine would retard Ukrainian nation-building, in the 1650s the church continued to play a largely positive role in the process. The higher clergymen strove to keep their church separate from the Moscow patriarchate and to maintain the particular legal order and religious customs of Ukraine. While the Muscovite delegation in 1654 cited a common Orthodoxy as a reason for Ukraine to pass under the tsar's suzerainty, the Ukrainian higher clergy seemed to view Moscow's Orthodoxy as a threat to their autonomy. By reaffirming the ties of "Little *Rossiia*" to Constantinople, Metropolitan Sylvestr Kosov sought to keep his church as distant as possible from "Great *Rossiia*" and its church. Through most of the 1650s, the church continued to be a unifying and differentiating factor for Ukrainian nationhood and to have an integrating role for the new Cossack Ukrainian identity, despite its reservations about the Cossack leaders. In 1659, however, the insistence of Russian envoys that the Pereiaslav Agreement had included the transfer of Kiev to Moscow's jurisdiction prefigured an end to this role for the church. With the transfer of the Kiev metropolitan see to the Moscow patriarchate in 1685-86, the Orthodoxy viewed as a necessary characteristic of Ukrainian nationhood could be seen as a unifying factor for "All-Russian nationhood." At the end of the seventeenth century, the Kievan see was diminished, Western Ukraine went Uniate, and the autonomy of the Orthodox church eroded, thereby greatly changing the role of the church and religion in Ukrainian nation-building.[19]

For Ukrainian nation-building, the study of the national past was essential in establishing Ukrainian identity. Interest in the past of the Ukrainian land and writings about the history of Kievan Rus' had characterized the decades prior to 1648. That history-writing both answered the needs of a newly awakened historical consciousness and stimulated further growth of that consciousness. At the same time, by the 1620s, the Zaporozhians had become the subject of historical discussion (the Hustyn Chronicle).

Little new historical writing was composed by Ukrainians in the period 1648-1658. Rather, the decade was one in which history was being made, so much so that it would remain the focal point for all writings on

the Ukrainian national past well into the nineteenth century. It redirected history-writing from the Kievan Rus' past to the causes and aftermath of 1648, and provided a heroic age that occupied both the learned and the popular imagination. It also provided new producers and consumers of history in the persons of the Cossack administration: by the turn of the eighteenth century, the officials of the Cossack Hetmanate—Roman Rakushka, Samuil Velychko, Hryhorii Hrabianka and Stefan Savytsky—were setting down the history of Khmelnytsky's great war. Among the clergy, too, writers of its history were to be found. By 1672-73, the abbot of St. Michael's Monastery of the Golden Domes, Teodosii Sofonovych, included the Cossack wars in his account of the Ruthenian people's history. The panegyrist who wrote in the Zboriv register that what the sons of Volodymyr had let fall, the sons of Bohdan would elevate gave expression to an essential change in Ukrainian historical consciousness. By restoring a political history to the Ruthenians, the revolt created a heroic age that would become the subject of a new national historiography within two generations after the uprising.[20]

The Cossack revolt also had positive consequences for the national language. The administration of the Hetmanate used a Ruthenian language close to the vernacular Ukrainian of its inhabitants. Both the decline in use of Ruthenian and the polonization of the language were reversed. Polish was not, of course, forgotten: it continued to have a major influence in the Hetmanate well into the eighteenth century. What did occur was that numerous official and literary works were written in Ukrainian, and these, in turn, became part of the national legacy. Still, in the fervently Orthodox Hetmanate, Slavonic continued to be the preferred tongue of the clerical and lay elite, educated together at the Kiev and, later, Chernihiv and Pereiaslav academies. That preference retarded the growth of the vernacular as education reached deeper and deeper into the Hetmanate's society. Ultimately, the Slavonic that tied the Ukrainian cultural elite to Russian Slavonic culture would be transformed into a Slavono-Rhossic language that came to be more and more like the hybrid Russian language of the eighteenth-century Empire.

In the first decade of the revolt, few works of art and literature were created and many others destroyed. Nonetheless, the uprising greatly influenced the revival of a distinct and vigorous Ukrainian culture. Paul of Aleppo, travelling in Ukraine with Patriarch Macarius in the 1650s, was impressed by the beauty of the singing, painting, and architecture he encountered there. These attainments stemmed from an amalgam of Slavonic Orthodox and Western culture that was forged throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although declining in numbers, the Ruthenian Orthodox nobles had continued to patronize the work of

churches and monasteries throughout Ukraine. Nevertheless, by the 1640s, the convert Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, the Chernihiv castellan Aleksander Piaseczyński, and new Polish migrants to Ukraine were channelling Ukraine's wealth toward Latin Christian churches and art works. Suddenly the revolt shifted the government and the lay elite back to patronage of the Eastern church. From the benefactor Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky to Cossack colonels and Kaniv burghers, those who rose through the revolt were building churches and schools and commissioning icons and portraits. The process began as early as the 1650s. By the early eighteenth century, the new patronage had produced the famed Kiev of the Golden Domes.

It would be impossible to envisage the flourishing of the Cossack or Ukrainian Baroque without the great revolt. War and the Soviet authorities have destroyed much of this inheritance, but in literature, music, art, and architecture, the Baroque of Cossack Ukraine still stands as the Ukrainian national period *par excellence*—a fusion of Western, Eastern, and indigenous traditions. A comparison of its achievements with the relative poverty in national culture of the Ukrainian lands that remained under Poland in the eighteenth century shows how great a difference the uprising, the reassertion of Orthodox dominance, and the creation of a new Ukrainian political nation made. With the decline of the Hetmanate and the coming of new styles—classicist and international—the tradition of the Ukrainian Baroque would give way to a new Imperial tradition: painters—Boryvykovsky, Levytsky—and musicians—Bortniansky, Vedel—who had been nurtured in the Ukrainian cultural milieu would contribute their talents to the new Imperial culture and capitals. Without the period from 1650 to 1750, however, it would be impossible to speak of a distinctive national Ukrainian style before the nineteenth century, with the possible exceptions of Kievan Rus' architecture and the Galician icon school. Modern Ukrainian intellectual and cultural leaders turn to this period again and again as a source of inspiration and self-identification.[21]

The uprising also affected the complex question of the Ukrainian national name.[22] The traditional Ukrainian *Rus'*, *Rusyn*, *ruskyi* (in various spellings) had in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries been supplemented by *Rossiia* and *rossiiskii* in Orthodox clerical and intellectual circles. In reviving the higher and Hellenistic form, some clerics also resurrected *Malaia Rossiia* for their land, differentiating it from the state and people of *Velikaia Rossiia*, usually called *Moskva*. More and more frequently, the inhabitants of the Ukrainian lands used *Rus'* to define their territory alone, rather than in combination with the Belarusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This geographic use of *Rus'* was often

confined to the palatinates of Volhynia, Kiev, Bratslav and Chernihiv. In the seventeenth century *Ukraina* was the borderland of the Polish-Lithuanian state—usually the Bratslav and the vast Kiev palatinates, although the *ukrainni* or borderland palatines at times also included Volhynia and Chernihiv. Among the Muscovites, the place or population of Ukraine were often called *Litva*, referring to its former inclusion in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, while the Cossacks and the Ukrainians were called "Cherkassians," referring to a major town of the region.

The revolt changed this complex onomastic-topographic mix in a number of ways. First, "Ukraine" came to be used more frequently and widely as a geographic and national name for the territories of the Cossacks. That term, as well as "Rus'," often figured in discussions as equivalents of "Poland" and "Lithuania." The secular Khmelnytsky employed *Rus'* and *ruskyi* to define his people—a people centred on the Dnieper, primarily the inhabitants the Kingdom of Poland, but still potentially including the Orthodox of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Clerics continued to prefer *Rossiia*. The major path of development, however, was to accept the Ukrainian convention of calling Ukraine *Malaia Rossiia* to distinguish it from *Velikaia Rossiia* (Muscovy). By 1654, the tsar altered his title to reflect the Pereiaslav Agreement, changing the former "Rusiia" to "Velikaia and Malaia Rossiia." "Belaia," reflecting the Muscovite triumphs in the Belarusian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was added in 1655. In everyday practice the Muscovite officials continued to regard Ukraine as the "Cherkassian" or "Cossack" land, a reflection of Khmelnytsky's use of "Zaporozhian Host" to define his Cossack polity.

The revolt had, therefore, advanced the process of naming the Ukrainian land and people. It had increased the use of "Ukraine" by expanding the territory served by the designation and giving it political and cultural connotations. "Ukraine on Both Sides of the Dnieper," as early eighteenth-century Cossack historians called it, evoked loyalty and emotion as the homeland of the great revolt and the Cossacks and was anthropomorphized in historical and folk songs. When Ukraine was divided into a Polish-controlled Right Bank and an autonomous Hetmanate on the Left Bank at the turn of the eighteenth century, the Hetmanate used *Malorossiia* as its self-designation, whereas the use of "Ukraine" for the Right Bank reflected a return to the concept of Poland's borderland. Still, the Ukrainian national awakeners of the early nineteenth century chose "Ukraine" and "Ukrainians" rather than the more historically based and commonly used "Rus'" and "Rusyny" in part because of the identification of "Ukraine" with the revolt and the seventeenth-century Cossack Hetmanate.

If "Ukraine" was to be a term beloved by the Ukrainian national awakeners and resisted by opponents of the national movement (tsarist Russia and interwar Poland), *Malorossiia* was in modern times to be viewed as a term of derision or capitulation to Russian imperialism. It was not always so. In the eighteenth century, Ukrainians of Left-Bank Ukraine proudly called their homeland *Malorossiia*, identifying the term specifically with the Cossack Hetmanate. In the seventeenth century, *Malorossiia*, like the Cossack Hetmanate, encompassed a much larger part of Ukrainian territory. As used by the Ukrainian clergymen of the early seventeenth century and by the tsarist officials of 1654, *Malorossiia* included the Ruthenian lands of the Kingdom of Poland to the very Lviv and Kholm that Khmelnytsky claimed. Therefore, while the Cossack hetman and his followers preferred "Ukraine" and "Rus'" as designations, the revolt also stabilized *Malorossiia* as a national name for Ukraine and Ukrainians. By the early eighteenth century, the term *Malaia Rossiia* diminished in usage to the territories of the Cossack Hetmanate still under the tsar's sovereignty. In practice this polity claimed the "Little Russian" political-cultural inheritance. By the nineteenth century, *Malorossiiane* was once again used to name all Ukrainians, albeit, increasingly, only by those who viewed them as a branch of the Russians. The usage had roots in early seventeenth-century Ukrainian clerical circles, but it was the revolt that had given *Malorossiia* a new political significance.

Finally, the revolt made "Cossack" a common adjective for defining national and political entities in Ukraine. "Cossack Ukraine," the "Cossack Ruthenian people," the "Cossack language," and "Sarmatian Cossack Little Russia" were all terms in use by the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. As Ukraine became the land of the Cossacks, so the Ukrainians became a "Cossack people." Since, during the revolt, at least half the population of the Dnieper basin called themselves Cossacks, the identification reflected a reality. Even by the end of the century, the Cossack political nation remained a greater percentage of the population of the Dnieper basin than the *szlachta* nation was of the population of the Commonwealth. As the "Land of the Zaporozhian Army," "Ukraine on Both Banks" was a Cossack land, with offshoots—Sloboda Ukraine in the east and Zaporizhzhia in the south—created by advancing Ukrainian settlement.

The revolt thus established and defined national names for the Ukrainians that have continued to be used variously to the present time. There are those who believe that the revolt merely impeded the difficult process of selecting a national name by undermining "Rus'" and "Ruthenian (Rusyn)." From the seventeenth-century perspective, however,

the revolt created new political, social, and cultural realities in Ukraine that required a new use of names.

What was the significance of the revolt in the long-term process of Ukrainian nation-building? The question is as difficult as that process was complex. To have been an irreversible, decisive, and unequivocally formative event, the revolt would have had to create an enduring polity (like the Dutch), or a political nation with an elite that survived political failure (like the Polish *szlachta* of the nineteenth century), or the basis for a national culture that developed uninterruptedly despite political disasters and loss of elites. These were the foundations that early modern societies could lay for modern nation-building. In these terms, the revolt, despite its great impact on early modern nation-building, did not directly form the modern Ukrainian nation.

Not only did the Cossack Hetmanate not become a fully independent state, but the office of hetman was abolished in 1764 and the polity's administrative institutions were dismantled in 1783. The area was transformed into Russian Imperial gubernias. The Imperial Army had already sacked and destroyed the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775. Hence, by the end of the eighteenth century no autonomous polity or even unified administrative entity remained.[23]

The revolt had given the Cossacks dominance over a large part of Ukraine. In the more stable eighteenth century, an elite group based on heredity as well as office had emerged from the Cossack officer ranks. By the early eighteenth century, the Cossack order showed signs of dissolution as its upper strata aspired to noble status and its lower strata were transformed into peasants or were frequently required to render labour services. The numerous Cossacks were no longer an effective or conscious political nation by the end of the eighteenth century. Rather, it was the upper stratum of the Cossacks that was the political class representing the autonomy and historical traditions of the Hetmanate. Although it resisted the abolition of the Hetmanate and treasured its distinctive traditions, it was too new as a political nation and too similar to the Russian elite in language and religion to long resist the blandishments of integration into the Russian Imperial *dvorianstvo*. When in the first half of the nineteenth century the Imperial government made clear that Ukrainian particularist or nationalist sentiments would be punished, even the last patriots of the elite abandoned their Ukrainian sentiments. The Hetmanate's elite did not prove to be a Polish *szlachta* flying the national flag against the autocracy.

Finally, for the reasons outlined earlier, no stable Ukrainian-language literary culture developed to serve as the basis for modern Ukrainian literature and language. The artistic and musical accomplishments of the

Hetmanate came to a dead end with the demise of the polity. In large measure, the intelligentsia it had produced helped create a Russian Imperial culture that inundated Ukrainian culture in the late eighteenth century. The Kiev Academy, the intellectual glory of seventeenth-century Ukraine, was to be outshone at the end of the eighteenth century by Moscow University and the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg. The academy's conversion into an Orthodox church seminary in 1819 symbolized the subordination and provincialism of Ukraine's cultural and academic life. Even the extensive primary school system for which the Hetmanate was famous in the eighteenth century disintegrated by the early nineteenth century. Hence, a national awakening and new stimulus were necessary to form a vernacular literature and to advance a modern cultural model.[24]

This is not the place to investigate why these events at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries occurred. It is necessary, however, to state that the consequences of the revolt were not as unequivocal as they seemed. The uprising did play a major role in Ukrainian nation-building by forming and passing on a national tradition, even according to the three criteria listed above. We must also examine two other issues: the revolt's impact on the Ukrainian masses, and its significance as a symbol and force in national mythology.

Of the three elements that the revolt and Hetmanate could have contributed to Ukrainian nation-building, the political seems the most negative. Still, as long as the tsar, the other party to the Pereiaslav Agreement, ruled, the political issue was not quite dead. Catherine II hoped that once the hetmans were no more, their very name and age would be forgotten. It was not to be. Movements for Ukrainian autonomy harkened back to the Pereiaslav Agreement and charged the tsarist government with breaking its terms. The first manifesto for Ukrainian independence in Russian Ukraine, drafted in 1900, legitimized its cause on the grounds that the tsardom had not lived up to the agreement. Even discussions of Ukrainian-Russian political relations in the Soviet period—official, dissident, and émigré—inevitably revolved around Pereiaslav. In modern Ukrainian political life, descendants of hetmans' families (Ivan Skoropadsky and Dmytro Doroshenko) played major roles, and governments as well as political and military formations harkened back to Cossack models. Still, these aspects were primarily related to mythology and tradition, not to the immediate political consequences of the revolt or the formation of the Hetmanate.[25]

The issue of the continued significance of the political and social elite is more complex. The political nation of the Cossack elite did not maintain its corporate and political institutions and as a group did not

lead the Ukrainian national movement. It did, however, inspire it and provide it with cadres. The political literature aimed at maintaining the autonomy of the Hetmanate culminated in *Istoriia Rusov*. Written in the first decades of the nineteenth century and circulated among the "Little Russian" nobility, this political tract about Ukrainian history was one of the first statements of the modern Ukrainian national movement. As creators and consumers, the old elite began modern Ukrainian cultural life. Even after widespread support among its members had ebbed, nostalgia or aroused historical consciousness could cause a Countess Myloradovych to patronize a Ukrainian cultural organization in Austrian Galicia or a Doroshenko and Skoropadsky to lead a Ukrainian political movement.

Most important was the cultural link. *Istoriia Rusov* both marked the beginning of modern writing on historical themes and served as a "source" for the unwary who wrote Ukrainian history. Bohdan, the revolt, and the Hetmanate were its major themes. When, in 1798, an official of the old Hetmanate, Ivan Kotliarevsky, used the people's language in a travesty of the *Aeneid*, a common practice in eighteenth-century Europe, he turned Aeneas and his followers into Cossacks. Modern Ukrainian literature was thus written by and about representatives of Cossack Ukraine. Romantic poets, who were to solidify the new literature and literary language, turned to the chronicles and histories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to the *duma*s and historic songs, and to the dramatic events of Bohdan's revolt and the Hetmanate. Painters, architects, and musicians followed in their footsteps.[26]

Nationalism, rooted in German Romanticism, was something new. It was a movement that awakened Slovak, Slovene, and Kashub, and one that roused Magyars and Poles. In the nation-building process, the Ukrainians were ahead of the first three peoples, who had experienced few elements of a pre-modern national existence. In comparison with the latter two, however, they lacked the political-social continuity of the Magyars and the political-social-cultural continuity of the Poles. If the Ukrainians, like the Czechs, seem to fall between the two groups, it was because of the revolt and its consequences.

Comparisons are always oversimplifications, but to understand the significance of the revolt and the Hetmanate, one should also compare the Ukrainians with the Belarusians. There are, it is true, a number of factors that explain the greater dynamism of the Ukrainian national movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Ukrainians were more numerous and lived in a richer and more rapidly developing land. They had the advantage in some areas of a "national" church (the Uniate in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Galicia) and of Austrian

constitutionalism. Nevertheless, the more rapid development of the Ukrainian movement can be explained to a great degree by the fact that unlike the Belarusians, who lost their elite to polonization and Roman Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and remained a peasant people until the twentieth, the Ukrainians established a new native polity, elite, and national tradition in the seventeenth century. Well into the nineteenth century, the territories of the old Hetmanate remained a land where Ukrainians constituted an important group among the upper and urban classes.

Nation-building is often viewed as a top-down process in which the masses are the malleable clay. Without discussing the validity of that argument, one can see a major impact of the revolt on the shaping of the modern Ukrainian nation through its influence on the masses. The revolt substantially changed the area of Ukrainian settlement. Whether to escape war or the return of landlords and Polish rule, Ukrainians migrated eastward. Throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century, migrations went in various directions as people fled devastation or oppression, but on balance the movement was definitely to the east and south. It continued to follow the pre-revolt tendencies. Now, however, the Hetmanate served as a magnet for ambitious or committed Orthodox Ruthenians, thereby draining Western Ukraine and, at times, the Right Bank of these elements. Defeat and war measures drove settlers beyond the old Commonwealth-Muscovite border into Sloboda Ukraine. There they reformed Cossack units, which remained apart from the Hetmanate and whose institutions existed at the sufferance of the tsar. Still, their formation extended Ukrainian settlement and Ukrainian Cossack traditions to Kharkiv and beyond, where they finally met the Russian line of settlement.

The revolt gave the masses of the Ukrainian population a chance to better their lot and to take part in historical events. It is extremely difficult to assess popular memory. Legends, historical songs, and *dumas* deal with the Cossacks and frequently reflect the Khmelnytsky revolt, though not all are favourable to the leader and the consequences of his policies. Well into the eighteenth century, peasants claimed that their personal freedom was based on the Cossack sword. If Ukraine became a treasure-house for nineteenth-century Romantics, it was because heroic traditions about the Cossack age survived among the population at large. If the *dumas* inspired the Romantic poets, their works, in turn, evoked a response among even illiterate peasants, for, similar in form and theme, they could be intoned like the minstrels' performances. Of course, in the nineteenth century, the two-way process of collecting folklore and influencing folklore was well advanced, but the vividness and recentness

of the Khmelnytsky revolt ensured that a mass consciousness with its own interpretation of the events could exist.

The most important impact on Ukrainian nation-building was to come from subsequent interpretations of the revolt and their formation of the national mythology. The intellectuals of the Cossack Hetmanate used the revolt to legitimize their political and social order. As the direct descendants of the revolt, these officers and nobles sought to emphasize its national and religious aspects and the struggle to "regain" privileges. Those who have argued that nineteenth-century Ukrainian historians first tried to give the revolt national overtones and portray Khmelnytsky as a national leader have not given careful reading to Hrabianka (1709), Velychko (1720) or the play "The Liberation of Ukraine from Polish Servitude by the Lord Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky" (1728). Setting quibbles about the differing nature of "early modern" and "modern" national consciousness aside, it was the national interpretation of the revolt in these texts that profoundly influenced the early nineteenth-century Ukrainian historians and poets.[27]

The subsequent interpretation of the revolt is, in essence, the history of Ukrainian national and political thought. For all the subsequent disputes about the wisdom of the Pereiaslav Agreement, the policies of Bohdan, and the maturity of national and political thought, one is hard pressed to find a Ukrainian intellectual (except the later Panteleimon Kulish) who saw the revolt as negative. To do so would be to reject a central event of Ukrainian history, comparable to the Christianization of 988 or the national revival of the early nineteenth century. In addition, the revolt and the Cossack period reaffirm the Ukrainian self-image as a democratic if anarchic people in contrast to the aristocratic, oligarchic Poles and the autocratic, servile Muscovites. From the "Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People" to the present, Ukrainians have seen their tradition as enshrining the struggle for freedom embodied by the Cossacks and the Great Revolt.

The revolt has also stood at the centre of national conflicts in Eastern Europe. In Russian-Ukrainian relations, interpretations of the Pereiaslav Agreement and its enactment have been fought over and debated from the seventeenth century to the present. In the 1970s, when a group of Ukrainian dissidents arrived in Moscow to establish cooperation with Russian dissidents, their hosts questioned them about the Pereiaslav Agreement. In the dominant Polish tradition, the Khmelnytsky revolt is the first in a long series of attacks on and underminings of the Polish cause and "Western civilization" by the Ukrainians. Sienkiewicz's "Cowboys and Indians" treatment of the revolt turned it into the base line from which many Poles survey all Ukrainian relations. In much of

Jewish writing, the revolt is placed in the first stage of Ukrainian anti-Semitism. The centuries of subsequent Jewish existence between Ukrainians and their rulers convinced many Jews that Ukrainian revolts and national strivings were dangerous for them. In all three cases, the Ukrainians' own interpretations of the events of 1648 affect their attitudes toward the three peoples. In any event, modern national relations in this part of Eastern Europe begin with the Khmelnytsky revolt.[28]

In examining the continuity or discontinuity of Ukrainian history, the revolt and the Cossack Hetmanate provide the link between medieval Rus' and the Ukrainian national revival of the nineteenth century.[29] They also links the intellectual and religious revival of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Ukraine with the modern revival. Modern Ukrainians were formed by two great events. The Union of Brest provoked the controversies and polemics in religious life that stimulated Ukrainians to self-awareness and definition. The Khmelnytsky uprising created a new social and political order. The social scientist may prefer the safe year of 1800 as the beginning point of modern Ukrainian nation-building and nationalism. The specialist in early modern Europe can see that modern Ukrainian nation-building and national consciousness have their roots in the hundred years before the uprising, and that the uprising advanced the process of forming the Ukrainian nation.

Notes

1. The literature on nations and nationalism is vast. For this discussion, the most important works are Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, 2d ed. (New York, 1967); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986); John Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States* (London, 1977), and Orest Ranum, ed., *National Consciousness, History, and Political Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1975).
2. On the role of the *patria* in early modern Europe, see J. H. Elliott, "Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe," *Past and Present*, 42 (February 1969), pp. 35-56.
3. Józef Chlebowczyk, *Small and Young Nations in Europe: Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East Central Europe* (Wrocław, etc., 1980).
4. On nations in early modern Eastern Europe, see Ivo Banac and Frank Sysyn, eds., *Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986) = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 10, no. 3-4 (December 1986).
5. For a discussion of Bohemia and the Czechs in the early modern Habsburg state, see R. G. W. Evans, *The Making of the Hapsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700* (Oxford, 1979).

6. On the early modern revolts, see Roger Merriman, *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (Oxford, 1938), and Robert Forster and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore, 1970).
7. See Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands (1555-1609)* (London, 1932), and J. W. Smit, "The Netherlands Revolution," in Forster and Greene, eds., *Preconditions of Revolution*, pp. 18-54.
8. On the Iberian revolts, see the essay by J. H. Elliott in Forster and Green, eds., *Preconditions of Revolution*.
9. See J. H. Elliott, *Revolt of the Catalans* (Cambridge, 1963).
10. See Frank E. Sysyn, "Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Role of National Consciousness and National Conflict in the Khmelnytsky Movement," in Peter J. Potichnyj, ed., *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present* (Edmonton, 1980), pp. 58-82; and Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa kozaczyzny i szlachty ukraińskiej v XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 1988).
11. For an opposing view, see I. I. Lappo, *Ideia edinstva russkogo naroda v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v epokhu prisoedineniia Malorossii k Moskovskomu gosudarstvu* (Prague, 1929).
12. On Khmelnytsky's political goals and historical views, see I. P. Krypiakevych, "Sotsialno-politychni pohliady Bohdana Khmelnytskoho," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1957, no. 1, pp. 94-105; F. P. Shevchenko, "Istorychne mynule v otsintsi B. Khmelnytskoho," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1970, no. 12, pp. 126-32; and Stephen Velychenko, "The Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Ideas on the Politics of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Cossack Officers between 1648 and 1657" (Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics, 1980).
13. 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,'" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 5, no. 4 (December 1980), pp. 430-66.
14. Frank E. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600-1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), p. 213.
15. For the panegyric, see Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 9 (reprinted New York, 1957), pp. 1523-26.
16. On terminological discussion, see A. Solovev, "Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus'," *Voprosy istorii*, 1947, no. 7, pp. 24-30; Mykhailo Hrushevsky, "Velyka, Mala i Bila Rus'," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1991, no. 2, pp. 77-85; Hans Rothe, "What is the Meaning of 'Rossijski' and 'Rossija' in the Polish and Russian Conception of State in the 17th Century?" *Ricerche Slavistiche*, 37 (1990), pp. 111-22. On the issue of the differentiation of the Ukrainian and Belarusian nations, see the bibliography "Discussions on the Origins of the Ukrainian Nation," in Myron Korduba, *La littérature historique soviétique-ukrainienne: Compte-rendu 1917-1931*, reprint of the Warsaw 1930 edition, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 10 (Munich, 1972), pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.
17. On this relationship, see Hans-Joachim Torke, "The Unloved Alliance: Political Relations between Muscovy and Ukraine in the Seventeenth

Century," in Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski, and Gleb N. Žekulin, eds., *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter* (Edmonton, 1992), pp. 39-68.

18. Full Russian and French translations exist. The comments on Ukraine are collected in the Polish translation by Maria Kowalska, *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo* (Warsaw, 1986).
19. For a summary of church affairs in this period, which includes citation of the major and scholarly works, see Natalia Carynnyk-Sinclair, *Die Unterstellung der Kiever Metropolie unter das Moskauer Patriarchat* (Munich, 1970). On the significance of Orthodoxy in Russian-Ukrainian relations, see Hedwig Fleischhacker, "Der politische Antrieb der Moskauischen Kirchenreform," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 2 (1937), pp. 224-33.
20. On history-writing, see Frank E. Sysyn, "Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History-Writing, 1620-1690," in Banac and Sysyn, eds., *Concepts of Nationhood*, pp. 393-423.
21. For a discussion of cultural change, see P. M. Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1978), and my article, "The Cultural, Social and Political Context of Ukrainian History-Writing: 1620-1690," *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986), pp. 285-310.
22. On names, see the literature in fn. 16, above. Also see Omeljan Pritsak and John S. Reshetar, Jr., "The Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," in Donald W. Treadgold, ed., *The Development of the USSR: An Exchange of Views* (Seattle, 1964), pp. 248-49, 255-59; and Jaroslaw Isajewytsch, "Die mitteläterlichen Wurzeln der ukrainischen Nation," in Guido Hausmann and Andreas Kappeler, eds., *Ukraine: Gegenwart und Geschichte eines neuen Staates* (Baden-Baden, 1993), pp. 35-48.
23. On this topic and on social structure, see Zenon Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s-1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).
24. On the integration of the Ukrainian political and cultural elite, see David Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850* (Edmonton, 1985).
25. On the enduring political significance of the Pereiaslav Agreement, see Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Pereiaslav—History and Myth," introduction to John Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study* (Edmonton, 1982), pp. xi-xxiii.
26. On the lines between old and new Ukrainian culture, see George Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko* (Munich, 1971).
27. On the significance of the Cossack chronicles, see my article, "The Cossack Chronicles and the Development of Modern Ukrainian Culture and Identity," in Frank E. Sysyn, ed., *Adelphotes: A Tribute to Omeljan Pritsak by his Students* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991) = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 14, pp. 593-607.
28. For interpretations of the revolt, see Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654*.

29. On the role of the Hetmanate in the formation of Ukrainian national consciousness, see Zenon Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding," in Banac and Sysyn, eds., *Concepts of Nationhood*, pp. 559-76.

The Symbol of Little Russia: The Pokrova Icon and Early Modern Ukrainian Political Ideology

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On 8 December 1654, the very day that the Pereiaslav Council met, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky wrote a letter to the Muscovite tsar, Aleksei Mikhailovich, in which he addressed the tsar by a new title: "Sovereign of Great and Little Russia." The innovation was accepted by the tsar, and the new terms were included in his official title a month later, in February 1654.[1]

The new terms were not used by chance. They signalled that a new concept of Ukrainian identity was emerging. In Khmelnytsky's time, the concept of Little Russia was not fully elaborated. In fact, it changed and developed throughout the whole period of the Hetmanate, the Cossack polity founded by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the middle of seventeenth century and abolished by Empress Catherine II in the 1780s.[2]

The creation of the Little Russian ideology was closely connected with the Orthodox church. It began to take form under Metropolitan Iov Boretsky (1620–1631),[3] and after 1654, it was developed by Ukrainian churchmen in Russian Left-Bank Ukraine. One essential idea of "Little Russianism" was the notion of a common *rossiiskii* (*sloveno-rossiiskii*) people that included both Russians and Ukrainians. The idea was expressed most profoundly in the *Synopsis*, the major historical work to appear in seventeenth-century Ukraine, compiled and first published in 1674 under the supervision of the archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery, Innokentii Gizel.[4] The author of the *Synopsis* presented an elaborate theory of the transference of the Rus' princely sees from Kiev to Vladimir to Moscow, and evidenced strong adherence to the idea of the ethnic and religious unity of the *rossiiskii* people. At the same time,

Fig. 1. Pokrova icon from the village of Deshky.

however, he supported the traditional rights of the Ukrainian clergy against the offensive of the Moscow patriarchate. The response to Moscow's aspirations came partly in the form of presenting Kiev as an equal to Moscow, or, in some cases, as an even more important center of the *rossiiskii* state than that "ruling city." The *Synopsis* undoubtedly reflected the ideology of the Kievan monastic clergy, who supported the idea of the political unity with Moscow but with preservation of the rights of the Ukrainian clergy.[5] That clergy was instrumental in the creation of the Little Russian ideology.

The Ukrainian secular elites arrived at an acceptance of the Little Russian identity by a significantly different avenue. The Ukrainian-Polish agreement at Hadiach in 1658 demonstrated the desire of the Ukrainian nobility and Cossack officers to build a new Commonwealth in which the Rus' nation would have the same rights as the founding nations of the Commonwealth, Poland and Lithuania.[6] Although never implemented, the idea was alive in the early eighteenth century. A poem of the period describes Poland (the Polish state) as the mother of three children: Liakh, Rus', and Lytva. Two of the three, Liakh and Lytva, joined forces to kill the third, Rus', against the will of their mother, Poland:

Вінець мой златий, в Польщі положенний,
В трієх мі чадіх словно уплітенний:
Ляхи, русь, литва—то суть чада моя;
Два возгордіша, взяша мечі своя,
Юнаго брата убить совіщаша,
А мене, матер, зіло обругаша.[7]

It can be assumed that in accepting the Little Russian ideology initially created by the clergy, the Cossack elites were endeavouring to attain the goal that they had failed to realize in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The idea that two peoples, the Great Russians and the Little Russians, would be united under the authority of the tsar, who would also preserve the rights of Ukrainians–Little Russians, was one of the fundamentals in the concept of the *rossiiskii* state as formulated by the Ukrainian intellectuals.[8]

The new Little Russian ideology had a strong impact on the national and ethnic consciousness of the Ukrainian elites. Whereas during the pre-Khmelnytsky period the Orthodox magnate Adam Kysil and other members of the Ukrainian elite were aptly described as *natione Polonus, gente Ruthenus*, the Ukrainian clergy and nobility of the eighteenth century could be defined in terms of nation as *rossiiane* and in terms of ethnic background as *malorossiiane*. By restructuring the idea of the Russian (*rossiiskii*) state, the Little Russian ideology sought to eliminate the contradictions that had existed between the cultural self-identification

of the Ukrainian pre-Khmelnytsky elites and their national political identification. Now, under Russia (*Rossiia*), even the name of the state would reflect their ethnic background (Ruthenian). From the etymological point of view, that name was, indeed, much closer to the Ukrainians than to the Muscovites, the original creators of the state and its ideology.

Historically and ideologically, "Little Russianism" gave the Ukrainian elites a much greater chance to realize their desire for self-rule under Muscovy than "Ruthenianism" had given them under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As subsequent events would show, the Cossacks were much more able to create and preserve a polity of their own in Muscovite Left-Bank Ukraine than they had been in the Polish-occupied Right Bank.

This article considers how the Little Russian ideology was reflected in Ukrainian icon painting. That ideology, once created, influenced all spheres of Ukrainian political, social, and cultural life. It was reflected in many contemporary documents and works, among which icons have received little attention. Historians have, in general, known much less about Ukrainian icons than Russian ones. Subsequent interpretations of "pure Orthodoxy" have regarded Ukrainian icon painting, especially during its "golden age" (from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century) as "spoiled," owing to the introduction of naturalism in the depiction of sacred subjects. That style developed more readily in Ukraine than in other Orthodox lands, partly because of the absence of strong church control over iconographers. The "purists" have also been reluctant to recognize as canonical the "popular icon," which art historians have come to appreciate only in the twentieth century.[9]

Despite the "heterodoxy" of many Ukrainian icons from this period, the composition of most of them was still determined by iconographic tradition. A few iconographic themes, however, allowed iconographers to express the ideas and beliefs of their time more freely. Among such iconographic themes were the Last Judgement, the Passion of Christ, the Elevation of the Holy Cross, and the Feast of the Protection of the Theotokos, or Pokrova.

The iconography of Pokrova as elaborated in Ukraine allowed iconographers numerous possibilities to introduce contemporary elements into iconographic composition. The figures of church hierarchs, secular rulers, and laity portrayed beneath the Virgin's veil, or mantle, tell us a great deal about the forms of religious devotion and the political ideas of early modern Ukraine. The Feast of the Protection of the Theotokos arose from an account of the Virgin's miraculous appearance in the Church of the Blachernai recorded in the "Life" of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ. According to the account, the Theotokos appeared in the Church of the

Blachernai, where her veil, robe and part of her girdle were later preserved. She was seen by St. Andrew the Fool for Christ and his student, Epiphanius. The Theotokos was accompanied by a group of saints, including John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Andrew and Epiphanius saw the whole group poised in the air, above the heads of the congregation. According to the account of their vision, the Theotokos prayed for the people (the appearance took place during one of the sieges of Constantinople by the barbarians), took off her omophorion, and spread it as a shelter (Pokrova) over the people gathered in the church.[10]

The Byzantine church did not know the Feast of the Protection of the Theotokos. It is hard to say why the story became so popular in Rus', or why this special commemoration of the Virgin's appearance and her protection was introduced in the Rus' church. We also do not know the exact date when the feast was instituted. Some scholars maintain that it was established by the Kievan church at the time of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, who may have been the author of the liturgical text of the Pokrova service. Others scholars believe that the feast was introduced in the Vladimir-Suzdal Principality by Prince Andrei Bogoliubsky, namesake of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ.[11]

After the Mongol invasion and the final dissolution of Kievan Rus', the feast of Pokrova became extremely popular in the northern parts of the former state, in the Vladimir-Suzdal and Novgorod principalities. Judging by the number of churches devoted to the Protection of the Theotokos, the feast was especially popular in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. In the iconographic depiction of the Virgin's appearance, two schools existed, the Vladimir-Suzdal and the Novgorod. The rise of Moscow as the political and spiritual center of the developing Russian state resulted in the creation of a Muscovite iconographic school as well. The Muscovite iconographic depiction of the feast combined the features of the Vladimir-Suzdal and the Novgorod schools. It pictured the Virgin standing on a cloud with the omophorion in her hands. The group of people depicted under the Virgin's protection included St. Andrew the Fool for Christ with his student Epiphanius, St. Ananias, a tsar and tsarina, and St. Romanos the Sweet-Singer, who lived in the sixth century and was the author of hymns devoted to the Virgin Mary.[12]

In Ukraine, the iconography of the Pokrova feast originally had its own distinct character.[13] In the fifteenth century, however, this local tradition was lost, and was later replaced by iconographic types borrowed from the North (Novgorod, Vladimir-Suzdal, Moscow) and from the West.[14] Western influences were represented by the iconographic depiction of the Virgin with a mantle ("Mater Misericordiae") as developed in Renaissance Italy. With time, this Western iconographic

composition was incorporated into the Ukrainian tradition of the Pokrova feast. The Western tradition of depicting real individuals under the mantle (protection) of the Virgin helped Ukrainians to create a new type of Pokrova icon and to bring the feast much closer to their earthly life.

The special patronage of the Theotokos in Ukraine was reflected not only in the portrayal of representatives of the local elites under the mantle of the Virgin, but also in the circulation of legends that connected the feast with certain events in local history. Thus, one of the "Teaching Gospels" (*Ievanheliie uchytelnoie*), compiled in Ukraine in 1635, linked the miraculous appearance of the Theotokos and the vision of St. Andrew the Fool for Christ with the Church of the Dormition at the Kievan Caves Monastery. According to the story, related by the compiler of that teaching gospel, the Virgin appeared in the sky during the siege of Kiev by the Tatars and saved the city from them.[15]

Judging by the number of churches devoted to the feast of Pokrova, in Ukraine the popularity of the Pokrova cult continued, especially during the last two decades of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century[16]—the time in Ukrainian history when the Cossacks dominated and the Hetmanate and the Zaporozhian Sich flourished. It is no surprise, therefore, that the iconography of the Cossack regions in Left-Bank Ukraine—the Kiev region and Zaporizhzhia—was heavily influenced by Cossack tastes and that Cossack officers were the primary patrons of the churches. They ordered icons from iconographers and, according to the fashion of the time, wanted to be depicted in them.[17]

The best-known Pokrova icon is that which includes a portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Indeed, this icon often serves as a symbol of Ukrainian icon painting. It provides not only evidence of the development of a Little Russian political consciousness, but also information on Cossack Ukraine's political culture much better than any other icon of the period.

The icon was found in the church of the village of Deshky, not far from the town of Bohuslav (in today's Kiev oblast).[18] (See fig. 1.) It belongs to the iconography of the Pokrova type in Ukraine that was elaborated under the influence of Western iconography. From the West it borrowed not only its composition, in the manner of "Mater Misericordiae," and the depiction of historical persons under the Virgin's mantle, but also other iconographic features. Among them was the reflection of the Catholic belief in the Immaculate Conception. During the early modern period, that belief had strongly influenced the way in which the Virgin was pictured in Western iconography. There the masters represented her as a young woman, or even a teenage girl, full of life and beauty. Traces of the influence of the belief in the Immaculate Conception

can be found in Ukrainian iconography as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.[19]

Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who kept a diary of his travels through Ukraine in 1654 and 1656, wrote about his visit to a monastery in Cossack Ukraine: "...in the church we saw an icon of Our Lady, painted as a young woman crowned. All along our way we saw her portrayed as a maiden, an immaculate virgin, with rosy cheeks."[20] His description exactly fits the Virgin painted on the Pokrova icon from Deshky: she has rosy cheeks and a crown over her head. The crown reflects the influence of another Western tradition—picturing Mary as the Queen of Heaven. That tradition became extremely popular in Ukraine in the eighteenth century, when the practice of including crowns on miraculous icons was introduced, but Ukrainian iconographers were already well acquainted with it at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[21] Despite the Western origin of the composition of the Deshky icon, the local population regarded it as a Pokrova icon. As a result, the Eastern tradition of the Blachernai miracle was linked with the traditions of Western iconography.

Although the icon has been published extensively in recent decades and often serves as a symbol of early modern Ukrainian icon painting, to date no specialized study of it has been written. Surveys of Ukrainian religious painting have dated it variously from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Usually, no explanation or comment about the dating is given.[22] The same is true of the identification of the persons portrayed on the icon. It is generally accepted that the icon includes not only a portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, but also of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. Sviatoslav Hordynsky has stated that the church hierarch pictured on the icon is the Kievan metropolitan Dionisii Balaban.[23] However, Balaban (1657-63), well-known for his support of Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky's anti-Moscow politics, was not a metropolitan under Khmelnytsky: he was installed in the Kievan see only after the hetman's death. Also, an extant portrait of Balaban shows little if any similarity to the hierarch pictured on the Deshky icon.[24]

Identification of the tsar pictured on the icon with the person of Aleksei Mikhailovich is problematical as well. Although it is true that the tsar depicted in the Deshky icon resembles Aleksei Mikhailovich more than any other Muscovite tsar, and that picturing Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Aleksei Mikhailovich together makes sense in terms of chronology, the portrait actually recalls the abstract (ideal) tsars depicted on Ukrainian icons of the early modern period. One such icon is the well-known Pokrova icon from Sulymivka, which was painted in the tradition of Eastern iconography and dates from the 1740s.[25]

The identification of only one figure pictured on the icon is beyond dispute, that of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The inclusion of his portrait is crucial for an understanding of the political ideology of the icon and for answering the question of when and under what circumstances the Deshky icon was painted. To answer that question, we must examine the Pokrova icon from Deshky in the context of the cult that elevated and glorified the memory of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

There are definite traces of the emergence of a Khmelnytsky cult as early as 1649. At that time, speeches and verses glorifying Khmelnytsky were produced by a circle of students at the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* and by Ivan Vyhovsky's chancellery.[26] A common feature of modern studies on the Khmelnytsky revolt and the personality of the hetman is the general belief that the cult of Khmelnytsky created during his hetmancy continued to exist throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. As a rule, Cossack chronicles of the eighteenth century are cited as evidence for this thesis, as are early modern panegyrics devoted to Khmelnytsky, most of which also derive from eighteenth-century manuscripts.[27] The time lapse reflected by the sources is not the result of happenstance: it can be regarded as evidence that no such cult existed during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Some anti-Khmelnytsky writings were being produced during this period, not only by the Poles, but also by some Orthodox clergy. Khmelnytsky had led the Cossacks who had started the war, and the clergy generally placed blame on them for the war's consequences, that is, for the period of travail known as the Ruin. The anonymous author of the political pamphlet entitled "A warning to Ukraine" (1669) mentioned Khmelnytsky only once, and then unfavorably: "...Україна що доброго собі не справила, ані пановат и радит собі не уміла за старого Хмелницкого...."[28]

The first panegyric to Khmelnytsky written after his death apparently derived from the course of rhetoric at the Kievan Mohyla Academy and was delivered there in 1693.[29] It can be considered one of the first indications that the Khmelnytsky cult had reemerged and begun to flourish, probably no earlier than the second decade of the eighteenth century. That conclusion is supported by an analysis of the texts of the Cossack chronicles. The first of them, written by *Samovydets* ("Eyewitness") around 1703, contains no evidence of any special veneration of Khmelnytsky, whereas the second, compiled by the Cossack officer Hryhorii Hrabianka in 1710, not only glorified Khmelnytsky, but represented him as a main hero of Ukrainian history.[30] Verses devoted to Bohdan Khmelnytsky and references to him in other poems occur in manuscripts dating from the 1710s to the 1720s: in the course of poetics,

"Libri tres de arte poeticae...," delivered at the Kievan Mohyla Academy in 1714; in the book of verses, dating from 1719-1720, of Andrii Herasymovych, a student of the academy; and in Hnat Buzanovsky's course "Congeries praeceptorum rhetoricorum...," delivered at the academy in 1729.[31] The idea underlying the famous drama "Mylost Bozhiia...," dating from 1728, is expressed in its full title: "Милость Божія, Україну от неудобносимих обид лядських чрез Богдана Зіновія Хмелницького, преславного войськ запорозьких гетьмана, свободившая...."[32] At around the same time, Samiilo Velychko completed his chronicle, in which he glorified Khmelnytsky.[33] Thus, the period between 1710 and 1729 was indeed the formative one in the creation of a new image of Khmelnytsky.

Why did the numerous panegyrics of the period glorify Khmelnytsky? There were primarily three matters for which he was praised in 1710-1720: (1) the subordination of Ukraine to the Muscovite tsar; (2) the liberation of Ukraine from the Polish yoke; (3) the protection of the Orthodox church. There is no doubt that the cult of Bohdan Khmelnytsky reemerged as an anti-Mazepa cult. Hetman Ivan Mazepa, mention of whose very name was proscribed after he went over to the Swedes, was described in the decrees of Peter I as a traitor of the tsar, an ally of the Poles, and an enemy of Orthodoxy, who wanted to invite the Poles into Ukraine and to introduce the church union.[34] The characteristics ascribed to Bohdan Khmelnytsky by Hryhorii Hrabianka in the foreword to his chronicle may better reveal the meaning of the Khmelnytsky myth for post-Poltava Ukrainians than other writings of the period. Hrabianka characterized Khmelnytsky as a faithful son "of Russia," who liberated Ukraine from the Polish yoke and brought it under the rule of the "Russian" monarch: "...общою возбужденій пользою судих і сего вірнійшого російського сина благоразумного вождя Богдана Хмелницького, Малую Росію от тяжчайшого іга лядського козацьким мужеством свободившого і російському монарсі із стольними гради в первобитность приведшого...."[35]

Thus, the Khmelnytsky cult, which began to reemerge under the hetmancy of Mazepa as part of the growing self-awareness of the Cossack elites and the glorification of Cossack leaders (Ivan Pidkova, too, received high priase), was transformed into an anti-Mazepa cult, the cult of the hetman faithful to the tsar. The Khmelnytsky myth was created by Ukrainians themselves and, from that vantage point, reflected their own aspirations. In glorifying Khmelnytsky, the Cossack elites not only wanted to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the monarchy, but also to secure for themselves the privileges and rights once granted by the tsar to Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

Securing the Cossack rights once granted to Khmelnytsky became extremely important for the Ukrainian elites after the first abolition of the

hetmancy and the introduction of rule by the first Little Russian College in Ukraine in 1721. The restoration of the hetman's office under the new tsar, Peter II, in 1727 created a new wave in the glorification of Khmelnytsky. The tsar decreed that "there be a hetman and officers in Little Russia and that they be maintained in accordance with the treaty of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky."[36] The election of a new hetman, Danylo Apostol, on 1 October 1727 was accompanied by festivities organized not only by Cossack officers, but also by city officials in Kiev. In 1728, the newly elected hetman came to St. Petersburg to participate in the coronation of the new tsar. The main goal of Danylo Apostol's journey to St. Petersburg was "the restitution of ancient Ukrainian rights and liberties according to the treaty concluded with Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky."[37] His mission was a resounding success, in that he received from the Russian government the so-called Confirmed Articles that restored many of the Cossack rights taken away by Peter I.[38] That same year the author of the drama "Mylost Bozhiia...," glorifying Bohdan Khmelnytsky and praising the new Russian tsar, called Danylo Apostol the second Khmelnytsky.[39] Clearly the mood of the whole Cossack society, as reflected in the writings of intellectuals from the Kievan Mohyla Academy, was to apotheosize the memory of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

The reestablishment of the hetmancy and the new glorification of Khmelnytsky in years 1727-1728 had a serious impact on the portraiture of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Apparently, W. Hondius's famous woodcut portrait of the hetman, dated 1651, was rediscovered in Ukraine only around this time. Well-known in Western Europe, the portrait was almost unknown in Ukraine until the first decades of the eighteenth century. Indeed, no Ukrainian copy of Hondius's woodcut dates to that period. The author of the famous portrait of Khmelnytsky in Velychko's chronicle, if he knew of Hondius's work at all, must have disregarded it. He, presumably, based his own portrait of Khmelnytsky on a portrait of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych.[40] (See figs. 2a and 2b.)

The first evidence we have of the rediscovery of Hondius's woodcut dates to 1728, an important year for this study. That same year, a portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky was painted on the wall of the Dormition cathedral in the Kievan Caves Monastery. Although it was covered with paint in 1834, an extant copy shows that the original was based on Hondius's 1651 portrait of the hetman.[41] (See figs. 3a and 3b.) The Khmelnytsky portrait in the Caves Monastery must have become the best

Fig. 2a. Portrait of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych (turn of the eighteenth century).

Fig. 2b. Portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky from the Velychko Chronicle.

Fig. 3a. Portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky by W. Hondius (woodcut, 1651).

Fig. 3b. Copy of the portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky from the Kievan Caves Monastery (1728).

known of all of the hetman's portraits, for thousands of Ukrainians made pilgrimages to the monastery. It served as a model for many popular paintings of Khmelnytsky, including the painting called "Bohdan with Regiments," which was preserved until the 1880s in the village of Subotiv, the family estate of Khmelnytsky. As numerous scholars, from Hnat Khotkevych to Pavlo Zholtovsky, have proved, the painting is an illustration of "Mylost Bozhiia."[42] What scholars did not notice was that the painting definitely relied on the wall portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the Kievan Caves Monastery, which dates to the same year (1728) as the drama.

The years 1727-1728 unquestionably played an important role in the creation of the Khmelnytsky myth and the establishment of his iconography. It was around this time or, possibly, somewhat later that the Pokrova icon of Deshky must have been painted. There is no evidence that the portrait of Khmelnytsky contained therein was based on the Khmelnytsky portrait in the Caves Monastery, but it is clear that the iconographer made use of Hondius's woodcut or one of its later copies.

The icon from Deshky is one of the best reflections of the Khmelnytsky cult in eighteenth-century iconography. The cult, as it reemerged in the eighteenth century, symbolized the new unity of the secular and church elites of the Hetmanate. The verbal attacks of the clergy on Cossack officers that occurred in the 1660s-70s and the 1710s (after Mazepa's defeat) came to a halt in the 1720s. The development of Pokrova iconography, which allowed Cossack hetmans and officers to be depicted on icons side by side with church hierarchs, reflected the new unity of these elites.

The Khmelnytsky cult was an important part of the Little Russian ideology and reflected one of the most crucial ideas in its development. Restructured after the Poltava defeat, the cult symbolized the final victory of "Little Russianism" over the idea of Ukrainian independence, which had begun to develop in Ukraine under Hetman Ivan Mazepa and was expressed in the writings of his General Chancellor, Pylyp Orlyk. The Khmelnytsky cult had to reflect the loyalty of the Cossack elites to the tsars as well as their desire to preserve the office of hetman and the Cossack privileges once granted to them by the tsars.

The development of the Khmelnytsky cult should be viewed in the context not only of the legacy of Poltava, but also in that of a new Ukrainian identity in which the cult of the hero had an important place. Despite the criticism directed against "Little Russianism" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Little Russian ideology was a most important step in the development of modern Ukrainian national consciousness and identity. In contrast to the "Ruthenianism" of the pre-

Khmelnytsky elites—who did not perceive themselves along modern national (Ukrainian and Belarusian) lines, but, instead, shared a common "Ruthenian" consciousness—the Little Russian ideology was the first to provide a foundation for modern Ukrainian self-awareness and self-consciousness.

Notes

1. The notion that the innovation first appeared in the tsar's title in Bohdan Khmelnytsky's letter was expressed by M. Hrushevsky in "Velyka, Mala i Bila Rus'," *Ukraina*, no. 1-2 (1917), reprinted in *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 2 (1991), pp. 77-85. The Khmelnytsky letter was published in *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmelnytskoho*, I. Krypiakevych and I. Butych, comps. (Kiev, 1961), p. 316. As far as we know, the tsar himself first used the new terms in a letter dated 7 February 1654. See *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei: Dokumenty i materialy*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1954), pp. 543-46. S. Soloviev, in his "Velikaia, Malaia i Belaia Rus" (*Voprosy istorii*, no. 7 [1947], pp. 24-38), indicated two tsarist decrees, from 1649 and 1652, that used the new terms, but expressed doubt about their authenticity; he dated the official introduction of the terms to March 1654. Soloviev stated that the terms had a Ukrainian origin and that their introduction into the tsar's title was related to the tsar's negotiations with Hetman Khmelnytsky.
2. On the history and abolition of the Hetmanate, see Z. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s-1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).
3. The first indications of the new ideology can be found in I. Boretsky's letter to the tsar dated 24 August 1624, and in the letter of the Orthodox bishop Isaia Kopynsky to the Moscow patriarch dated 4 December 1622. See *Vossoedinenie*, vol. 1, pp. 27-28, 46-48.
4. See H. Rothe, *Sinopsis. Kiev 1681. Facsimile mit einer Einleitung* (Cologne, etc., 1983) (= *Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven*, vol. 17). On Ukrainian history writing of the seventeenth century, see Iu. Mytsyk, *Ukrainskie letopisi XVII veka* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1978); F. Sysyn, "Concepts of Nationhood in Ukrainian History-Writing, 1620-1690," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3-4 (1986), pp. 393-423; idem, "The Cultural, Social, and Political Context of Ukrainian History-Writing: 1620-1690," *Europa Orientalis*, no. 5 (1986), pp. 285-310.
5. On the role of Kiev in the historical conception of the *Synopsis*, see Rothe, *Sinopsis*, 85-95. On the attitudes of I. Gizel and his circle toward Moscow, see V. Eingorn, *Ocherki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII veke: Snosheniia malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitelstvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mikhailovicha* (Moscow, 1899), pp. 993-1000.
6. On the Hadiach Agreement, see A. Kamiński, "The Cossack Experiment in *Szlachta* Democracy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: The Hadiach

(Hadziacz) Union," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1977), pp. 173-97.

7. *Ukrainska literatura XVII stolittia. Synkretychna pysemnist. Poeziia. Dramaturhiia. Beletrystyka* (Kiev, 1987), pp. 284, 564-65. These verses, called the "Hlaholet Polshcha...," come from a manuscript written in the early eighteenth century.
8. The idea of the equal rights possessed by Little Russians and Great Russians is best expressed in Semen Divovych's "Razhovor Velikorossii s Malorossiei" (1762). See *Ukrainska literatura XVIII stolittia. Poetychni tvory. Dramatychni tvory. Prozovi tvory* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 384-414.
9. One of the best-known representatives of the "purist" approach to early modern icon painting was L. A. Uspensky. See his *Bogoslovie ikony Pravoslavnoi tserkvi* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 275-314. On the penetration of Western influences into Ukrainian iconography of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, see M. Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII stolit* (Kiev, 1978); S. Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth to XVIIIth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1973), pp. 19-22.
10. On the Pokrova feast and iconography, see N. Kondakov, *Ikonografiia Bogomateri*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1915), pp. 92-102; The latest and most extensive study of the topic is M. Gębarowicz's *Mater Misericordiae, Pokrow, Pokrowa w sztuce i legendzie Środkowo-Wschodniej Europy* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, Łódź, 1986).
11. See Sergii, Arkhiepiskop Vladimirskii, *Sviatyi Andrei, Khrista radi iurodivyi, i prazdnik Pokrova Presviatyia Bogoroditsy* (St. Petersburg, 1898). For a more recent discussion of this problem, see A. Aleksandrov, "Ob ustanovlenii prazdnika Pokrova Presviatoi Bogoroditsy v Russkoi Tserkvi," *Zhurnal Moskovskoi patriarkhii*, 1983, no. 10: pp. 74-78; no. 11: pp. 69-72.
12. See *Stroganovskii ikonopisnyi litsevoi podlinnik: Kontsa XVI i nachala XVII stoletii* (Moscow, 1868). On "understanding" Russian Pokrova iconography, see K. Onash, *Icons* (New York, 1963), pp. 344-45, 353-54. On the development of the Pokrova iconography, see J. Myslivec, "Dvě ikony 'Pokrova,'" *Byzantinoslavica: Sborník pro studium byzantsko-slovanských vztahů*, no. 6 (Prague, 1935-1936), pp. 191-212; A. Ovchinnikov, "Ikona 'Pokrov'—klassicheskii obrazets suzdalskoi zhyvopisi," *Sokrovishcha Suzdalia* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 155-175; Ie. Smirnova, *Zhyvopis Velikogo Novgoroda: Seredina XIII–nachalo XV veka* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 223-27.
13. See the publication of the thirteenth-century Pokrova icon from Galicia (Western Ukraine) in L. Miliaeva, "Pamiatnik galitskoi zhyvopisi XIII veka," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia*, no. 3 (1965), pp. 249-57.
14. Data on the development of the "Northern" and "Western" traditions in Ukrainian iconography of the Pokrova feast are provided in the following studies: G. Logvin (H. Lohvyn), *Ukrainskoe iskusstvo X-XVIII vv.* (Moscow, 1963), p. 85; idem, "Monumentalnyi zhyvopys XIV–pershoi polovyny XVII stolittia," *Istoriia ukrainskoho mystetstva*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1967), p. 164; L. Miliaeva, *Stinopys Potelycha: Vyzvolna borotba ukrainskoho narodu v mystetstvi XVII st.* (Kiev, 1969), p. 106; O. Sydor, "Tradytsii i novatorstvo v ukrainskomu maliarstvi XVII-XVIII st.," *Spadshchyna vikiv: Ukrainske maliarstvo XIV-XVIII st. v muzeinykh kolektsiiakh Lvova* (Lviv, 1990), p. 39. On the Western

iconography of the Virgin with a mantle, see P. Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde: Étude d'un thème iconographique* (Paris, 1908); Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*. On the development of Pokrova iconography in Belarus, which also experienced significant Western influences, see M. Putsko-Bochkareva, "Belorusskie ikony Pokrova," *Materyialy mizhnarodnai navukovai kanferentsyi "Tsarkva i kultura narodaŭ Vialikaha Kniastva Litoŭskaha i Belarusi XIII–pach. XX st.,"* bk. 4, pt. 3 (Hrodna, 1992), pp. 527-31; N. Vysotskaia, *Zhyvapis Belarusi XII–XVIII st. Freska. Abraz. Partret* (Minsk, 1980).

15. See M. Vozniak, *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury*, vol. 3 (Lviv, 1924), pp. 126-127.
16. See S. Plokhy, "Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraini," *Pamiatky Ukrainy*, no. 5 (1991), pp. 35, 37.
17. For reproductions of "Cossack" Pokrova icons, see H. Lohvyn, *Po Ukraini: Starodavni mystetski pamiatky* (Kiev, 1968), p. 124 (fragment of the Pokrova icon from Novhorod-Siversky); Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII st.*, p. 233 (Pokrova icon from the village of Sulymivka); Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, fig. 129 (Pokrova icon from Myrhorod); *Narysy z istorii ukrainskoho mystetstva* (Kiev, 1966), p. 49 (Pokrova icon from the village of Deshky), fig. 159 (Pokrova icon from Pereiaslav); Plokhy, "Pokrova Bohorodytsi v Ukraini," pp. 35-36, 38-39 (two Pokrova icons from Zaporizhzhia).
18. The icon has been reproduced many times, including recently in *Ukrainska ikona: Kalendar 1992* (Kiev, 1991). The majority of reproductions, including the most recent ones, state that the icon, now preserved in the Ukrainian State Museum of Fine Arts in Kiev, was found in the Pokrova church of the village of Deshky. It is puzzling why Zholtovsky and, later, M. Gębarowicz gave the icon's origin as the town of Motyzhyn, also in Kiev oblast. See Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII st.*, p. 145; M. Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae*, p. 170.
19. On the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and its reception in West European iconography, see A. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna as Represented in the Fine Arts* (London, 1890; reprinted by the Gale Research Company, Detroit, 1972), pp. 42-53; M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1976), pp. 236-69. On the spread of this belief in early modern Ukraine, see S. Senyk, "The Marian Cult in the Kievan Metropolitanate, XVII-XVIII centuries," *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII-XVIII. Acta congressus Mariologici-Mariani internationalis in Republica Melitensi anno 1983 celebrati*, vol. 7: *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII et XVIII apud varias nationes*, Pars altera (Rome, 1988), pp. 520-26.
20. Paul of Aleppo, "Puteshestvie antiokhiiskoho patriarkha Makariia v Rossiiu v polovine XVII veka, opisannoie ego synom arkhidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim," G. Murkos, trans., *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, no. 4 (1894), pp. 29-30; Senyk, "Marian Cult," p. 522.
21. Senyk, "Marian cult," pp. 515, 531-32. On the coronation of the Virgin in Western iconography, see Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, pp. 13-26; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, pp. 103-117.

22. P. Zholtovsky in *Vyzvolna borotba ukrainskoho narodu v pamiatkakh mystetstva XVI-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1958), p. 53, and S. Hordynsky, in *Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33, state that the icon dates to the second half of the seventeenth century. In *Narysy z istorii ukrainskoho mystetstva*, fig. 6, the icon is assigned to the last quarter of the seventeenth century. *Ukrainska ikona: Kalendar 1992* dates it to the first half of the eighteenth century.
23. Hordynsky, *Ukrainian Icon*, p. 33.
24. A portrait of Metropolitan Dionisii Balaban and basic information about him appear in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, V. Kubijovyc, ed. (Toronto, 1984), p. 162.
25. See the reproduction in Zholtovsky, *Ukrainskyi zhyvopys XVII-XVIII st.*, p. 233.
26. It is partly due to a belief in the continuity of the Khmelnytsky cult that the compilers of the *Biblioteka ukrainskoi literatury* included panegyrics to Khmelnytsky from eighteenth-century manuscripts in its volume on seventeenth-century literature. (See *Ukrainska literatura XVII st.*, pp. 282-93, 564-66). A curious detail: one verse, taken from the 1729 course of rhetoric by Hnat Buzanovsky, was included in the volume on seventeenth-century literature (*Ukrainska literatura XVII st.*, p. 283); another, taken from the same manuscript, was placed in the volume on eighteenth-century literature (*Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 50).
27. Iu. Mytsyk, "Pershyi ukrainskyi istoryko-politychnyi traktat," *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, no. 5 (1991), p. 134.
28. According to the diary of Wojciech Miaskowski, the Polish envoy to Bohdan Khmelnytsky, in January 1649, students of the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* who were welcoming the hetman upon his entrance into Kiev called him Moses, liberator from the Polish yoke, and perceived in his name the sign of God's will (*Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei*, vol. 2: p. 109). For the text of panegyrics to Bohdan Khmelnytsky written in Ivan Vyhovsky's chancellery, see M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (New York, 1957), pp. 1523-26.
29. For the text of this panegyric, see V. Peretts, "K istorii Kievsko-Mogilianskoi kollegii: Panegiriki i stikhi B. Khmelnitskomu, I. Podkove i arkh. Lazariu Baranovichu," *Chteniia v istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-Letopistsa* (Kiev, 1900), no. 14, pp. 7-25. I am grateful to Dr. Frank Sysyn for bringing this publication to my attention.
30. See *Litopys Samovydtsia*, Ia. Dzyra, ed. (Kiev, 1971). There are no traces of glorification of Khmelnytsky in the other major historical work of the period, the Chronicle of Teodosii Sofonovych, compiled in the 1670s. See Teodosii Sofonovych, *Khronika z litopystsiv starodavnikh*, with an introduction by Iu. Mytsyk (Kiev, 1992). For the text of the Hrabianka Chronicle, see *Hryhorij Hrabjanka's The Great War of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj*, with an introduction by Iu. Lutsenko, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 9 (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).
31. *Ukrainska literatura XVII st.*, pp. 283-91; *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 50.
32. For the text of this drama, see *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, pp. 306-324.
33. For the text of this chronicle in translation from Middle into Modern

Ukrainian, see Samiilo Velychko, *Litopys*, vol 1., V. Shevchuk, trans. (Kiev, 1991).

34. For the texts of the decrees, see *Pisma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Moscow, Leningrad, 1948), pp. 241-42, 244-45, 249.
35. *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 447.
36. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, p. 72.
37. D. Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian history*, O. Gerus, ed. (Winnipeg, 1975), pp. 413-14.
38. Doroshenko, *Survey*, pp. 412-15; Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy*, pp. 72-73.
39. *Ukrainska literatura XVIII st.*, p. 322. The atmosphere of the time was also reflected in a panegyric of 1728 to Peter II, compiled by the student of the Kievan academy, Iakov Goliakhovsky. For a description of this panegyric, see *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora-Letopistsa*, vol. 11, pt. 3: pp. 41-45.
40. The date when Velychko completed his chronicle is still unknown. The year 1720 given on the title page of the manuscript was only the date when the writing of the work began; also, it was put on the title page not by Velychko, but much later. An indication of this occurs in the notice that the chronicle was compiled by Velychko in the village of Zhuky in the Poltava "uezd." The statement must have been written after 1775, when the "uezd" administrative system was introduced in the Poltava region. Given that the chronicle mentions the death of Peter I and that our latest information about Velychko is dated 1728, when he was already blind, it is logical to conclude that the chronicle was finished after 1725 but before 1728. For a colour reproduction of the title page of the Velychko manuscript, see *Z ukrainskoi starovyny. Albom*, Iu. Ivanchenko, comp. (Kiev, 1991), p. 162.
41. See Zholtovsky, *Vyzvolna borotba*, pp. 57-62.
42. Zholtovsky, *Vyzvolna borotba*, pp. 42-46.

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Poetry as Milk: A Seventeenth-Century Metaphor and its Pedagogical Context

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In 1691, one year after the elevation of Archimandrite Varlaam Iasynsky to the metropolitan see of Kiev, Halych and all Rus', the Poltava priest Ioan Velychkovsky dedicated to him a collection of *carmina curiosa* written in the Ukrainian vernacular and entitled *Mleko ot ovcy pastyru nalezhnoie* (Milk from the Sheep to the Shepherd Owed). Like many writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this collection survived in a single copy and was discovered only much later. The carefully ornamented manuscript in which it was preserved, along with an earlier work by Velychkovsky also honouring Iasynsky as the newly appointed primate of the Ukrainian church, was exhibited in 1908 at the XIV Archeological Conference held in Chernihiv. Its text was published for the first time in 1972.[1]

Immediately after the discovery of the manuscript and, especially, after the publication of most of Velychkovsky's known legacy, a number of scholars turned to this truly remarkable figure in early modern Ukrainian literature. They noted his elegant Polish-language panegyric honouring the prominent churchman and prolific writer, Lazar Baranovych. They also took note of his inventive poetry in the *lingua volgare* ("pryrodnym iazykom," as Velychkovsky called it). His works in the vernacular included masterful epigrams inspired by those of the well-known schoolmaster John Owen, an encomium honouring Hetman Ivan Samoilovych, a collection of meditational verses constructed around the conceit of a pectoral watch, and, finally, the *carmina curiosa* mentioned above. Mostly scholarly discussions have acknowledged Velychkovsky's Baroque poetics, his unique talent, and the defence of the vernacular he made in the preface to *Mleko*.[2]

The purpose of my discussion is to focus on the alimentary metaphor

underlying the title *Milk from the Sheep to the Shepherd Owed*, and to propose that—beyond honouring Varlaam Iasynsky as his hierarch and former instructor of poetics—Velychkovsky's collection sought to challenge a central tenet of the humanistic *paideia* as it was practised at his alma mater, the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium*.

I will develop my argument in three stages. In the first, I will indicate the contrast between the apologetic tone of the poet's dedication to the metropolitan and his confident stance in the preface to *Mleko*. I will also present the epigraphs in which Velychkovsky marshals one alimentary metaphor after another. In the second stage, I will describe the function of the poetics-rhetoric sequence within the humanistic trivium and argue against the commonly held belief that its primary role was to instill love and respect for the literary enterprise. In the third stage, I will reveal that the full implication of Velychkovsky's offering to Iasynsky can be appreciated only after we have a synoptic view of the century-old tradition he attempted to reshape in 1691.

I

The extended title of the collection announces that Velychkovsky's poems are constructed in honour of the Virgin Mary and offered as a dutiful token to the metropolitan.[3] The title clearly links the concept of "milk owed" with both "poetic labours" and "symbols of service." Then a four-line acrostic, which communicates the year in which the collection was presented, has Mary herself claiming that she raised her first-born babe on a diet of milk. Subsequently, three heraldic distichs reinforce the milk leitmotif by arguing that, in Iasynsky's coat-of-arms, the stars and the "horns" of the moon point to the Milky Way.

Velychkovsky's manuscript did not survive these three centuries intact. Missing from *Mleko ot ovcy pastyru nalezhnoie* is a fragment containing the first part of the dedicatory. The extant text begins in the middle of a sentence in which Velychkovsky informs the metropolitan that lately, no less than before, he has been engaged in the translation of religious writings. As he turns to the main subject of the dedicatory, the author first distances himself from the poetry being presented by calling it the effort of his early youth. Nonetheless, he submits the collection to Iasynsky's judgement ("rozsudku") and expresses the hope that it "not remain in the shadow of forgetfulness." He implores the metropolitan not to reject the offering, if only because of the divine persons praised therein—that is, the Mother and the Son of God. Velychkovsky states that, through the dignity of God's Mother, we again become pure and innocent infants and are allowed to suckle uncontaminated milk from the

Virgin's breasts.[4] He concludes the dedicatory by reminding Iasynsky that, as a shepherd, he deserves to consume the milk drawn from his flock. As he signs the dedicatory, Velychkovsky addresses the metropolitan as his merciful lord, shepherd, and benefactor.

At this point Velychkovsky introduces four epigraphs. The first, taken from the Ostrih Bible's translation of Psalm 118 (119): 70, states: "Their heart has hardened like milk into cheese."[5] The second epigraph is an anonymous syllabic distich: "Far away, my heart stands, far away, from those/Whose heart has hardened like milk into cheese."[6]

The third epigraph is also from a biblical source—the Ostrih Bible's translation of I Peter II: 1,2: "Lay aside all malice and deceit, and pretence, and envy, and all slander, and like newborn babes crave the MILK of the word, rather than that of dishonesty, so that by it you may grow to salvation."[7] The fourth and final epigraph is drawn from the *akathiston* in honour of the Theotokos (*ikos* 6): "Rejoice, o promised land/Rejoice, whence milk and honey flow."[8]

The poet now turns to the reader. Avoiding the humility *topoi* he employed in the dedication to Iasynsky, Velychkovsky remarks first that many nations, especially those renowned for the arts, possess not only oratory but also wondrous and masterful poetry fashioned by high minds in their "natural tongue." Couching his arguments in pedagogical terms, he states that various nations "take delight" in such endeavours and use them to "sharpen the wit" of their descendants.[9] Because such works do not appear in print in his own *patria*, Velychkovsky, driven by his love for it, sets out to express, in Ruthenian, some of these delightful poetic forms.[10] He emphasizes that his collection does not consist of translations, and makes it clear that his express goal was to discover uniquely Ruthenian constructs through the imitation of compositional stratagems employed in other languages.[11] With these, he hopes to embellish the *patria* and please those among her sons who love wisdom and are eager to read.[12] In the latter part of the preface, Velychkovsky warns his readers that none of the poems was easy to compose and that, to understand and fall in love with every hidden device, they need to study each verse carefully.[13]

II

After a first reading of the material I have just summarized, it is not difficult to conclude that Velychkovsky was courting an audience innocent at heart, but not necessarily young in age. This becomes especially evident when we review the verse that precedes his epigraph (i.e., Psalm 118[119]: 69): "Though the proud forge lies against me, with

all my heart I will observe your precepts." The poet's self-assured stance in the epigraphs and preface to the reader stands in sharp contrast to the humble tone of his dedicatory letter. The full intent behind this tension can be understood only when we realize that Velychkovsky is both alluding to and simultaneously rejecting a pedagogical commonplace of this period, namely, that poetry is merely a learning tool and a childish pursuit.

Let me elaborate this point. Contrary to what has been posited by numerous scholars, the grammar-poetics-rhetoric sequence at the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* was never dedicated to the study of literature per se.[14] As in most humanistic schools—the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* being one of them—the primary function of this sequence was to teach pupils to read, write, and think in Latin, the language of universal culture and, specifically, the language of their future studies. Latin, it must be stressed, was not a mother tongue for anyone. Knowledge of it was not a skill that could be passed on, so to speak, with mother's milk.

Literature—within the trivium—served mostly "as a concrete manifestation, and vast territory for illustration of grammatical rules."[15] No humanistic school, be it Protestant, Catholic, or, for that matter, Orthodox, held the study of literature in high esteem. As the cultural historian R. R. Bolgar has argued: "Literature came second and was often despised. It could hardly have been otherwise; for a great number of the pupils at these schools were destined for the Roman Catholic priesthood or for the Protestant ministry. They were bound to be absorbed in their vocation and to regard as distracting studies that had not a specifically religious content."[16]

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, literary study beyond the trivium level, if pursued at all, occurred only on the individual's own initiative or in special circumstances. In the quadrivium, the teaching of logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics and, ultimately, theology was not subject to methods that relied upon the presentation of literary excerpts as models for imitation. After all, the humanist struggle for the primacy of philological studies had not resulted in the creation of an upper-level literary program capable of competing with the prestige of courses designed for future theologians, lawyers, doctors, and civil servants. As a matter of fact, in the quadrivium of all humanistic schools, scholastic methods reigned supreme.[17]

For this reason, the trivial sequence of grammar, poetics, and rhetoric functioned—at best—as a foundation for further training. Devoted as it was to the development of basic communication skills, it could not consider literary texts as something other than auxiliary vehicles in the process of language acquisition.[18] Moreover, with the stabilization of the

new learning within carefully supervised establishments, a boy graduating from the final class in rhetoric was, more often than not, still in his early teens. Thus, most humanistic pedagogical treatises dealing with the literary profile of the trivium (and the attendant expurgated texts used at this level) allude to the classical alimentary metaphor "a milk diet for beginners," employed by Quintilian in the *Institutio oratoria* (II,4,5) and by Paul in his epistles to the Corinthians (1:32) and Hebrews (5:12).[19]

The metaphor was frequently marshalled by pedagogues to defend sound curricular principles (e.g., simple material before complex; verbal arts before moral philosophy; carnal nourishment before spiritual instruction). But it was also invoked by moralists who felt uncomfortable with the texts employed in the trivium. By a rhetorical twist they pressed into service the Pauline parallels between (a) milk and carnal man, and (b) solid food and spiritual man, thus emphasizing that literary exercises constituted merely an initiation ritual in the educational process.

The new child psychology that led to the entrenchment of humanistic methods in the trivium recommended close control of all adolescent activity. This factor strongly influenced the pedagogical uses of literature. It led many educators to regard literature as the ideal tool for assisting the weak mind to overcome its weaknesses. For example, in *Syntagma tragoediae Latinae* (Antwerp, 1593), the Jesuit author Martín Antonio Del Río argued that literature toughens young minds. At the same time, however, he censured literary activity as unworthy of mature men, emphasizing that poetry, drama, history, oratory, and literature in general should be studied only by the young, not by adults, whose sole concern with these things should be to edit texts for schoolboys.[20]

Ukrainian preceptors in Lviv, Lutsk, and Kiev did not write pedagogical treatises. Consequently, the attitudes they instilled in their charges have to be gleaned from contemporary school documents, polemical tracts, and the statements made by various authors. In my research I have encountered numerous traces of the contradictory attitude toward literature so typical among humanistic pedagogues. For example, the ninth article of the 1586 *Poriadok shkolnyi* (School Schedule) of the Lviv Confraternity School justified its new methods by quoting St. Paul: "[W]hile I am a youngster I reason and think like a youngster; when I reach the age of a mature man I need no milk."[21] On the other hand, the anonymous *Prosfonema. A Greeting...*, recited by pupils of this school in honour of Archbishop Mykhailo Rohoza on 17 January 1591, exhorted Ukrainian children to "crave the milk of word study," in terms drawn directly from I Peter (2:1-2).

The new learning that was being adopted by Orthodox subjects of the Crown led to many discussions. Thus, in the 1603 polemical tract

Questions and Answers [Exchanged] between an Orthodox and a Papist, the exponent of Catholic schooling defends the literary framework of the trivium while simultaneously designating it as "milk," "the soft arts, simple and intermingled with fables."[22] Significantly, his Orthodox opponent accepts the argument but emphasizes that, in the pupil's education, biblical texts should quickly replace the literary diet. It is evident that for him the initiation ritual should be as brief as possible.

Consider also the claim made in 1720 by the chronicler Samiilo Velychko in his *Discourse on the Cossack War against the Poles:* "[P]anegyric and poetic extravagances are appropriate only for young children acquiring knowledge."[23]

Finally, highly indicative of this mindset's enduring legacy is the testimony of none other than Hryhorii Skovoroda, a prominent Ukrainian writer of the eighteenth century. In his 1781 work *The Two [Principles], a Colloquy on the Topic "It is Easy to be Blessed,"* the character Danyil reiterates a recurrent motif in Skovoroda's treatises by exhorting the uninitiated Farra to dismiss faulty explications of Holy Writ: "[...] Discard the shadow; hasten to the truth. Leave behind physical tales for toothless infants. [Leave behind] all that is woman-like, a fable, empty, which does not lead you to harbour."[24]

Statements such as these, while few and far between, are significant because they point to a single source: the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* of which both men were alumni. Velychko, a coeval of Velychkovsky's sons and a member of the Cossack elite *(starshyna)*, represents the stratum of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that rebelled against the writings of Kiev's academic ecclesiastics. The above-quoted passage is drawn from the preface to his monumental chronicle, the most significant vernacular work of its kind written in the early eighteenth century. Skovoroda, on the other hand, was the son of an indigent Cossack and held sessional positions as a teacher of syntax, poetics, and ethics. His pedagogical activity gave initial stimulus to *The Garden of Divine Songs*, the most remarkable collection of poetry written in the eighteenth century. After failing to secure a permanent position, Skovoroda became an itinerant philosopher and, characteristically, gave up writing poetry, turning instead to the composition of prose tracts and colloquies in Slavonic.

The specific contexts in which Velychko's and Skovoroda's comments appear must be acknowledged. The chronicler's attack on the poetry of praise (and poetry in general) buttresses his critique of versified historical narrative, more specifically the *Wojna Domowa* of the Polish author Samuel Twardowski. Skovoroda's entire oeuvre, on the other hand, seeks to contrast the mendacity of poetic verisimilitude with the spiritual and ineffable meaning hidden beneath Holy Writ's figurative discourse.[25]

The goals pursued by these authors are very different, but the terms of their arguments are drawn from one source—the moralist's detraction of poetry.

At the core of the differences separating early modern Ukrainian literature from its West European counterparts (which, incidentally, were also informed by the humanistic *paideia*) is the fact that the poetics taught in Ukrainian educational establishments were never challenged by a courtly theory of art.

The theory of style, as codified in the neo-Latin manuals of the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium*, remained in essence a subset of humanist poetics. What this meant, in practical terms, is that the symbiosis between humanistic and courtly theories of art that ultimately stimulated the creativity of English, Spanish, French and even Polish authors never developed in Ukraine. In the absence of such a symbiosis, not a single author—either before or after Velychkovsky—sought to assist the Ukrainian reader with a compendium devoted to the poetic potential of the vernacular tongue.

The Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* did not have as its goal the training of businessmen or courtiers wishing to develop the language skills needed in the service of a native or foreign monarch. Its poetics-rhetoric sequence served, first of all, as the framework for the study of two foreign tongues—Latin, the classical language of Roman antiquity, and Slavonic, the sacral medium of all East Slavs. In true humanistic fashion, this trivial sequence assigned immense civilizing power to skilled expression and, consequently, always assumed the pedagogical ethos implied in Cicero's notion of ethical persuasion. The courtly idea that poetry's primary aim is to delight and provide entertainment was alien to Ukrainian preceptors. While they accepted that poetry succeeds as a pedagogical tool because it imparts pleasure, they remained steadfastly committed to its moral function. They never accepted the possibility that delighting could take precedence over teaching and persuading. This can be easily ascertained from the fact that Ukrainian preceptors rarely speak of receptive criteria when classifying figures of speech. Their approach, as a rule, stresses semantic and formal, in other words, grammatical criteria.

Inasmuch as their manuals address young boys—an audience uninitiated to the full spectrum of humanist training—Ukrainian preceptors focus on the microscopic issues of style: etymology, length of syllables, morphology, and elementary syntax. The macroscopic issues of style remain outside the scope of their textbooks. By the same token, their manuals never aspire to develop literary theory per se. This could not have been otherwise, for the very humanist tracts from which Ukrainian preceptors culled their basic information had never entertained such a

goal in the first place. Given the linguistic goals of the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium*, it is understandable that the illustrative material of the poetics-rhetoric sequence should have focused on classical models and neglected, for most part, topical material.[26]

Had the *Collegium's* alumni pursued additional training in something akin to Queen Elizabeth's court, or one of the commercial schools in Lisbon and Genoa, they would have acquired fluency in other vernacular languages beside Polish and Ruthenian, the ancillary tools of Latin and Slavonic learning, respectively.[27] This, in turn, would have given them access to the truly innovative theories of art, which—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—were being published not in Latin, but in modern vernaculars. Long before they were incorporated into the curriculum of the humanistic educational establishment, vernacular tongues were the tools of the cultures promoted by courts and commercial aristocracies.[28]

Of greater importance for the present discussion is the fact that, unlike humanist scholars, Ukrainian preceptors never explicitly aligned their courses with the goal of reinstating the magisterium of Roman culture. Moreover, there is no evidence that they sought to expand the cultural preeminence of their own "classical" language, Slavonic, beyond the religious sphere. And, unlike English and West European court poets, Ukrainian authors of poetics never sought to generate the ascendancy of poetry in their "natural tongue." Consider the following, for example: in his 1705 defence of poetry, Teofan Prokopovych, among the standard commonplaces, declares that poetry preserves for posterity the heroic virtues of distinguished individuals. He also underscores poetry's usefulness—its capacity to depict models worthy of imitation. He does not, however, identify heroes and posterity with any specific cultural group. He does so only in the rhetoric course, when describing the benefits that eloquence would bring to his own war-torn but unnamed country.

Thus, in sharp contrast to both humanist and court authors of poetics, Ukrainian preceptors do not conceive of poetry as a discrete manifestation of a cultural continuum that can be claimed as their own. Moreover, they do not define it as a phenomenon that can be developed and perpetuated. Rather, they view poetry as a tool serving intramural concerns that oscillate between communication skills, moral upbringing, and mental development.

The harnessing of Polish material by Ukrainian preceptors is not an insignificant phenomenon. I propose, however, that assessing it strictly in terms of the influence of Polish culture, as some scholars have done, is ahistorical. This language had, from the very beginning, played an

ancillary role in the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium*. Given the political realities at the time of its establishment, such an approach was both a necessity and a hard-won privilege of the Crown's Ukrainian subjects. The phenomenon needs to be appreciated, first of all, within the context of changes taking place throughout Europe, including Crown Poland, in the 1650s. At that time, the upper-track educational establishment (i.e., the humanistic school) began the gradual incorporation of vernacular material into the Latin trivium.[29] This was a logical result of the ascendancy of the vernaculars, a process that had been unleashed by institutions competing with the humanistic school. It was on the heels of this development that Kiev preceptors began introducing examples of Polish poetry.

The Kievan Mohyla *Collegium* was the construct of a society that had integrated vertically in its defence of the Rus' religion. It was the sole institution in Ukraine meeting the educational needs of Orthodox Christians, be they noblemen, Cossacks, craftsmen, merchants or clergymen. In the absence of a court and merchant schools promoting the Ukrainian *lingua volgare* (and other modern languages), alternative cultural models were not nurtured. Consequently, when the reading of selected vernacular texts became an accepted practice in the trivium, Ukrainian preceptors turned to an accessible source, the most readily available part of the Polish repertoire.[30]

Numerous as they are in Ukrainian school manuals, Polish illustrative fragments do not represent the full spectrum of contemporary Polish letters. Instead, they are selections drawn from published sources and represent either translations or periphrases, or analogues of classical models.

III

Such, in essence, was the Ukrainian redaction of the humanistic *paideia*. Seen from this perspective, Velychkovsky's collection *Mleko ot ovcy pastyru nalezhnoie* acquires dimensions that thus far have remained unnoticed.

Firstly, it is highly significant that, even though he does not acknowledge any poetic activity in his mature age, Velychkovsky opts for Peter's version of the alimentary metaphor (I, 2: 1-2) rather than Paul's (I Cor 3:2 and 13:11; Hebrews 5:12). Thus, instead of aligning poetry with the carnal nourishment necessary at the initial and transitory trivium, he identifies it with a spiritual diet. In fact, none of the alimentary allusions in *Mleko* suggests that poetry is fit only for the young or spiritually uninitiated. On the contrary, the verse from Psalm 118 (119) employs a

milk solid—literally, milk hardened [curdled] into cheese—as a metaphor for spiritual corruption. Velychkovsky's second epigraph, perhaps his own syllabic distich, emphatically distances the poet's heart from those who, through pride and mendacity, have lost their child-like innocence.

I propose, therefore, that Velychkovsky's deliberate intention was to vindicate poetry's innocent pleasures and to dissociate the literary enterprise from its reputation as a childish, immature pursuit. By turning to the very games that in the humanistic trivium commanded a considerable segment of the poetics course, and that fourteen years later Prokopovych would dismiss as *pueriles consonantiae*, Velychkovsky sought to initiate the reader into the vernacular literary game (*ludus literarius*).

Secondly, the *ikos* from the *akathiston* service identifies flowing milk with natural bounty. And, most importantly, the first acrostic of *Mleko*—beside signalling that the collection consists of *carmina curiosa*—subtly aligns the author's love for his *patria* with the primal filiation between Mary and her Son. In this context, Velychkovsky's reference to Ruthenian as the "natural tongue," rather than the more frequently used expression of the time, *prostaia mova*, appears to have been weighed carefully.

Velychkovsky's desires that his *patria* be embellished with wondrous and masterful poetry composed by high intellects in the natural tongue reveals a mindset that is closer to that of George Puttenham than that of countless humanistic preceptors. To appreciate this, consider the following fragment from *The Arte of English Poesie*, in which the Elizabethan court poet argues that "Poesie" in the "vulgar" tongue can become an "Art" if its rules and precepts are formulated by studious persons:

> Then as there was no art in the world till by experience found out: so if Poesie be now an Art, and of all antiquitie hath beene among the Greeks and Latines, and yet were none, vntill by studious persons fashioned and reduced to a method of rules and precepts, then no doubt may there be the like with us. And if th'art of Poesie be but a skill appertaining to utterance, why may not the same be with us as wel as with them, our language being no less copious pithi and significance then theirs, our conceipts the same, and our wits no lesse apt to deuise and imitate than theirs were? If again Art be but a certain order of rules prescribed by reason, and gathered by experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with us as well as with the Greeks and Latins, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diuersities then theirs?[...] Poesie therefore may be an Art in our vulgar, and that verie methodicall and commendable.[31]

Velychkovsky consciously assumes the role of both inventor and preceptor. For, besides implying that the invention of constructs, which could not be expressed in any other tongue, would bring "delight" and

"sharpen the wits" of descendants, Velychkovsky directly recommends that his audience engage in collective exercises of reading and analysis. His consciously assumed role as teacher is best appreciated when we note that the organizational principle of *Mleko ot ovcy pastyru nalezhnoie* openly imitates the style of formulary compositions drawn by instructors to illustrate rhetorical or poetical principles, and presented as models for students to imitate.[32]

Velychkovsky's dedicatory to Iasynsky deserves to be read together with the preface to the reader. Its defensive arguments, on the one hand, and the poet's express hope that the collection be not forgotten, on the other, suggest that—over and above paying tribute to his former mentor—the author wished to obtain support for the publication of *Mleko ot ovcy pastyru nalezhnoie*. How else would our inventor have succeeded in promoting his "uniquely Ruthenian" constructs and sharpening the wit of future generations?

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Despite its inventiveness, religious subject matter, and pedagogical goal, *Mleko ot ovcy pastyru nalezhnoie* never reached its intended audience. Thus the question arises: why did Iasynsky, the very preceptor who had taught Velychkovsky Baroque techniques and who by this time was a very powerful man, not assist him with this enterprise?

We may never know the full answer to this question. The matter should not be treated reductively, however. As this paper has attempted to show, Velychkovsky's failure to secure support toward the publication of *Mleko* intimates a complex of problems that goes beyond one individual author and his potential benefactor.

Scholars unanimously agree that Velychkovsky represents an intellectual *novum* in the seventeenth-century landscape of the Ukrainian Baroque. It is ironic, however, that as this term becomes more and more ingrained in criticism dealing with early modern Ukrainian literature, there seems to be an unwillingness to explore the educational philosophy that at once nurtured Velychkovsky and prevented him from developing his full potential as a poet. My present discussion grew out of the vital urge to demonstrate that no literary phenomenon can be explained away with a single term.

Notes

1. See Ivan Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, V. P. Kolosova and V. I. Krekoten, eds. (Kiev, 1972). This volume contains most of Velychkovsky's known works, with the exception of several prose texts on religious and pedagogical topics. Here all

quotations from *Mleko ot ovcy pastyru nalezhnoie* are taken from this edition.

2. The most detailed discussion of Velychkovsky's Baroque poetics is by D. Chyzhevsky, *Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok: Narysy*, nos. 1-3, in *Praci Ukrainskoho istorychno-filolohichnoho tovarystva v Prazi*, 3-5 (1941-44). See also the 1955 article by Serhii Maslov, "Malovidomyi ukrainskyi pysmennyk kintsia XVII-pochatku XVIII st. Ivan Velychkovskyi (Do istorii styliu barokko v davnii ukrainskii literaturi)," which serves as the introduction to Velychkovsky, *Tvory* (pp. 5-15).
3. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 69: «МЛЕКО ОТ ОВЦЫ ПАСТИРУ НАЛЕЖНОЄ, або труди поетицкіе во честь преблагословеннои дѣвы Маріи составленные, або знаменіє служебничой поволности ясне в богу преосвященному єго милости господину отцу Варлааму Ясинскому, православному архіепископу, митрополитѣ Кіевскому, Галицкому и всея Россіи, офѣрованные.»
4. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 70: «А то ли абы и тая *прошлых лѣт моих праца* в тѣни забвенія не зоставала, умыслилем оную до превысокого святыни вашея подати розсудку, тоєи будучи надѣи, иж от ласки преосвященства вашего не будет отрыновенна, принамнѣй з тых мѣр, же во честь и славу славнои владычицы нашеи богородицы и присно дѣвы Маріи составленная, которои слава єст и самаго царя слава. Славитъся бо вѣм сын в [матерѣ] и мати в сынѣ. [...] изволь, милостивый добродѣю, тую *млечную младенческую працу* мою ласкаве приняти, не ради подлости моєи, але ради превысокои годности матере ветхаго деньми, нас дѣля младенчествовати изволившаго и от сосец девических ссати *млеко* не возгнувшавшагося» (emphases mine).
5. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 70: «Усыри ся, яко млеко сердце их.» Compare this with the King James version: "Their heart is as fat as grease." The Challoner-Rheims Catholic edition reads: "Their heart has become gross and fat."
6. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 70:
   «Которых усырися сердце, яко млеко,
   Далеко сердце мое от тых єст, далеко.»
   On the basis of the distich's formal features, especially the clever caesura, and the enjambment of the conceptual and rhythmic group *mleko-daleko*, I suspect that the distich belongs to Velychkovsky himself.
7. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 70: «Отложи всякую злобу и всякую лесть, и лицемѣріе, и зависть, и вся клеветы, аки новорожденніи младенцы, словесноє, не лестноє МЛЕКО возлюбѣте, да о нем возрастете, во спасеніе.» Compare this with the King James version: "Wherefore laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speakings. As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." And the revised Challoner-Rheims Catholic edition: "Lay aside therefore all malice, and all deceit and pretense, and envy, and all slander. Crave, as newborn babes, pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow to salvation."
8. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 70:
   «Радуйся, земле обѣтованная,
   Радуйся, из нея же течет мед и МЛЕКО.»
   I have been unable to establish the edition used here.

9. To appreciate the pedagogical mindset of these arguments it is important to bear in mind that numerous West European treatises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries recommended verse-making, especially of various short forms, as a technique for introducing levity to classroom activities. They considered it a pleasant method for attuning the pupil to the differences between the grammatical and rhetorical order. For example, in his treatise *Ludus Literarius* of 1612, the Englishman John Brinsley underscored that verse-making served as a "great sharpener of the wit, and a stirrer up of Invention."
10. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, pp. 70-17: «ПРЕДМОВА ДО ЧИТЕЛНИКА. Уважаючи я, иж многіи народове, звлаща в науках обфитуючіе, много мают не тылко ораторских, але и поетицких, чудне а мистерне, природным их языком, от высоких разумов составленных трудолюбій, *которыми и сами ся тѣшат, и потомков своих довцѣпы острят*, я, яко истиный сын Малороссійской отчизны нащеи, болѣючи на то сердцем, иж в Малой нашой Россіи до сих час таковых нѣ от кого тыпом выданых не оглядаю трудов, з горливости моеи ку милой отчизнѣ, призвавши бога и божію матку и [святих] умыслилем, иле зможность подлого [довцѣ]пу моєго позволяла, нѣкоторые значнѣйшые штуки поетицкіе руским языком выразити [...]» (emphases mine).
11. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 71: «[...] *не з якого языка на рускій оныє переводячи*, але власною працею моєю ново *на подобенство інородных составляючи*, а нѣкоторые *и цѣле русскіе способы вынайдуючи, которые и иншым языком анѣ ся могут выразити*.» (emphases mine).
12. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 71: «[...] ложилем труд [...] на оздобу отчизни нашеи и утѣху малороссійским сином єи, звлаща до читаня охочым и любомудрым.»
13. Velychkovsky, *Tvory*, p. 71: «Упевняю теж ласкавого [читате]ля, иж єсли сіи вѣршы моѣ скоро [про]йдет, не уважаючи, що ся в кождом за штучка замыкает, мало, або жадного не отнесет пожитку. Леч єсли над кождым вѣршиком так ся много забавит, аж поки зрозумѣет, що ся в нем за штучка замыкает, велце ся в них закохает. Гды ж тут жадных простых [которых и простаки складати могут] не маш вѣршов, тылко штучки поетицкіе, которые любо суть короткіе, маленкіе, але великую компонуючым их задают трудность и долгого, поки ся зложат, потребуют часу.»
14. See, for example: Hryhorii M. Syvokin, *Davni ukrainski poetyky* (Kharkiv, 1960), p. 5; Vitalii P. Masliuk, *Latynomovni poetyky i rytoryky XVII–pershoi polovyny XVIII st. ta ikh rol u rozvytku teorii literatury na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1983), p. 5; and Dmytro S. Nalyvaiko, "Kyivski poetyky XVII–pochatku XVIII st. u konteksti ievropeiskoho literaturnoho protsesu," in *Literaturna spadshchyna Kyivskoi Rusi i ukrainska literatura XVI-XVIII st.*, O. V. Myshanych, ed. (Kiev, 1981), pp. 166 and 188-95.
15. See Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1600: Their Curriculum and Practice* (London, 1968), p. 4.
16. See his *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries: From the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance* (New York, 1964), p. 367.
17. For a more detailed discussion of this problem, see my "The Humanistic School and Ukrainian Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century"

(Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1989), especially the chapter "From Humanism to the Humanistic School" (pp. 61-122).

18. Even today, pedagogical thought recommends that analysis and synthesis of literary works of the highest order, and a sophistication in cultural awareness, be pursued only at a fairly advanced level of linguistic competence. See, for example, Nelson Brooks, "Teaching Culture in the Foreign-Language Classroom," *Foreign Language Annals*, vol. 1 (1968), p. 211.
19. For a discussion of alimentary metaphors, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, William R. Trask, trans. (New York, 1953), pp. 134-36.
20. See the discussion by Walter J. Ong, S.J., *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971), pp. 129-34.
21. Cited according to E. N. Medynskii, *Bratskie shkoly Ukrainy i Belorussii v XVI-XVII vv. i ikh rol' v vossoedinenii Ukrainy s Rossiei* (Moscow, 1954), p. 129. The 1624 schedule of the Lutsk Confraternity School makes the same argument; cf. pp. 142-43.
22. See "Voprosy i otvĭty pravoslavnomu z papezhnykom" in *Pamiatniki polemicheskoi literatury v Zapadnoi Rusi*, bk. 1, *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, vol. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1876), cols. 105-106.
23. Samiilo Velychko, "Skazanie o voini kozatskoi z Poliakami," in *Pamiatky ukrainskoho pysmentstva*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1926), p. 4: «[...] непотребства панагиричніе и поетицкіе, учащимся тилко отрокомъ к видѣнію належа[т]».
24. See "Besĭda, narechennaia dvoe, o tom, chto blazhennym byt lehko," in Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1973), p. 270.
25. See my "The Primary Door: At the Threshold of Skovoroda's Theology and Poetics," in *Adelphotes*, a special issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 14 (1990), pp. 551-583.
26. For a more detailed discussion, see the fifth chapter of my dissertation, "Kiev Poetics and Renaissance Theories of Art," pp. 241-301.
27. It is important to bear in mind that, inasmuch as the study of Slavonic served more limited goals than the study of Latin, classroom use of its ancillary tool, the *prostaia mova*, was less frequent than that of Polish. Thus, for example, Mytrofan Dovhalevsky's 1735 syntax course focused on Polish, Latin and Slavonic: *Sistema Syntaxeos ad expeditiorem utentium Commoditatem Polono, latino et Sclavonio idiomate [...]*. And, as the descending order of this title suggests, the manual's Slavonic material was the least abundant. For a description of the manual, see J.S. Hronsky's "Lektsii z syntaksysu Mytrofana Dovhalevskoho," *Radianske literaturosnavstvo*, 7 (1982), pp. 64-68.
28. See Charles Sears Baldwin, *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice: Classicism in the Rhetoric and Poetic of Italy, France, and England, 1400-1600* (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), pp. 4-16.
29. For a discussion of developments in England, see Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1600*, pp. 480-482. For a discussion of poetics manuals in Poland and the gradual incorporation of Polish vernacular material, see Elżbieta Sarnowska-Temeriusz, *Droga na Parnas: Problemy staropolskiej wiedzy*

o poezji (Wrocław, 1974), pp. 55-73. Eugenija Ulčinaite's monograph dedicated to the study of rhetoric in early modern Poland and Lithuania demonstrates that Polish illustrative material began to be introduced in school manuals in 1649; see her *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie w XVII wieku: Próba rekonstrukcji schematu retorycznego* (Wrocław, 1984), pp. 177-99.

30. For a discussion of the kinds of writings available in print during the period in question, see Władysław Korotaj, "Dynamika rozwoju piśmiennictwa polskiego od polowy XVI do końca XVII wieku," in *Wiek XVII–Kontrreformacja–Barok: Prace z historii kultury*, Janusz Pelc, ed. (Wrocław, 1970), pp. 274-290.
31. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker, eds. (Cambridge, 1936), p. 5.
32. For a discussion of the phenomenon of "formulary rhetorics," see Wilbur S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (Princeton, N.J., 1956), especially p. 67.

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"Nieskoro" prawi "monsztuk do tych trąb otrzymacie": On Lazar Baranovyč's *Truby sloves propovĭdnyx* and their Non-publication in Moscow

For Anastasia and Maryna

Peter Rolland

It is now axiomatic that the Kiev Mohyla *Collegium* was an institution central to the formation of many generations of educated clergy for the churches of Belarus, Ukraine, Muscovy, and even the Balkans. Occupying, as they often did, high church positions or exercising influence in other ways, the alumni of the renowned school constituted an "old boys' network" that could affect not only developments within the church, but also within their respective societies and even between the states of which they were subjects. Hence, any record of relationships among these men can not only illuminate their biographies, but also provide often quite interesting insights into the societies and times in which they were active, into their successes, and, just as often, their failures.[1]

Simiaon Połacki (Symeon Poloc'kyj, or Simeon Polockij) was among the most illustrious and successful figures associated with the Mohyla *Collegium*.[2] A student of the *collegium* in the late 1640s, the Belarusian-born Połacki fulfilled a number of important functions at the court of Aleksej Mixajlovič during the period 1663/64-81: teacher of Latin to the *djaki* of the Privy Council; court preacher and poet; tutor to the royal children; secretary of the 1666-68 Church Council; participant in disputes with the Old Believers; mediator between his family, friends, and acquaintances in Belarus and Ukraine, on the one hand, and the tsar and Muscovite authorities, on the other.

Among Połacki's circle of correspondents was Lazar Baranovyč: poet, preacher, polemicist, instructor (1640s), and rector (1650-57) of the Mohyla *Collegium*, hegumen of the Theophany Confraternity Monastery in Kiev, bishop and, later (1667), archbishop of Černihiv.[3] As the most important pro-Muscovite churchman in Left-Bank Ukraine, Baranovyč served as *de facto* metropolitan of Kiev (1670) and intermediary between the various factions in Ukraine and the Muscovite government during the tempestuous decades from 1657 to 1686. Lazar used this stance not only to improve and maintain his position in Ukraine, but also to extend his fame and influence in Moscow by gaining royal patronage for the distribution of his sermons and other writings. Among the persons to whom the ambitious cleric turned to facilitate his programme was Simiaon Połacki, who until 1674 had the ear of both tsar and patriarch.

Here I introduce three previously unpublished letters from Połacki to Baranovyč, written between 13 June 1669 and May 1670. These three texts reflect the epistolary campaign Baranovyč waged in his efforts to gain royal patronage for the printing and sale in Moscow of his second collection of sermons, *Truby sloves propovĭdnyx* (Trumpets of the Homiletic Word). This was Baranovyč's second effort at propagating his homiletical works in Moscow. In 1666 he had published at the Kievan Caves Monastery printing house the collection *Meč duxovnyj* (The Spiritual Sword), for which, as a delegate of the Kievan metropolitanate during the Moscow church council of 1666, he had succeeded in obtaining permission to distribute in Muscovy. On this occasion Połacki, acting as censor for the patriarch, affirmed the orthodoxy of the theological opinions contained in Lazar's homilies, and the work thereby obtained the desired patronage and approval.[4] As we know, these *Truby sloves propovĭdnyx* did not sound forth in Moscow, Baranovyč's (and Połacki's) best efforts notwithstanding. Połacki's letters provide some possible clues for this turn of events.

The texts (copies of the originals) are found in the Saltykov-Ščedrin State Public Library, MS F.XVII.83/formerly numbered 161. This voluminous manuscript *in folio* contains numerous poems by Połacki, Baranovyč, and others, together with Połacki's letters to numerous friends and family in Belarus and Ukraine, among them Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj, Varlaam Jasyns'kyj, and, of course, Lazar Baranovyč. Written in Połacki's cursive Latin script, and signed or initialled by him (three letters), the texts are in that macaronic Latin-Polish language which the author used in much of his correspondence. There are no breaks for paragraphs, and punctuation is not readily in evidence. In two cases the dating is incomplete.[5]

Letter 1, dated 13 June 1669, is Połacki's response to Baranovyč's

letter of May 19 in which Lazar had informed Simiaon that the manuscript of *Truby* had been sent to the tsar, together with petitions (*čelobitie*) to him and to the patriarch, requesting that the collection be printed in Moscow, the costs be underwritten by the royal treasury, and Simiaon be named censor and editor.[6] Połacki's reply is written in a flowery, if not downright florid, style laden with biblical allusion and allegory. In it he acknowledges receipt of Baranovyč's letter and his manuscript. Praising the collection highly, Simiaon indicates that the matter is in good order, "for His Majesty the Tsar has commanded and the Most Holy Patriarch has given his blessing to examine [the manuscript] and for it to be given to the printer and prepared [for publication]," and that he, Połacki, has been named examiner. Noting that the press is busy at present, Simiaon optimistically expresses the hope that the New Year and Baranovyč's new work will arrive simultaneously. He promises that he will smooth out any linguistic infelicities in "the Slavonic constructions that are in rare use in our parts (*naszym stronam w rzadkim używaniu*)."

Continuing in this vein, Połacki assures his correspondent that from the theological point of view, Baranovyč's collection presents no problems, except in one area: "It has occurred to me to consult ahead of time concerning an objection that I fear from the 'obdurate' (*od upartych*), namely, in the sacrosanct sentiments concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Blessed Virgin, of which concept Your Holiness is a most zealous partisan in the sermons on the Birth of the Most Holy Theotokos and [on] the Conception [of St. Anne]. It seems to me appropriate for Your Holiness to deign to write two other sermons not mentioning anything about original sin, so that if some are bitterly opposed and will not print it, then...I will have something to substitute without delay, and if they do not oppose (which God grant), then I will print both [sets of sermons]." In closing the missive, Połacki asks for Baranovyč's blessing and reminds him about a reward for services rendered.

Although Połacki's letter is upbeat in mood and full of optimism, his reservations concerning Lazar's unacceptable Mariology already seem to cast doubt on the successful outcome of the venture. Letter 2, dated 16 December 166[?], is much more sober and downcast, although not completely devoid of optimism. It was written in response to a letter sent to him by Baranovyč through an intermediary, "the archimandrite of Černihiv," Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj.[7] Thanking the archbishop for his letter, Połacki praises him for his efforts in flowery terms designed to hide his embarrassment and to cushion the disappointing message that lies at the core of his letter: the fact that the publication of *Truby* must be postponed "to an appropriate time (*do słusznego czasu*)," for it has been silenced by

"the immensely noisy trumpets of cruel Mars, together with the pipes (*piszczalmi*) of Bellona"—an obvious reference to turmoil in Ukraine engendered by the campaigns of the Poles and Dorošenko, and by the intrigues of Brjuxovec'kyj and Mnohohrišnyj. His full statement reads: "But the immensely noisy trumpets of cruel Mars together with the pipes of Bellona playing unmelodiously are preventing this [sounding of Baranovyč's "Trumpets"—*Truby*]. As [the saying goes] 'In war laws are silent,' so also your spiritual *Trumpets*, which proclaim God's laws, as I have understood what I have been told, must keep silent to an appropriate time." Seeking a way out of this impasse, Simiaon writes that he is sending Baranovyč the corrected version of the manuscript so that the work might later be printed "either in Moscow, should it be appropriate to send to the printing house after such a delay, or in the Kievan Caves printery, where [such work is done] more easily, more nicely, and more willingly (*snadnej i ładniej i radniej*)." Writing that he has kept Baranovyč's original text with his corrections and emendations to answer any inquiries concerning the matter, Połacki commends himself to Lazar's prayers and reminds him of the fee due him.

Letter 3, dated "*Anno a partu Virginis 1670, Maii*," is the least effusive, most sober and decisively negative of the three texts printed here. Short and to the point, this letter by Połacki indicates that the matter of publication has not only reached a dead halt, but that there is little hope for improvement. Whereas in letter 2 Połacki conveyed reasons for the delay, in this letter he seems to be at a complete loss. He writes: "...so that the time is not convenient for the publication of the sweet sounds of the clergy. And whether this will be a long pause, it is difficult to guess, at least through the entire winter [?], for, to my vexation, I received the response: 'Not soon,' they said, 'will you get a mouthpiece for those trumpets,' having heard which, I lost the last underpinnings of hope (*anchorem spei utraciłem*), to my great sorrow and to the still greater [sorrow] of Your Grace." Expressing his dismay at this turn of events, Połacki assures Baranovyč of his continued good will and desire to aid in this matter, but again recommends that Lazar consider printing his collection in Kiev and hopes that the "golden sound" of the *Truby* will soon be heard by all. He writes: "I would desire with all my heart that I might serve God, the Church, and Your Holiness with my willing labour, but my misfortune or also someone's reluctance compels me to bear this misfortune. Your pastoral works, if not here, can nevertheless assume perfection of form in the same workshop that printed the *Sword* (*Meč*) and from it appear to the world...."[8] In closing the disappointing letter, Simiaon, as usual, requests his correspondent's pastoral blessing and recommends himself to Baranovyč's immutable philanthropy.

Baranovyč was not to be so easily dissuaded from his purpose. During 1670 and 1671 he wrote several times to the influential nobleman Artamon Matveev and even to the tsar in continuing attempts to overcome whatever obstacle prevented *Truby* from appearing in Moscow. Although these efforts proved futile, Baranovyč did succeed in eventually obtaining a subsidy from the tsar, but to print and distribute his sermons *in Ukraine only* (1674). Later efforts (1675) at distribution in Moscow met with limited success. Whatever the original objections to the work were, some of them, obviously, remained in force.[9]

From the letters published here it seems clear that tsar and patriarch were initially not opposed to the publication of Baranovyč's *Truby*, and that they readily agreed to entrust Simiaon with editing the text and pronouncing on the orthodoxy of the theological opinions contained therein. Połacki himself seems to have been sure of the eventual success of the project. But his suggestion that Baranovyč's Roman Catholic-influenced Mariology and his ideas on original sin necessitated the substitution of two sermons touching on these matters by two less controversial ones cast doubt on that optimism. If we consider that he took pains to bring the language and punctuation of the text into line with Muscovite usage, lest even minor deviations in them cause the printer to reject the text, as well as his veiled hints at the opposition of the "stubborn" and the "reluctance" of others, together with his desire to retain Baranovyč's original text and the corrections he made as a means of self-defense or justification, then we must conclude that the situation was not nearly so propitious as Połacki initially indicated. We know that both Baranovyč and Połacki expressed views that were considered suspect, if not heretical, by those opposed to *latinskoe učenie*.[10] This short exchange from their correspondence may serve to illustrate the strength of that opposition and its ability to affect the affairs of even those who had the ear of the highest political and spiritual authorities in Moscow.

Appendix

Abbreviations Found in the Texts

A°.	Anno
Archieppowi.	Archiepiskopowi
Jaśnie Przewiele.	Jaśnie Przewielebny
J(E).N.	Jeromonach Niedostojny
JE° Mści.	Jego Mość
m.p.	Manu proprio
Mści.	Miłości
O.	Ojciec
Przewieleb. Je. Mśc.	Przewielebna Jego Mość
Przewieleb.	Przewielebność
Przewieleb. T.	Przewielebność Twoja
Przewieleb. W.	Przewielebność Wasza
S.P.S.	Symeon Piotrowski-Sitnianowicz

Letter 1

GPB F.XVII.83/161 fol. 237^{v}-238^{r}

Jaśnie Przewielebny w Bogu Mści. Ojcze Archiepiskopie
Panie, Pasterzu, Ojcze i Dobrodzieju mój miłościwy

Niedawno z niespokojnich stron ukraińskich mir na Moskwę przywieziono od spokojnich caenobitów a mężnych żołnierzów Chrystusowych od Przewieleb. Je. Mści. Ojca Archimandryty pieczarskiego i wszystkiej braci, z którego zaledwo się cieszyć poczęto, aleć *Trąby* twe pasterskie w tropy za nim przyleciały wytrąbiąc *Mup* z trzema nieprzyjacioły, i classicum canendo, abyśmy się nie obespeczali od tego, który zawsze rugit jako leo głodny, aby co z owczarnie Chrystusowej pochwycił. Zaiste rzetelnie Twa Świątobliwość wyraziła, że Militia est vita hominis super terram, nierzkąc maletia dla żołnierskiej. *Trąby* są bar[d]zo potrzebne na wszelaką pobudkę. Bez *Trąb* do tych czas bywszy, spaliśmy na obie oczy cum fatiis viginibus aż i lampy wygorzały i z Apostołami w ogrojcu, a żeśmy Chrystusa utracili, zgołaśmy przespali i Thalamum i Sponsum. Ale już się, da Bóg, ockniemy na głos *Trąb* Przewieleb. W. i defecta corrigemus. Oliwy na targu póki jeszcze jarmark kupimy i z zapalonymi lampami Sponsum iako Diogenes hominem, o którym per excellentiam rzeczono "Ecce Homo" inquiremus, nie przestając szukać aż znajdziemy. Ockniemy się, da Bóg, i postregszy

incursie nieprzyjacielskie ad arma, do mieczów się rzucimy, gwalt czyniąc regno caelorom, czego gdy dokażemy, to jest gdy nieprzyjacioły zwciężymy, i caelorum arripiemus. Twojej Pasterskiej Przewieleb: aeternam gratitudinem winni będziemy za duchowne oręże, za *Miecze* i za *Trąby*. One już w ręku doskonale, te przy dobrej nadziei, bo Car JE^{o} Mści. rozkazał a swiatejszy patriarch błogosławił przejrzeć i in incude typographica położyć i gotować. W przeglądaniu już się ja trudzę, a typografii curam habere należy Preoswiaszczennomu Pawłu Metropolicie, którego crebris occasionibus [fol. 330^{v}] racz Przewiel. T. sollicitować aby sine mora dać opus ad proelum. Teraz prasa są zajęte, a będą swobodne aż na nowe lato. Daj Boże, aby te novum annum opus wespół cum novo anno imprimere poczęto. Ja ex mea parte nulli paream labori, byle inni operatores *непраздни сьдѣли*. Wiorów w ociosaniu będę się wystrzegał, chyba gdzie inaczej być nie może, mianowicie, in constructione sclavonica, która naszym stronam w rzadkim używaniu. In theologicis vero nie spodziewam się onych, bo tu nie drwa, ale drzewa dobropłodne, z których jeśli by gdzie albo wilk wynknoł [sic!], albo gałążka jaka uschła, za błogosłowieństwem Świętobliwości waszej oberznąć cultrello iudicii chocia tępym nie zaniecham. A w czym zdolność moja poszwankuje, supplex o wybaczeniu proszę. Przytym, zdało mi się consultum zawczasem occurrere przeszkodzie, którego obawiam się od upartych, mianowicie in sacrosancta sententia de immaculata conceptione Beatissimae Virginis Mariae, której Świętobliwość Twoia zelotissimus jesteś propugnator w kazaniach *Рождества Пресвятыя Богородицы и Зачатия*. Tu zda mi się słusznie, abyś Świętobliwość Twoja raczył drugie napisać kazania niewspominając nic de culpa originale i przysłać, abym jeśli będą mordicus przeczyli i drukować tak nie chcą ci, na których cardo rei, miał co substituere sine mora, a jeśli nie contradicent, co daj Boże, tedy i oboje drukować. To przełożywszy, sam się kładę u nóg twych pasterskich błogosławieństwa żebrząc i pro pensję moją na usługi commeduiąc. Data na Moskwie A^{0} 1669 Junii 13.

Przewielebnym Ojcom Życzliwym
Adhaerentom Świętobliwości Waszej
Uniżony mój pokłon zasyłam
i o modły święte proszę, nie zapominaiąc i Brata Atanzego

Świętobliwości Waszej Najniższy
Podnożek
Symeon Sitnianowicz Piotrowski
JEromonach niedostojny m.p. scripsit

Jasne Przewiel. w Bogu Je^{o} Mści. Ojcu Łazarazowi Baranowiczowi Archieppowi. Czernihowskiemu, Nowogrodskiemu i wszystkiego Sewera, Panu i Pasterzowi i dobrodziejowi mnie wielce miłosciwemu nummittimi pateant.

*"raczył dać opus sine mora" crossed out in text

Letter 2

GPB F.XVII.83 fol. 91^{v}-92^{r}

Jaśnie Przewielebny w Bogu Mści. Ojcze Archiepiskopie,
Ojcze, Pasterzu, Panie i Dobrodzieju,

Mile przyjowszy pasterskie błogosłowieństwo przez Je^{o} M. O. Archimandrytę Czernihowskiego z pisaniem od Świętobliwości Waszej przesłane, upadam do nożek twych pasterskich, czołem za nie uderzając nabożnym sercem do Najwyższego Tronu modły me zasyłam, aby prawica Siedzącego po prawicy Ojcowskiej miłościwie przez długie lata Twoją Świętobliwość w dobrym zdrowiu i pomyślnych successach pielęgować raczyła dla podpory Cerkwie prawosławnej, i dla pospolitego wszystkich nas zakonników we wszelakich cnotach tuo exempla zbudowania; a po łabędziej szędziwości [sic], aby przy swym tronie po prawej stronie między prawymi sercem stawiła, i za trudy, któreś pracowicie ronił na usługach Cerkwie matki przez swe wszystkie pozycje, i swieżo w napisaniu *Trąb duchownych* niebieską płaciła nagrodę, których głosu wdzięcznego, że się nie zdarzyło prętko praelo na świat wydać, wielce condoleo, bom życzył ut in omnem terram exiret sonus earum et in finis orbis terrae verba earum. Ale ogromnekrzykliwe Marsa okrutnego trąby z piszczalmi Bellony niemelodyjno grającymi temu przeszkadzają. Jako inter armas silent leges, tak i *Trąby duchowne* boskie leges ogłaszają, jakom zrozumiał, muszą pomilczeć do słusznego czasu. Interea visum est (jakoś mi Świętobliwość Wasza rozkazać raczyła w pisaniu przez O. Protopopę danym) przesłał je do Świętobliwośći Waszej dlatego, abyś je bystrzejszym okiem danej sobie od Boga mądrości przejrzyć raczył, bym ja swym płochym rozumkiem w tak wysokich i subtelnych conceptach nie zdrożył. Posyłam tedy przepisane i przejrzane ode mnie, które jeśli nie mało poróżnią z originałem, temu się nie racz twa Świętobliwość dziwować, bo quot capita, tot sensus, a mając od Waszej Świętobliwości licentiam, czyniłem jako mógł najlepsze, a jeśli gdzie irrepsit deffectus, niech mi to Ojcowski wybaczy affectus. Słowięszczyzna [sic] nieco odmienna, bom się accomodował tutejszej. Dualis numeros mało wwodziłem, aby trudnośc nie była czytającym. Interpuncje położone jako tutejsza dzierzy typografia, jako to notam interrogationis ; a nie ? bo inaczej imprimere [fol. 92^{r}] nie zezwolili. W tamtych krajach według swego zwyczaju łatwo się poprawi, jeśli jego potrzeba pokaże. Jeszcze posledni raz miałem attentii czytać oddając po sexternu [?] do typografii; na ten czas mogło by się upatrzyć co upuściło, lecz to za niezbytnymi tutejszemi przeszkodami. Bóg wie, jeśli mnie continuare zdarzy się. Co się zda non rectum correctum Twoia pasterska mądrość poprawi. A co wiedzieć, jeśli nie dlatego Bóg zarządził taką zwłokę, aby twe pasterskie oko rewidowało, żeby złote opus wasze, mojej śmiałości a nieumiętności nie było oszpecone. Racz tedy, Świętobliwy Panie, pracę do prac przyłożyć, et tuum officere partum aparuit [?] gdzie zezwolisz, lubo na Moskwę jeśli będzie po takiej zwłoce słuszna do typografii przesyłać, lubo i w Pieczarskiej imprimere typografii, gdzie snadniej i ładniej i radniej. Owe zaś

scripta, których się corrigowało, zostawiam przy sobie dla tej przyczyny, aby jeśli spytają mię o nie, miał co praesentare i został bez kłopotu. Kończę legendę, sam się ścielę u nożek twych i o błogosłowieństwa pokorniuchno proszę. A pro pensję moją miłościwej łasce Pańskiej commenduiąc zostawam Świętobliwości Waszej, Pana i Pasterza mego.

J. M. Ojcu Archimandrycie Nowogrodskiemu,
Wzystkim życzliwym adhoerentom Waszej
Świętobliwości a mnie łaskawym Ojcom i
Braciom pokłon uniżony zasyłam [i]
o modły święte proszę.

We Wszem życzliwym
i uniżonym sługa
i ustawniczym
Bogomodlcą
S.S.P.J.N.

Data 166[9]
10bris
16.

Letter 3

GPB F.XVII.83 fol. 332[r]

Jaśnie w Bogu Przewielebny Mści. Ojcze Archiepiskopie
Panie, Pasterzu, Ojcze i Dobrodzieju Mój wielce miłościwy,

Miedzy wdzięcznymi słodkośpiewaiących w dnie wesolne wiosenne ptaków głosami, miłoby słyszeć y głos *Trąb duchownych* mądrze od twoiej pasterskiej czułości elaborowanych, na który wiem, że są zawsze patulae aureo twe pasterskie, ale jeszcze tej pociechy zajrzy nam sinistra Fortuna, bo jako świeckich trąb żadne echo po te czasy na Moskwie nie bywa, dla ustawnicznych lamentów i wielkich kłopotów wielkiego monarchi słychane; tak i duchownych dzwięku słodkiego wydać czas jest nie wygodny, a długoż tak pauzować zgadnąć trudno, bodaj nie przez całę linią [?] bom otrzymał respons na dokudę "Nieskoro" prawi "monsztuk do tych trąb otrzymacie" co usłyszawszy, anchorem spei utraciłem z żalem moim a większym Przewiel. Waszej. Jużbym nierad negativas appossitiones zwiastował Świętobliwości Waszej, z którą nihil sequitur. Wolałbym affirmativus albo positivas o utwierdzonym *Trąb* in praelo położeniu, z których by radośc sercu Świętobliwości T. nanosić się mogła, ale że res ipsa tak dictuje i nierad piszę. Życzyłbym ja sobie ex toto corde, abym się Bogu, Cerkwi i Świętobliwości Twej zasłużył ochoczą pracą moią, lecz niedola moia, czyli też nieochota czyja i na tej szkody mi ponosić przynagla. Twoje pasterskie labores jeśli nie tu mogą, jednak na tym że warsztacie, na którym *Miecz* wziąć perfectionem i z niego światowi appelari: lubo te opus non exiguas potrzebuje opes. Jakożkolwiek tylko daj Boże w krótkim czasie tych złotych *Trąb* wdzięczny głos i święty usłyszeć Cerkwie matki synom, aby wszyscy, jednymi usty Bogu chwalę oddawszy, i za Autora modły swe nabożne k niemu wylewali. De utramque salute, który i ja synowskim sprzyjając affectum przy szczęśliwych successach na mnogie lata,

miłości i łaski Ojcowskiej żebrzę, pokornie o błogosławieństwo pasterskie upraszając, i samego siebie nieodmiennej dobroczynności intime recommendując.

Data z stolice Anno a partu Virginis 1670 Maii.

Wiernym i życzliwym Adhaerentom
Twojej Pasterskiej Świętobliwości
Zasyłam i o modły święte proszę

Waszej Pasterskiej Świętobliwości
najżyczliwszy cliens i najniższy
podnożek
S.S.P.J.N. m.p.

Notes

1. On the history of the Mohyla *Collegium* together with information about the activities of its numerous alumni, see: Metropolitan Makarij (Bulgakov), *Istorija Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii* (Kiev, 1843); V. Askočenskij, *Kiev, s drevnejšim ego učiliščem akademieju*, chaps. 1 and 2 (Kiev, 1854); Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohylańska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacji na Rusi* (Cracow, 1899-1900); Z. I. Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija* (Kiev, 1988).
2. Inasmuch as he was a Belarusian by birth and nationality, it seems fitting to use the Belarusian form of his name. (In Polish he signed himself *S. Sitnianowicz-Piotrowski.*) In Russian, the name is rendered Simeon Polockij, and in Ukrainian, Symeon Poloc'kyj. The basic biographies of Połacki are also the most important studies of his life and creative activity to 1680, Iereofej Tatarskij, *Simeon Polockij (ego žizn' i dejatel'nost'): Opyt issledovanija iz istorii prosveščenija i vnutrennoj cerkovnoj žizni vo vtoruju polovinu XVII veka* (Moscow, 1886); and L. N. Majkov, "Simeon Polockij," *Očerki iz istorii russkoj literatury XVII-XVIII vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1889), pp. 1-162. Peter A. Rolland, "Three Early Satires by Simeon Polotsky," *Slavonic and East European Review*, no. 1 (January 1985), pp. 1-20, fn. 1; Peter A. Rolland, "'Dulce est et fumos videre Patriae'—Four Letters by Simiaon Połacki," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1/2 (June 1985), pp. 166-181, fn. 1. Since the publication of the above, many other works about him have appeared; they are too numerous to list here. L. I. Sazonova, *Poèzija russkogo barokko* (Moscow, 1991), provides an exhaustive list of virtually all the published literature on Połacki's life and works to 1991, including V. K. Bylinin and L. U. Zvonareva, eds., *Simeon Polockij: Virši* (Minsk, 1990).
3. The basic publications relating to Baranovyč's life and works include: N. F. Sumcov, *K istorii južnorusskoj literatury XVII stoletija*, vol. 1: *Lazar' Baranovič* (Kharkiv, 1884) (unavailable to me at the time of writing); N. F. Sumcov, "O vlijanii malorusskoj sxolastičeskoj literatury XVII v. na velikorusskuju raskol'ničeskuju literaturu XVIII v. i ob otraženii v literature masonstva," *Kievskaja starina*, vol. 51, no. 10 (December 1895), pp. 376-79; N. F. Sumcov, "O literaturnyx nravax južnorusskix pisatelej XVII st.," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk*, vol. 11 (1906), no. 2, pp. 259-280;

V. O. Ejngorn, "Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v carstvovanii Alekseja Mixajloviča" (= *Očerki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII v.*, vol. 1) (Moscow, 1899), pp. 629-634; and K. V. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'* (Kazan', 1914; reprinted 1968), pp. 422-427. The last two sources provide much information on Lazar's activities during the period in question. They are complemented by the materials published in *Pis'ma preosvjaščennogo Lazarja Baranoviča*, 2d ed. (Černihiv, 1885), and *Akty, otnosjaščiesja k istorii južnoj i zapadnoj Rossii* (St. Petersburg), vol. 7 (1877), vol. 12 (1882), which contain much of the correspondence between Baranovyč and those in Moscow whose aid he sought on various matters, including the publication and distribution of his works. Until 1672, Połacki was a person valued by both the tsar and Patriarch Ioasaf. In that year Ioasaf died and his replacement, Ioakim (Savelov), a cleric of firm Orthodox position, proved extremely hostile to the entire Latinate trend in the Belarusian and Ukrainian churches (cf. fn. 10).

4. Tatarskij, *Simeon Polockij*, pp. 159-162, and Majkov, "Simeon Polockij," pp. 46-67, both make passing references to this episode, as do Ejngorn, "Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva," pp. 629-634, and Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*, pp. 422-27. They are inconclusive, however, about the exact reasons for Baranovyč's failure.
5. This manuscript was unknown to Połacki's biographers. An owner's inscription on the inside front cover indicates that it was in private hands until at least 1901. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*, p. 424, seems to have been the first to make use of it; he cited the letters that are published here and quoted brief portions of them in Russian translation. Since then other scholars have referred to the manuscript, without making significant use of it. In preparing these texts for publication I have followed the recommendations in Konrad Górski's "Zasady transliteracji tekstów XVI i XVII wieków," published in *Z badań nad literaturą staropolską: Program i postulaty* (Wrocław, 1952), pp. 79-87.
6. For the text of Baranovyč's letter of May 1669, see *Pis'ma*, pp. 86-89.
7. The date appears on the very edge of the folio, which might have been trimmed. On the basis of internal evidence, one can state with assurance that the year in question was 1669. Both Ejngorn, "Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva," p. 668, and Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*, p. 426, note that Galjatovs'kyj arrived in Moscow for official confirmation of his rank as archimandrite in September 1670, almost a year after his appointment by Baranovyč. Hence we must assume that Baranovyč's letter to Połacki was conveyed by one of the many representatives sent from Kiev to Moscow during this time.
8. Tatarskij and Majkov (fn. 4) refer to the publication of Baranovyč's collection of sermons entitled *Meč duxovnyj*.
9. On Baranovyč's further efforts, see *Akty*, vol. 9, cols. 238, 337-338; vol. 12, cols. 37-39. Also see Ejngorn, "Snošenija malorossiskogo duxovenstva," and Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*.
10. As early as 1664 Połacki had written to Varlaam Jasyns'kyj: "Może kto fabulae zalecać, żen tu Amaltheae cornu caelestis fundit ambroseas, ale nam

tak ich securum i używać jako canibus Aegypti z Nyla wody, abo plastru pszczołami. Matkać i tu sine aculeo, ale agmen nad szerszenie zwłaszcza advertus irritum," Central State Ancient Document Archive, *fond* 381 (Synodal Press Library Collection), MS 390, fol. 108r. Although Simiaon eventually gained the confidence of the tsar, of many Western-oriented boyars (such as Artamon Matveev), and of the aged Patriarch Ioasaf, his views were distrusted by others, including Ioakim, archimandrite of the Čudov monastery and later (1674-1690) patriarch of Moscow. Expression of Ioakim's negative opinion of Połacki's education, theology, and writings may be found in *Osten: Pamjatnik russkoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti XVII veka* (Kazan', 1865), pp. 70-74, 133-144. That assessment may have extended to Baranovyč as well.

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Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitor: Dymytrij Tuptalo's Ukrainian Sermons and the Kievan Rhetorical Model

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The art of the sermon, despite its long and notable contribution to European literature, has been neglected by Ukrainian literary scholarship. From the rise of Christianity until the end of the Baroque, the sacred oration occupied a prominent position in European literature. It is only comparatively recently, during the last two centuries, that the sermon has fallen out of the realm of belles-lettres. Similar circumstances have surrounded the fate of the sacred oration in Ukrainian literature. Although the art of the sermon flourished in Kievan Rus', with homilies of significant literary value attributed to Ilarion of Kiev and Cyril of Turaŭ, it disappeared with the disintegration of the Kievan state.[1] After experiencing a revival during the Renaissance and reaching a dazzling climax during the Baroque, the art of sermon writing in Ukraine declined, eventually disappearing as a form of artistic expression altogether.

The art of the sermon flourished throughout Europe during the religious upheavals of the Baroque period. The Baroque was a cultural period characterized by a humanist reinterpretation of Christian thought: the Baroque mind attempted an uneasy compromise between Christian theology and the scientific and humanist discoveries of the Renaissance.[2] Therefore it is not surprising that the new way of thinking would find a powerful voice in the form of the sermon. The Ukrainian Baroque was profoundly shaped by Renaissance humanism and Christian theology. The flood of new ideas pouring in from Counter-Reformation Poland, the concentration of intellectual activity in monasteries and in the Latin schools associated with them,[3] along with the atmosphere of religious crisis that characterized the conflict between Orthodox and Uniates in

Ukraine, provided the extremely fertile ground in which this art form was to flourish. The leading literary figures of the Ukrainian Baroque were almost without exception members of the higher clergy, who received training in rhetoric and poetics in the Latin humanist schools of Ukraine, of which the most important was the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium*. Not only were clerics the major producers of literature during this period, they were also its consumers: literature was produced by monastic clergy and read by other monastics, by the students who attended the Latin schools attached to these monasteries, and by the various patrons and faithful who visited these institutions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the art of sermon writing in Ukraine reached its zenith in the seventeenth-century, achieving artistic heights that have never been equalled.

In a cultural atmosphere that treasured well-written sermons, one author stands out above others. Dymytrij Tuptalo was one of the most outstanding preachers of his time, receiving acclaim for his skill throughout Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, and Muscovy. He received training in rhetoric while a student at the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium*, the intellectual and educational centre of Ukraine. While in Kiev, he received instruction in homiletics from Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj, the undisputed master of the Ukrainian Baroque sermon. Following his study of rhetoric, Tuptalo embarked on a fruitful career as a preacher (*kaznodij*), writing and delivering sermons in numerous locations throughout Ukraine and elsewhere.[4]

Only a handful of Tuptalo's Ukrainian sermons survive in the vernacular: the bulk of his extant homiletical works have been preserved in Church Slavonic translation.[5] Therefore the author's few remaining Ukrainian sermons are unique examples of Tuptalo's sacred orations, in the tongue in which they were originally preached.[6] Although Tuptalo's masterful command of Church Slavonic is unquestionable, his Ukrainian sermons offer a rare encounter with the poetic voice of a writer who was born and raised in Ukraine, spoke Ukrainian as his native language, and spent most of his life delivering sermons in Ukrainian. For this reason they merit special attention and further examination within the Kievan rhetorical tradition.

Ukrainian Baroque rhetoric is essentially a reworking of the Renaissance concepts of classical rhetoric, based on a humanist reinterpretation of the works of Greek and Roman authors. Ukrainian Baroque sermon writing draws upon one particular element of the classical tradition, namely, the theory of epideictic, or ceremonial, oration based primarily upon Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. This reworking of the principles of classical rhetoric is evident in the principal handbook of rhetoric produced in Ukraine during this period, Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj's *Ključ*

razumĭnija, which contained his tract on homiletics, "Nauka, albo sposob zloženja kazanja."[7] In essence Galjatovs'kyj's homiletical theory differed little from that of other humanist orators of the Renaissance and the Baroque.[8] His *Ključ razumĭnija* became the basis upon which sacred orators crafted their works during the second half of the seventeenth century in Ukraine.[9] Among the preachers who utilized an approach to sermon writing that closely followed Galjatovs'kyj's interpretation of classical rhetoric was Dymytrij Tuptalo. Tuptalo, Galjatovs'kyj's student, regarded the *Ključ razumĭnija* as an indispensible reference work throughout his lifetime.[10] Tuptalo was doubtless familiar with other rhetorical models, but Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka, albo sposob zloženja kazanja" provides us with an appropriate *point de repère* for understanding the homiletical methodology present in Tuptalo's work.

Tuptalo's Ukrainian sermons survived because of the efforts of Andrej Titov, who collected the various extant witnesses and published them in 1909 under the title *Propovedi Svjatitelja Dimitrija, Mitropolita Rostovskogo, na ukrainskom narečii*. Titov's collection consists of seven sermons: Sermon on the Sixth Sunday after Pascha, Sermon on the Descent of the Holy Spirit (1693), Sermon on Holy Spirit Monday (1698), Sermon on the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, Sermon on the Dormition of the Theotokos, Sermon on the Nativity of Jesus Christ, Sermon on the Feastday of the St. Michael the Archangel, and the Oration in Memory of Innokentij Gizel'.[11] Most of the sermons found in Titov's collection had indeed been previously published, but in later Church Slavonic translations. The reappearance of the Ukrainian sermons in 1909 allowed readers to reacquaint themselves with a part of Dymytrij Tuptalo's legacy that had almost been lost: the voice of a vernacular Ukrainian poet and author.

Tuptalo's Ukrainian sermons demonstrate a practical application of classical rhetoric, according to Galjatovs'kyj's interpretation of homiletical theory. An examination of individual rhetorical elements within these works reveals a close adherence to the homiletical principles of Galjatovs'kyj's *Ključ razumĭnija* in Tuptalo's own writing. His sermons display features typical of epideictic or ceremonial discourse, all of which are described in the Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka, albo sposob zloženja kazanja." These include the stylistic median of *delectare*, the aim of eulogy, the use of episodic argumentation, the object of Christian virtue, freedom of structure, and great attention to ornamentation. Although it is impossible to identify completely all elements of ceremonial discourse in these eight sermons, certain examples help to demonstrate Tuptalo's application of the principles of epideictic speech. Not only does Tuptalo remain faithful to the basic homiletical principles advocated by his teacher, but he does

so in a particularly delightful way: his imaginative use of associations and lavish use of ornament identify him as a student who has not only learned from, but has clearly outdone, his former teacher and mentor.

Tuptalo's sermons tend toward the stylistic median of *delectare* advocated by Galjatovs'kyj.[12] For example, in his Holy Spirit Sermon (1693), he presents the question: "In what manner are we to praise God the Father?"[13] He develops this theme by resorting to the technique of similarities. He starts by offering simple advice, that "if one desires to learn how to do something, one must have a example to follow: an artist has his model before himself; an architect, his plans."[14] He then explains that the example by which to learn appropriate glorification of God the Father is that of the seraphim, who stand before his throne and offer songs of praise.[15] Following this simple instruction, Tuptalo proceeds to elaborate upon the image of the seraphim as a metaphor for the Christian church offering praise to God. Each seraph has six wings, two of which cover his face, two of which cover his feet, and two of which are used to fly before the throne of the Father. The symbolic gestures of each seraph are then associated with Christian virtues: the covering of the face represents humility,[16] the covering of the feet symbolizes purity,[17] and the flight before the throne of the Father represents prayer and contemplation of the divine nature.[18] In this manner, Tuptalo takes a familiar image, well known to his listeners through the vehicles of sacred art and scripture, then introduces his point by means of a simple explanation, and then delights his audience through an imaginative use of associations.

Other examples of this kind of inventiveness can be found in these sermons. The Dormition Sermon takes another image familiar to his audience, a field of wheat, and associates this with the life of the Theotokos.[19] Tuptalo divides his field into five furrows and associates each furrow with a period in Mary's life. The first furrow is her childhood,[20] the second is the period from her betrothal to the birth of her son,[21] the third leads up to the Crucifixion,[22] the fourth is her sufferings beneath her son's cross,[23] and the fifth is her glorification among the apostles following the Resurrection and Ascension.[24] The association continues and is developed by means of an acrostic, a device typical of the Baroque. The five letters of the subject's name (i.e., MARIA) are associated with the five periods of her life. The letter M stands for "Mudraja Dĭva" ("a Wise Virgin"), the letter A for "Ahnyca Xrystova" ("Lamb of Christ"), the letter R for "Raba Hospodnja" ("Handmaid of the Lord"), the letter I for "Istočnyk Žyzny" ("Source of Life"), and the final letter A for "Apostolom Vĭnec" ("Crown of the Apostles"). In this manner, a very simple image drawn from the theme of harvest was

amplified into a discourse concerning the history of salvation.

The stylistic median of *delectare* is also evident in the Nativity Sermon. The image Tuptalo presents to his listeners is again a familiar one, drawn from sacred art: the icon of Christ's Nativity, in which the child and his mother occupy the central space of the cave, whereas in the space surrounding it are Joseph, the angels, the shepherds, the wise men, the ox, and the ass. Tuptalo then presents his listeners with a paradox: "How can it be that all of heaven—the sun, moon, stars, and everything within them—is found inside this cave?"[25] Departing from there, he develops a series of elaborate associations based on three levels of heavenly existence. On the lowest level, the cave in Bethlehem contains all representatives of the created order (e.g., shepherds, wise men, animals, etc.).[26] On the middle level, heaven is represented by the Blessed Virgin, whose womb has become a throne for the second person of the Holy Trinity.[27] On the highest level, heaven is represented by Jesus Christ, in whose person the heavenly and earthly worlds are united and two natures, divine and human, have become one.[28]

In addition to the delightful use of associations in the elocution of the sacred oration, another feature of epideictic speech that prevails in Tuptalo's sermons is the eulogistic aim of the sermon.[29] The eight sermons found in Titov's collection allow us to see examples of the three types of sacred oration based on eulogistic aims as discussed in Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka": sermons for Sundays (i.e., Tuptalo's Sermons for the Sixth Sunday after Pascha and for the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost), for feastdays of the Lord (i.e., Descent of the Holy Spirit, Nativity of Jesus Christ), of the Theotokos (Dormition Sermon), of the saints (St. Michael Sermon), and for funerals (Gizel' Oration). This is in keeping with the eulogistic purpose of sermon writing, which was to magnify the praiseworthy actions of Jesus Christ, the Theotokos, the saints, and other devout individuals.

As is typical of epideictic speech, Tuptalo's method of argumentation involves the use of episodic eulogy. Galjatovs'kyj advises the preacher to remind his listeners of the subject's virtues, of his or her good acts (*actiones humanas*), and of the miracles that give witness to his or her holiness.[30] Tuptalo follows this advice, for in his sermons we find numerous examples of such argumentation. In two of the speeches, the Dormition Sermon and the Gizel' Oration, the use of episodic eulogy is particularly effective.

The Dormition Sermon is essentially a eulogistic narration, dividing the life of Mary into five periods, and describing the various good acts associated with these periods. Her childhood is described under the heading of "Mudraja Dïva," an allusion to the ten wise virgins of

Matthew's Gospel (Matt. 25:1-13). Just as Matthew's wise virgins prepared for the arrival of the bridegroom, the childhood of his subject Mary, as Tuptalo describes it, was a period of preparation for her service to God, through her purity of body and soul.[31] The narrative of the sermon continues, now under the title "Ahnyca Xrystova," alluding to John the Baptist's proclamation of Jesus as the lamb of God (John 1:29). If Jesus is the lamb of God, then Mary is the she-lamb who gives birth to him. In this manner Tuptalo amplifies the second period of Mary's life, during which she consents to give birth to God's son, thus permitting the world to participate in his kingdom.[32] The narrative proceeds into the third period, "Raba Hospodnja," echoing Mary's own words, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord (*Se raba Hospodnja*)" (Luke 1:38). Tuptalo then gives various episodes from his subject's life, describing the many good deeds by which she served God as an earthly mother and as a spiritual daughter.[33] The fourth section of the narrative, called "Istočnyk Žyzny," celebrates Mary's ultimate role in salvation history as the vehicle by which eternal life is made available to humanity. Tuptalo vividly places his audience at the scene of the Crucifixion: Jesus hangs upon the cross, his blood flowing as a fountain of immortality. His mother stands beneath the cross and weeps, for she is the flesh by which God's son fashioned for himself a body, a body that is now broken upon the cross, for the remission of sins. Thus are two sources of life present upon Golgotha: the dying saviour and his mother. Jesus' blood and Mary's tears flow together to wash away sin, the son offering his flesh as a sacrifice, and his mother offering her love and humility, without which the sacrifice of her son would not have been possible.[34] The fifth and final episode from the life of Mary is her presence among the apostles at the Ascension, at which moment Tuptalo names her "Apostolom Vînec." At this last moment, the subject takes her place of glory in the Christian church, exalted not only among, but above the apostles. Tuptalo magnifies the Blessed Virgin as mankind's intercessor before God, and as a source of hope and comfort for all believers.[35]

A eulogistic approach to argumentation is also employed in Tuptalo's Gizel' Oration. The subject of course, is different: instead of the Theotokos, the details of whose life are drawn from myth and apocrypha, we have Innokentij Gizel', one of Tuptalo's own friends and colleagues. Accordingly, the Gizel' eulogy is built on references to actual deeds witnessed by the orator and his audience. Tuptalo constantly makes reference to the deceased's acts of service to the Kievan Caves Monastery and to the Orthodox church. Gizel' is lauded as a pastor, preacher, and spiritual guide, whose words of wisdom and good acts served as an inspiration to his brethren.[36] Gizel' is also praised for his many chari-

table acts toward the poor, the sick, and other suffering individuals. Tuptalo structures the eulogy in an elaborate manner: Gizel's good acts serve as a pillar in God's temple (i.e., the Christian church), and his charitable acts are likened to the blossoms of lilies (in Church Slavonic, *kryn*) from which this spiritual pillar, like porphyry, is fashioned.[37] As further testimony to Gizel's praiseworthiness, Tuptalo draws attention to the great honour that was given to his subject following his death, likening the hymns of the multitude of brethren who stand about his grave to the many flowers of a wreath with which the late archimandrite receives a glorious crowning in heaven.[38]

Along with the use of episodic argumentation, another epideictic feature of Tuptalo's sermons that closely follows Galjatovs'kyj's homiletical theory is the use of Christian virtues as the object of the speech.[39] An example of this is found in the St. Michael Sermon, in which the author presents a battle between the forces of good and evil. Goodness is represented by three characters—Jesus Christ in the story of the Gadarene demoniac, the seven-horned lamb of the apocalypse, and St. Michael. Evil is personified by the demons who possess the Gadarene, by the apocalyptic seven-headed dragon, and by the devils against whom Michael and his angels do battle.

Tuptalo begins by using the Gadarene narrative to show the presence of seven deadly sins in the world. He does this by atomizing the narrative into seven components and then associating each component with a particular sin. First, the demoniac wanders about the hills (Mark 5:5), avoiding the lowland settlements: Tuptalo associates his love of high places with the sin of pride.[40] The second feature of the narrative that demands our attention is the demoniac's preference to live in tombs (Luke 8:27); this represents uncleanliness.[41] The third element is the demoniac's refusal to wear clothing (Luke 8:27); Tuptalo associates this with gluttony, or drunkenness, recalling the story of Noah, who became drunk on wine and uncovered himself (Gen. 9:21).[42] The fourth component is the inability of anyone to control the demoniac (Mark 5:4); this represents greed.[43] The fifth narrative element is the man's ability to destroy the iron chains and fetters that are placed on him (Luke 8:29); this symbolizes anger.[44] The sixth incident involves the demoniac tearing at his own body with stones (Mark 5:5). Tuptalo associates these stones with jealousy, which drives people to inflict painful wounds of gossip and slander on one another.[45] The final component is the man's refusal to live in a human dwelling (Luke 8:27); this represents sloth.[46]

In this sermon Tuptalo's discourse on Christian ethics does not end with the elements taken from the Gadarene story. The moral elaboration of the speech continues, based on the second theme, taken from the

apocalypse narrative of the Archangel Michael and his host fighting against the demons. Tuptalo associates the seven deadly sins personified by the Gadarene demoniac's behaviour with the seven heads of the dragon found in the book of Revelation (Rev. 12:2). In opposition to the dragon is the lamb with seven horns, representing Christ. The orator takes his associations even further, explaining that just as the seven heads of the dragon symbolize the seven deadly sins—pride, uncleanliness, gluttony, greed, anger, jealousy, and sloth—so, likewise, do the seven horns of the lamb correspond to seven virtues. Tuptalo then describes these seven virtues by means of yet another association, namely, with the seven archangels who fight in St. Michael's apocalyptic war against evil.[47] The first archangel is Michael, who carries a two-edged sword, one edge representing knowledge of God, and the other representing the knowledge of one's self having been created by God. Thus, knowledge of God and of God's creation is the means by which the first head of the dragon, personifying the sin of pride, is severed.[48] The second archangel, Gabriel, carries a lantern in his hand, representing purity of soul, the light of which causes the unclean darkness to disappear, thus severing the second head of the dragon.[49] The third angelic hero is Raphael, the healer from the Book of Tobit (Tob. 3:17). The medicine that he brings is self-denial, achieved through fasting, and by which the third head of the dragon, that of gluttony, is destroyed.[50] The next angel to appear is Uriel, whose opponent is the fourth head of the dragon—greed. The weapon with which he destroys this sin is love and knowledge of Jesus Christ, by which the Christian may mortify the desire for material comforts.[51] The fifth archangel is Salathiel, who offers prayer as a weapon with which to destroy the fifth head of the dragon—anger.[52] The sixth angelic victor is Jehudiel, who provides us with patience as the virtue by which the sin of jealousy is defeated.[53] The seventh and final archangel to appear is Barakiel, who offers God's blessings and spiritual gifts as the means by which the seventh head of the dragon—sloth—is destroyed.[54] As the scent of flowers draws bees to gather pollen, gratitude for divine gifts inspires the Christian to perform acts of spiritual fortitude. Thus Tuptalo's St. Michael Sermon lists the seven virtues by which the seven deadly sins are vanquished: knowledge of God, purity of soul, self-denial, love and knowledge of Jesus Christ, prayer, patience, and remembrance of divine things.

Not only is the aim of Tuptalo's writing in keeping with Galjatovs'kyj's interpretation of epideictic speech: the structure of these sermons displays a flexibility of strategies that is also typical of ceremonial discourse.[55] Tuptalo's choice of themes demonstrates a great deal of variety and originality in the introductions of these speeches: he draws

from a wide selection of texts, sometimes taking his theme from the Gospel reading for a given Sunday or Feastday (e.g., Sermon on the Sixth Sunday after Pascha, Sermon on the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, the St. Michael Sermon), sometimes from a different text of Scripture (Dormition Sermon, Gizel' Oration), and other times from biblical texts (the two Holy Spirit sermons, Sermon on the Nativity of Christ). Tuptalo's application of *dispositio* faithfully adheres to the three *partes oratoriae* of *exordium*, *narratio*, and *conclusio*. He carefully follows Galjatovs'kyj's demand that all three parts be interrelated and that continuity of theme be maintained throughout the speech.[56] The Sermon on the Sixth Sunday after Pascha begins with a theme taken from the Sunday Gospel reading: "and this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God." (John 17:3)[57] The *narratio* develops the theme based on the concept that the only way to know God is through love.[58] The *conclusio* reiterates this idea, and again quotes the original passage from John's Gospel.[59]

The Sermon on the Descent of the Holy Spirit (1693) does not take its theme from the Gospel reading of the Feast (Matt. 18:10-20), but instead from the prayer of the Doxology, "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit."[60] The *narratio* is divided into three sections, each of which describes how to glorify one person of the Holy Trinity. The Father is glorified through prayer,[61] the Son is glorified through suffering,[62] and the Holy Spirit is glorified through purity.[63] The *conclusio* repeats the Doxology, ending with a prayer of glorification to the Holy Trinity.[64]

The theme of the Holy Spirit Monday Sermon (1698) is likewise taken from a non-biblical text, rather than from the prescribed Gospel reading (John 7:37-52). The theme quotes a verse from the *eulogitaria* of the Resurrection sung at the Sunday office of *orthros* (matins): "Let us worship the Father and his Son and his All-Holy Spirit—the Holy Trinity."[65] The *narratio* is divided into three sections, elaborating upon three different ways in which we are to worship the three persons of the Trinity. We worship the Father with our soul,[66] the Son with our body,[67] and the Holy Spirit with our spirit.[68] The third section on the worship of the Holy Trinity comprises the *conclusio*.

The sermon for the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost takes its theme from the Sunday Gospel Reading, which describes Jesus' healing of a crippled woman on the Sabbath (Luke 13:11-17). The *narratio* elaborates upon the idea that if one wishes to receive God's mercies, it is necessary first to approach him in love and repentance.[69] The *conclusio* consists of a prayer beseeching God to show his abundant mercies.[70]

The theme of the Dormition Sermon is not taken from the Gospel reading of the feast (Luke: 10:38-42,11:27-28), but instead from another

Gospel text: "and he will gather the wheat into his garner..." (Matt. 3:12, Luke 3:17).[71] The *narratio* describes the life of the Theotokos, likening it to field of wheat that brings forth an abundant harvest.[72] The *conclusio* repeats the wheat metaphor and offers a hymn of praise to the Theotokos.[73]

Tuptalo's choice of theme for the Nativity Sermon is also original. Instead of the Gospel reading (Matt. 2:1-12), Tuptalo introduces a theme that quotes the ninth *heirmos* of the canon for the feast, which is also sung during the liturgy in place of the *axion esti* (i.e., "It is fitting and right to call you blessed, O Theotokos"): "I behold a mystery, a strange and wonderful mystery: heaven is a cave."[74] The *narratio* elaborates upon the mystery of the Incarnation, expressing wonder at God's son being born of an earthly mother, and having chosen the cave in Bethlehem as his dwelling place.[75] The *conclusio* repeats the theme of "a mystery, a strange and wonderful mystery" that offers salvation to the universe.

The St. Michael Sermon is the most complicated of all the sermons in regard to theme. In the year 1697, this church holiday fell on the Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost, thus giving Tuptalo the opportunity to construct his sermon around two themes, one for the Sunday and one for the feastday. The Gospel reading for the Sunday is taken from Luke 8:26-39, which describes the healing of the Gadarene demoniac.[76] The theme for the feastday comes from the book of Revelation, describing the war in heaven between St. Michael and his angels against the dragon (Rev. 12:7).[77] Tuptalo's *narratio* skillfully intertwines the two themes: Jesus' struggle against the multitude of demons who possess the Gadarene is not only identified with the Archangel Michael's war against the dragon, but the two events are described as one, transposing differences of time and setting. The two narratives are combined to present a discourse on how the seven virtues can defeat the seven evils that exist in the world. The *conclusio* glorifies the triumph of Jesus over the demons, of St. Michael over the dragon, of goodness over evil.

The theme of the Gizel' Oration is taken from the book of Sirach: "he will be widely praised for his wisdom, and it will never be lost, because people for generations to come will remember him. The Gentiles will talk about his wisdom, and he will be praised aloud in the assembly..." (Sir. 39:9-10).[78] The *narratio* continues with a eulogy to Gizel', praising his wisdom and service to God. The speech concludes with an imaginary dialogue between Saints Anthony, Theodosius, and the other fathers of the Kievan Caves Monastery, in which they call out to Gizel', commending him for his lifelong service to the monastery, and inviting him to partake of his heavenly reward.[79] In this manner, as in all his other sermons, Tuptalo carefully ensures that unity of theme is maintained

throughout the oration, from *exordium* to *narratio* and finally to *conclusio*. Such variety in the subject of a speech's introduction is permissible—in fact, desirable, according to Galjatovs'kyj's theory.[80] Similarly, Tuptalo pays heed to Galjatovs'kyj's advice never to construct a sermon without a theme, and to avoid substituting a simple retelling of the Gospel narrative for the theme.[81]

Tuptalo's sermons are extremely rich in the last element of Galjatovs'kyj's homiletical theory—ornamentation. Galjatovs'kyj suggests a number of techniques for attracting an audience's attention, such as the promise of new and unusual ideas, and the use of wordplay, apostrophe, *loci topici*, epithets, and metonymy.[82] Tuptalo's orations display a wealth of ornament, clearly identifying him as an orator who has mastered the art of ceremonial discourse.

Tuptalo's love for wooing his audience with new and unusual ideas is particularly evident in four of the sermons: the Sixth Sunday after Pascha, the Holy Spirit, the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, and the Nativity. In each of these, the preacher presents his listeners with a paradox, and then proceeds to give a solution to a seemingly impossible mystery.

An example of this is found in the Sermon on the Sixth Sunday after Pascha. He places before us what appear to be two irreconcilable beliefs: on one hand, in order to have eternal life, it is necessary to know God in faith and in love, but, on the other hand, faith and love are not enough to know God.[83] What, then, is missing? Tuptalo solves the mystery by explaining that good works are the sign of true love, and without them, eternal life is unattainable. He quotes the first Epistle of John, "if a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar..." (1 John 4:20), thus demonstrating that good works are essential in order to love God. He then presents his listeners with yet another problem: even though good works are essential to salvation, not all people who perform good deeds will be saved. Why not? He compares two women from scripture, Rahab the harlot (Josh. 2:1-12) and the sinful woman who anoints Jesus at the house of Simon the pharisee (Luke 7:36-38). Rahab saves the lives of Joshua's spies in order to protect her own home, while the woman from Luke's Gospel bathes Jesus' feet with her tears, wiping them with her hair, for no motive other than love. Thus the solution is given: in order to find salvation, faith must be accompanied by selfless acts of love performed only for the sake of God.[84]

Similar uses of paradox are employed in other sermons in order to attract the audience's attention. The Holy Spirit Sermon presents us with the dilemma: "How is it possible to know God without putting him to the test?"[85] Tuptalo solves this problem by explaining that it is futile to

test God, for the only way to know him is through faith.[86] The Sermon on the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost describes the Prophet Elijah's condemnation of King Ahab of Gilead, in which he utters the words, "the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand" (1 Kings 17:1). Tuptalo points out the paradox in this statement: Elijah was standing before Ahab, not before God; therefore his words do not make sense. The preacher unravels this dilemma by explaining that Elijah stood before the Lord God in spirit, not in body.[87] The theme of the Sermon on the Nativity of Christ (see above) is also based on an unusual dilemma, that of how all the universe may be contained within the cave of Bethlehem. Tuptalo explains how this ceases to be a paradox when it is placed within the realm of the spiritual, rather than the physical order of being.

Another ornamental technique used by Tuptalo is the use of word-play, especially the use of alliteration and other plays on word sounds such as rhymes. A particularly impressive use of this ornamental technique is found in the Dormition Sermon, in which the Theotokos is likened to a light (in Ukrainian Church Slavonic: "svit") and an elaborate play is made upon this one sound:

> Источникъ свѣта Маріа стала подъ крестомъ, абы заходящу солнцу, свѣтилу свѣта, на его мѣсци, яко свѣтопріимная свѣща, хощь тму просвѣщала; абы Богу умершу, не упалъ свѣтъ, она свѣтеніемъ своимъ вспирала. О свѣте нашъ Богородице! Просвѣщай тму нашу![88]

Numerous examples of wordplay may be found elsewhere in Tuptalo's sermons. The section of the Dormition Sermon entitled "Mudraja Dïva" contains an alliteration of the sound "m": "Mudraja dïva, prečystaja i preblahoslovennaja Marija, črez more mira žytija svoeho tečenie mïla."[89] This same sermon plays upon a rhyme between the word for "mud" (i.e., "blato") and the word for "gold" (i.e., "zlato"): it describes the Theotokos in the following manner: "ves' mir jak blato, ona edyna v nem zlato."[90] The St. Michael Sermon contains an alliteration based on the consonant "č": "čystyj Prečystoj Divy prečystoho začatija."[91] In his introduction to the Sermon for the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, we find a play on the syllables "dar" and "dor": "Slovo Božie...est' podarkom i dorohoju. Est' podarkom, a šče nad zloto i dorohoe kamen'e."[92]

Apostrophe is another ornamental technique that Tuptalo frequently employs. Throughout his sermons we hear him calling out to Jesus Christ and to the saints as if they were present in the building. In the Holy Spirit Sermon we find an elaborate apostrophe in which Tuptalo cries out to Jesus, and laments over the saviour's agony in the garden of Geth-

semane:

> О, Христе, Спасителю нашъ! Ото Іюда уже близко зъ войскимъ [*sic*], со оружіемъ и дреколми, поймати тебе, зъ повязами связати тебе! Ото безчестіе Тебѣ тужъ! Ото уже готуютъ на тебѣ каторскіи инструмента— бичѣ, розги! Ото тешутъ дерево на крестъ на срочитную со злодѣи смерть. Ото внетъ злодѣи ковати на Тебе будутъ: аще не бы былъ сей злодѣй, не быхомъ его тебѣ предали: восми, возми, распни![93]

Another example of apostrophe is found in the Sermon for the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, where he implores the prophet Elijah to explain the meaning of his words to King Ahab.[94] Not only does Tuptalo call out to saints for advice, he also thanks them when assistance has been given, as in the case of the Sermon on the Sixth Sunday after Pascha, when he thanks St. John Chrysostom for helping us to unravel the mystery of the knowledge of God.[95] In addition to saints, we also find Tuptalo making apostrophe to individuals who have not been canonized, as in the Gizel' Oration, when he calls out to the late archimandrite, commending him for his service to the Kievan Caves Monastery and celebrating his eternal memory in the Rus' church.[96]

Use of *loci topici* as a means of ornamentation has already been observed in the episodic structure of the Dormition Sermon and of the moral discourse found in the St. Michael Sermon. The technique of atomization of a narrative into its component parts, and the extremely elaborate associations that are then drawn from these components, demonstrate Tuptalo's skill in the art of Baroque ornament. From the above analysis of episodic eulogy in the Dormition Sermon, it is seen how Tuptalo develops this sermon by means of various *loci topici*: he begins by atomizing the image of a field into five furrows; he then proceeds to associate these five furrows with five periods in the life of the Theotokos; he then associates these five periods with the five letters of her name; the five letters of her name then provide five titles (i.e., "Mudraja Dĭva," "Ahnyca Xrystova," "Raba Hospodnja," "Istočnyk Žyzny," and "Apostolom Vĭnec") by which she is exalted for her role in salvation history. In developing the moral discourse found in the St. Michael Sermon, the author again utilizes a complex system of *loci topici*: the Gadarene narrative is atomized into seven components, which are then associated with seven deadly sins; St. Michael and six other archangels are then associated with seven virtues; the author then turns his attention to the seven-headed dragon of the apocalypse, whose seven heads become associated with the seven deadly sins; likewise, the seven-horned lamb from this same incident becomes associated with the same seven virtues represented by the seven archangels.

Epithet and metonymy are also a part of Tuptalo's ornamental

technique. Use of epithet may be seen in his Gizel' Oration, the theme of which is taken from the book of Sirach, and concerns remembrance (Sir. 39:9). Tuptalo uses two different epithets to describe the concept of eternal remembrance—a pyramid and a pillar (in Church Slavonic: "stolp").[97] In the *narratio*, he describes various monuments erected in memory of famous individuals,[98] all of which may be associated with the present honor given to the late archimandrite. Metonymy is also employed. An example of this is seen in the Dormition Sermon, where two metonymies are used in one sentence. The Blessed Virgin is identified as a fresh-water stream, and the world surrounding her is described as a salty ocean. In this manner, the purity of Mary's life amid the evils of a sinful world is likened to a stream of fresh water that preserves its sweetness even when flowing into the midst of a briny ocean.[99] This, along with the already mentioned examples of ornamentation found in these sermons, clearly identifies the author as someone who has mastered the art of delighting an audience.

Dymytrij Tuptalo's Ukrainian sermons are superb examples of ceremonial oratory. The artful synthesis of humanist strategies of expression with theological content in his works places him among the most gifted writers of the Ukrainian Baroque. His practical application of the classical principles of demonstrative speech testifies to his sound humanist training in the rhetorical theories of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. His work demonstrates the important role that Latin school learning played in seventeenth-century Ukrainian thought, as well as the continuity of this tradition in the course of study at the Kievan Mohyla *Collegium*. Although doubtless well read in the works of classical and contemporary orators, Tuptalo, like many of his contemporaries, owed much to Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj and the *Ključ Razumĭnija*. Tuptalo's affinity with Galjatovs'kyj's theory is especially evident in the epideictic profile that reflects the wealth of compositional strategies recommended in Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka, albo sposob złożenja kazanja." The stylistic median of *delectare*, the eulogistic aim, the use of episodic argumentation, the object of Christian virtue, the structural freedom, as well as the great love for ornamentation expressed in these orations, demonstrate a practical application of the principles of ceremonial speech as presented in Galjatovs'kyj's theory. As teacher and mentor, Galjatovs'kyj was instrumental in Tuptalo's development as an orator. Tuptalo not only remains faithful to the basic homiletical principles advocated by Galjatovs'kyj: he even surpasses his former teacher and mentor, employing the most delightful strategies of association and a luxurious abundance of ornamentation. Dymytrij Tuptalo's Ukrainian sermons fit squarely within the Kievan model of demonstrative oratory, offering a unique insight into

the late seventeenth-century Ukrainian way of preaching.

Notes

1. See *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, Simon Franklin, trans. and ed., Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations, vol. 5 (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).
2. For a summary of humanistic and theological elements in Baroque culture, see Jean Krynen, "Aperçus sur le Baroque et la Théologie Spirituelle," *Baroque revue internationale*, no. 1 (1963), pp. 27-35.
3. Not all Latin schools of the period were attached to religious institutions—for example the Černihiv *Collegium*.
4. This article uses the International System of transliteration for Church Slavonic, Middle Ukrainian, and the modern languages using the Cyrillic alphabet. Transliteration is based on the actual source cited. All transliterated quotations from Titov's redaction of Tuptalo's sermons reflect the seventeenth-century Ukrainian literary standard; thus the Cyrillic [r] is transliterated as [h], [ѣ] as [i], [и] as [y]. Transliterations from nineteenth and early twentieth-century Russian sources will reflect standard contemporary Russian orthography (i.e., [ѣ] as [e], genitive [-aro] as [-ogo]).
5. Following Tuptalo's death in 1709, his collected homiletical works were published in numerous Church Slavonic editions. Differences between the surviving Ukrainian witnesses and later Church Slavonic editions of these same sermons consist primarily in the substitution of Church Slavonic lexicon for Ukrainian words. For a complete list of all publications of Tuptalo's works prior to 1960, see Leonid Maxnovec', *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk*, vol. 1: *Davnja ukrajins'ka literatura X-XVII ss.* (Kiev, 1960), pp. 569-576.
6. The text of these sermons is found in Andrej Titov's *Propovedi Svjatitelja Dimitrija, Mitropolita Rostovskogo, na ukrainskom narečii* (Moscow, 1909). All citations from Tuptalo's Ukrainian *Propovĭdi* are according to Titov's redaction.
7. In this essay all citations from *Ključ razumĭnija* and from "Nauka, albo sposob złożenja kazanja" are from Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj, *Ključ razumĭnija*, I. Čepiha, ed. (Kiev, 1985).
8. Concerning the Latin humanist school tradition and its influence on I. Galjatovs'kyj and other seventeenth-century Ukrainian writers, see: Tadeusz Grabowski, *Historja literatury polskiej od początków do dni dzisejszych 1000-1930*, vol. 1 (Poznań, 1936), pp. 240-250; Nikolaj Petrov, "Iz istorii gomiletiki v staroj Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii," *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii*, no. 1 (1866), p. 90; Nikolaj Petrov, *Očerki iz istorii ukrainskoj literatury XVII i XVIII v.* (Kiev, 1911), pp. 20-29; Evgenij Petuxov, *Russkaja literatura* (Jur'ev, 1912), pp. 232-240; Ilija Šljapkin, *Svjatitel Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja* (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 52-68; Nikolaj Sumcov, *O literaturnyx nravax južnorusskix pisatelej XVIII v.* (St. Petersburg, 1906), pp. 18; Konstantin Xarlampovič, *Zapadnorusskija pravoslavnyja školy XVI i načala XVII vĭka* (Kazan', 1898),

p. 436.

9. The importance of Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka" as a homiletical handbook is noted by many scholars, including: Michael Berndt, *Die Predigt Dimitrij Tuptalos* (Frankfurt, 1975), p. 16; Konstantyn Bida, *Ioannikij Galjatovs'kyj i joho "Ključ razuminija"* (Rome, 1975), p. xi; Aleksej Galaxov, *Istorija russkoj slovesnosti drevnej i novoj*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1880), p. 359; Johannes Langsch, "Zur Charakteristik Simeon Polockijs als Prediger," *Kyrios*, no. 5 (1940/41), p. 92; Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohienko), *Ukrajins'ka cerkva za čas rujiny* (Winnipeg, 1956), p. 312; "Iz istorii gomiletiki v staroj Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii," *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii*, no. 1 (1866), p. 92; Evgenij Petuxov, *Russkaja literatura* (Jur'ev, 1912), p. 248; Vasilij Sipovskij, *Istorija russkoj slovesnosti*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1911), p. 189; Nikolaj Sumcov, "Ioannikij Galjatovskij," *Kievskaja starina*, no. 6 (1884), p. 199; Zoja Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija* (Kiev, 1981), p. 64.

10. This fact is attested in one of Tuptalo's own letters, recorded by Ilija Šljapkin (in his *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja* (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 430): «Ключъ разумѣнія въ Ярославли же снискалъ, но непольныи ибо два суть выхода *Ключовъ* тѣхъ: первый Печерской печати, тои непольныи, а другій Львовскои печати полныи болѣе Печерскаго. Аще бы лучилось чесности твоей у кого обрѣсти *Ключь* Львовскаго выхода, молю на малое время мнѣ прислать: нуждица мнѣ въ немъ нѣчто прійскать.»

11. The first sermon in Titov's anthology is Tuptalo's Sermon on the Sixth Sunday after Pascha. Titov erroneously identifies this sermon as a Sermon for the Seventh Sunday after Pascha. In the church calendar there is no seventh Sunday after Pascha—the seventh Sunday following Pascha is Trinity Sunday (Pentecost). Also, the theme of the sermon (John 17:2) is taken directly from the Gospel reading for the Sixth Sunday after Pascha. No date and no location for the sermon are given. Titov's redaction of this sermon is based on three Ukrainian manuscripts found in his collection: nos. 1277 (fol. 109-115), 1280 (fol. 36-40), and 1286 (fol. 191-202). A fourth Ukrainian witness (no. 1293) is found in a mid–nineteenth-century Church Slavonic publication of Tuptalo's works: *Sočinenija Svjatitelja Dimitrija, Mitropolita Rostovskogo*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1857), pp. 238-2510.

The second is the Sermon on the Descent of the Holy Spirit, which was preached in Kiev, at St. Cyril's Monastery, on Holy Spirit Monday, 1693. Two Ukrainian witnesses are found in Titov's collection: nos. 1277 (fol. 117-126) and 1286 (fol. 203-220). A third Ukrainian witness is taken from an 1884 publication of Tuptalo's Church Slavonic Sermon for Trinity Sunday (E. Barsov, "Slovo Svjatitelja Dimitrija, Mitropolita Rostovskogo, v den' Svjatyja Trojcy," *Čtenija v Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix*, no. 2 [1884], pp. 82-106).

The third Ukrainian sermon is the Sermon on Holy Spirit Monday. Titov incorrectly identifies this work as a sermon for the previous day, Trinity Sunday. Again, the text of the sermon itself gives us the correct identification of the oration. It identifies the Gospel reading for Trinity Sunday as the *previous day's* Gospel text (i.e., the preacher would have to have been speaking on the following day, Holy Spirit Monday). This sermon was preached in Baturyn in the year 1698. Titov's collection has three Ukrainian

witnesses of this sermon: numbers 1277 (fol. 126-135), 1280 (fol. 40-48), and 1294 (fol. 135-154). A fourth witness is also found in *Sočinenija*, vol. 2 [1857], pp. 270-293).

The fourth sermon is on the Twenty-Seventh Sunday after Pentecost. Its date and the location where it was preached are unknown. Titov found only one witness of the sermon in Ukrainian, no. 1289 (fol. 24-37). According to Titov, the authorship of this work is confirmed by a comparison with Tuptalo's Church Slavonic Sermon for the Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost (*Sočinenija*, vol. 2 [1857], pp. 432 ff.), with which it shares a similar introductory section. Certain stylistic features, such as the frequent use of apostrophe, which are typical of Tuptalo, also bear witness to his authorship.

The fifth sermon is Tuptalo's Sermon on the Dormition of the Theotokos. It was preached in Kiev, at the Caves Monastery, on 15 August 1693. Only one witness exists in Titov's collection of Ukrainian sermons, no. 1285 (fol. 395-419).

The sixth sermon in the anthology is the Sermon on the Nativity of Jesus Christ. Four Ukrainian witnesses of it are found in Titov's collection: nos. 1277 (fol. 498-505), 1280 (fol. 242-251), 1284 (fol. 1-14), and 1285 (fol. 255-272). A fifth witness, no. 1294 (fol. 154-172), is found in *Sočinenija*, vol. 3 (1857), pp. 445-469.

The seventh sermon is the Sermon on the Feastday of St. Michael the Archangel. It was preached in Kiev, at St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery, on 8 November 1697 (the date coincided with the Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost). Three Ukrainian witnesses are found in Titov's collection: nos. 1277 (fol. 267-275), 1280 (fol. 147-154), and 1283 (fol. 83-92). A fourth witness, no. 1293 (fol. 177-194), is also found in *Sočinenija*, vol. 3 (1857), pp. 553-573.

The last sermon to be included in Titov's anthology is Tuptalo's Oration in Memory of Innokentij Gizel' (d. 18 November 1683). This is the oldest of Tuptalo's surviving sermons. It was preached in Kiev, at the Caves Monastery, on 24 February 1685. Three Ukrainian witnesses are found in Titov's collection: numbers 1277 (fol. 365-380), and 1280 (fol. 252-269). A fourth witness, no. 1294 (fol. 173-202), is taken from *Sočinenija*, vol. 3 (1857), pp. 574-612.

12. Galjatovs'kyj's theory of homiletics follows the Ciceronian concept of style based on *docere*, *delectare*, *movere* (cf. Cicero, *Orator* 6: "erit igitur eloquens —hunc enim auctore Antonio quaerimus—is qui in foro causisque civilibus ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat"). During the Baroque, rhetorical practice tended toward the stylistic median of *delectare*. In the "Nauka," Galjatovs'kyj adheres to this middle ground. On one hand, he stresses the didactic purpose of the sermon, which is to instruct believers (*Ključ*, p. 218: «Старайся, жебы всѣ люде зрозумѣли тое, що ты мовишъ на казаню»), while emphasizing the need for the sermon to be intelligible, because without this quality, the sermon gives rise to confusion, which is tantamount to false preaching (*Ključ*, p. 218: «Єсли будешъ слово божоє проповѣдати, а нѣхто егѡ не розумѣетъ, себе самого будешъ проповѣдати и выславляти, не слово божіе.») On the other hand, he also suggests that a good preacher should delight his audience (*Ključ*, p. 216: «Можешъ повабити людей до слуханья...»).

It is through imaginative wordplay, association, and other ornamental devices that the orator entices his audience to listen further. Several sections of the "Nauka" are devoted to techniques for "attracting the audience's attention" through the use of delightful language.

13. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 11: «А як скутечне славити Бога должни....»
14. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 13: «Хто хочетъ яковаго научитися ремесла, смотритъ на образецъ, на зразъ и на кшталтъ того дѣлаетъ: маляръ маетъ кунштъ предъ собою, а будовичной—абрисъ.»
15. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 13: «Хто хочешъ Бога славити благоговѣйно, що бы могли быти на твоей души збудованіе, а то маетъ кунштъ, то абрисъ: шестокрылніи серафими коло Божіаго престола.»
16. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 14: «Двохъ крилъ треба, да лицы закрыемъ, и тыми быть разумѣти можемъ завстыданеся [sic] предъ Богомъ своихъ грѣховныхъ спросностей и смиреніе, тое альбовѣмъ обое умѣетъ лицо закрывати человѣку.»
17. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 15: «Гды до благоговѣинства въ славословіи Божомъ на закрытіе ногъ нашихъ возмѣмъ себѣ за крыла двое сіе: познанье подлости своей и опасство и острожность надуфаня въ себѣ самомъ....»
18. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 17: «Еще жъ двоих крилъ треба до летанья, а тыми суть у святаго Назіанзена дѣяніе и видѣніе, то есть, акціа и контемпляціа, простѣй мовячи—подвигъ въ молитвѣ и богомысльность, альбо вниманіе въ молитвѣ....»
19. Like that of his contemporary Ukrainian and Belarusian Orthodox clergymen, Tuptalo's Mariology is a synthesis of Orthodox and Roman Catholic thought. Throughout the Dormition Sermon, he variously identifies Mary as the Theotokos (*Bohorodycja*) and as the Most Pure and Blessed Virgin (*prečystaja i preblahoslovennaja Dĭva*). Theotokos is the title given to Mary in Eastern theology, while the Blessed Virgin is the title by which she commonly is known in the Christian West. Tuptalo's frequent use of the second indicates the Roman Catholic colouring of his Orthodox theology. Indeed, four years before the preaching of the Dormition Sermon, in 1689 Tuptalo was chastised by Patriarch Ioakim of Moscow for including the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in his *Četi-Minei*. See I. Šljapkin, *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja*, pp. 191-193. For more on the cult of the Immaculate Conception in Orthodox Ukraine, see Sophia Senyk, "The Marian Cult in the Kievan Metropolitanate, XVII-XVIII centuries," *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII-XVIII. Acta congressus Mariologici-Mariani internationalis in Republica Melitensi anno 1983 celebrati*, vol. 7: *De cultu Mariano saeculis XVII et XVIII apud varias nationes*, Pars altera (Rome, 1988), pp. 520-26.
20. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 56: «На початку вступѣмъ до первой пресвятаго ея житья бразды, альбо части, которая починается отъ дому святых праведных родителей Іоакима и Анны, и идетъ чрезъ церковь Соломонову, а терминъ ей обрученіе.»
21. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 62: «Зъ первой пресвятаго житіа Богородична бразды поступимъ до другой; а тая есть въ кровѣ Іосифовѣ, въ дому Іосифомъ;

починается отъ Соломоновой церкви, а термѣнъ ей ажъ во Виѳлеемѣ въ вертепѣ.»

22. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 65: «Отъ Виѳлеема починается третяя бразда пресвятого Богородичнаго житія, а идетъ чрезъ Египетъ, зъ Египту до Назарету поворотъ чинитъ и сягаетъ ажъ подъ гору Голгоѳску близко.»
23. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 68: «Четвертая бразда пресвятого житіа Богородична на Голгоѳѣ подъ крестомъ.»
24. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 69: «Пятая остатная пресвятаго житья Богородична бразда отъ горы Голгоѳскія, идетъ подъ гору Олѣвную до Геѳсимании.»
25. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 77: «Еднымъ словомъ выявилися секрета Божіи, таинства; спѣваетъ нынѣ церковь: таинство странно вижду и преславно. А еще чировныи секрета? Цѣлое небо, зъ солнцемъ, мѣсяцемъ, зъ звѣздами, та зо всѣмъ маестатомъ Божіимъ втиснулося въ едину щуплую Виѳлеемскую пещеру: небо сущу пещеру.»
26. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 83: «Першое нижшое небо будь Виѳлеемская пещера.»
27. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 83: «Другое вышшое небо—пречистая и преблагословенная Дѣва.»
28. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 83: «Третее—найвышшое емпирейское небо, бо оттолъ сошедый Богъ воплощенный въ дитинномъ тѣлѣ.»
29. Edward Corbett (*Classical Rhetoric*, New York, 1965, p. 29), places the art of sermon writing under the category of epideictic oratory. Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka" is concerned with the eulogistic branch of epideictic speech, in which worthy purposes and actions are amplified. The individuals who are eulogized in this type of oration are Jesus Christ, the Theotokos, the saints, and other pious individuals. Galjatovs'kyj treats these subjects in three different chapters of his "Nauka": "Simple Instruction on the Composing of Sermons for the Lord's Day" («Наука албо способъ латвѣйшій зложеня казанья на неделѣ»), "Simple Instruction on the Composing of Sermons for Feast days of the Lord, and of the Theotokos, and of other Saints" («Наука латвѣйшая албо способъ зложеня казаня на праздники Господскіи и Богородичныи и на Свята иншыи»), and "Instruction on the Composing of Sermons for Funerals" («Наука, албо способъ зложеня казанья на погребѣ»).
30. The method of persuasion present in Galjatovs'kyj's theory closely agrees with Aristotle's second mode of persuasion (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (1356a 1): τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ποριζομένων πίστεων τρία εἴδη ἐστίν· αἱ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ἤθει τοῦ λέγοντος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναί πως, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι) i.e., that of putting the audience into a frame of mind in which it takes on the speaker's viewpoint. Just as Aristotle advises the ceremonial orator to intersperse the oration with bits of episodic eulogy when speaking of the subject's virtue and describing its good results (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (1418a 32): ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς δεῖ τὸν λόγον ἐπεισοδιοῦν ἐπαίνοις), so Galjatovs'kyj advises his students to remind listeners of a particular saint's virtues, of the good acts by which he or she served Christ, and of the miracles that bear testimony to his or her holiness (*Ključ*, p. 215: «Єсли зась въ свято схочешъ казанье повѣдати, на томъ казаню хвали того святого, которого въ той день празднуютъ, наприкладъ, пречистую дѣву богородицу, албо апостола, албо пророка, албѡ мученика,

албо святителя, албѡ пустелника, албѡ иншого святого, припоминай егѡ цнѡты и добрыи учинки, которыи ѡнъ мѣлъ, живучи на свѣтѣ, якъ служилъ богу и церкви святой, що за Христа теръпѣлъ, якиє чинилъ чуда и теперъ якіи чинитъ людемъ, утѣкаючимъся до егѡ добродѣйства»). Similarly, Galjatovs'kyj agrees with Quintilian that a certain amount of proof is required in panegyric speech (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* [III vii 5]: "ut desiderat autem laus quae negotiis adhibetur, probationem, sic etiam illa quae ostentationi componitur habet interim aliquam speciem probationis"); in order to be credible, Galjatovs'kyj advises his students to quote frequently from other sources that support the speaker's viewpoint. The suggested sources include biblical references, the witness of various saints and church fathers, examples, analogies, and, in fact, anything that can lend credibility to the sermon (*Ključ*, 218: «До того, що мовишъ на казаню, доводи того писмѡмъ святымъ зъ библѣи, албѡ свѣдоцъствомъ святого ѡтца якого, учителя церковнаго, албѡ прикладомъ, албѡ подобенствомъ, албѡ яким-колвекъ доводом потверди и подопри свою мову, то вѣдячнѣйшая твоя мова будетъ людемъ, которыи тебе слухаютъ, и вѣритимутъ тому, що мовишъ»).

31. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 61: «Учитъ Мудрая Дѣва своимъ прикладомъ и чистоты, а чистоты сугубой, внѣшнѣй и внутрней, тѣлесной и душевной.»
32. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 63: «Агница, рожшая агнца, внетъ приходитъ на мысль крѣпость, и сила, и слава, и царство Агнца.»
33. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 68: «Такъ высоко класъ служебничества рабы Господней въ працахъ около выкормленя отрока божественнаго Христа, такъ высоко выросл ъ, же засталъ дцерію Божіею.»
34. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 68: «Обы два тыи пренаисвятѣшіи источники омывали болото грѣховъ нашихъ, овъ кровью, овъ слезами. Источникъ Христосъ во изліанііи своея крове приносилъ Богу Отцу о насъ жертву, за ны пожреся Христосъ. Источникъ Маріа, во изліанііи слезъ своих зъ жертвою духа тужъ стояла—жертва Богу духъ сокрушенъ.»
35. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 69: «Во всѣхъ тыхъ скорбныхъ печалехъ святымъ апостоломъ едина была утѣха, отрада, притомность въ тѣлѣ пречистыя, преблагословенныя Дѣвы, на которую, по свидѣтельству многихъ, бы кто и наискорбнѣйшій спозрѣлъ, веселіа духовнаго исполнися.»
36. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 124: «Его учителныхъ словесъ слухаючи, немощный яко лекарствомъ посилялся; не его добродѣтелное житіе взираючи, братъ кождый, яко о столпъ, опирался и будовался: его отческую милость къ себѣ видячи, яко лоза виноградная коло своего держался; ему, яко овечка, пастырю своему послѣдуючи, доволно пищею духовною питался.»
37. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 128: «Признаете, ласки ваши, же нынѣ поминаемый высоцѣ превелебный его милость архимандритъ тые крины имѣнія садилъ обфите въ полю, въ рукахъ убогихъ; гойный былъ ялмужникъ, здобился тотъ духовный столпъ криновымъ цвѣтомъ, яко порфирою яковою, гды такъ былъ милостивъ на убогіе.»
38. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 131: «И тутъ при гробѣ нынѣ поминаемаго въ блаженной памяти преставльшагося, его милости господина отца и пастыря нашего, вижу уплетаючіеся вѣнцы и посипуючіеся цвѣти. Высоцѣ въ Богу превелебный его милость господинъ отецъ архимандритъ съ превелебными

ихъ милостьми отцами игуменами Кіевскими и со всѣми отцами и братіами. Гды коло того жалобнаго катафалку станутъ, по обычаю церковному окружаючи вколо, то будетъ вѣнецъ по писанному: окрестъ его вѣнецъ братій; почнутъ панахидныи пѣти гимна, то будутъ цвѣты.»

39. Regarding the aim of eulogistic speech, Galjatovs'kyj affirms that the object of such speech is to show virtue and nobility in the subject. Galjatovs'kyj's definition of virtue, however, reflects the basis of his thought in Christian ethics. Among the virtues that he gives as examples in the "Nauka" are humility, fasting, generosity, love for one's neighbor, patience, quietness, prayer, obedience, purity, living according to God's commandments, meekness, and righteousness (*Ključ*, p. 215: «Єсли въ недѣлю схочешъ казанє повѣдати, ωбѣщуй въ пропозыцыи цо доброє хвалити, наприкладъ, покору, постъ, ялмужну, страннолюбіє, терпенїє, молчанїє, молитву, послушенство, чистость девическую, животъ законничый, кротость, справедливость, албо иншую цноту»). The opposites of these virtues are vices: pride, anger, jealousy, sloth, drunkenness, avarice, and other sins (*Ključ*, p. 215: «Єсли теж схочешъ, ωбѣщуй въ пропозыцыи цо злоє ганити, наприклад, пыху, гнѣвъ, заздрость, лакомство, пянство, вшетеченство албо иншый грѣхъ»). In his instruction on funeral orations («Наука, албо способъ зложеня казанья на погребѣ»), Galjatovs'kyj gives a complete list of good qualities for which the subject of an oration may be praised, including the individual's loyalty to the Orthodox faith and his various *gesta humana*. He gives numerous examples of such acts, including care and generosity toward the poor; offerings to churches, monasteries, hospitals; the welcoming of visitors, travellers, and pilgrims; the liberation of slaves from captivity; acts of humility and piety; frequent participation in the sacraments of confession and holy communion, in addition to fasting, prayer, and other selfless works and efforts for the benefit of church and homeland (*Ključ*, p. 221: «Въ нарраціи выхваляй умерлого человѣка, выличаючи єго цноты и добрыи учинки, же заховал вѣру православную до конца живота своего, же былъ милосердный на людей убогих, спомагалъ ихъ ялмужною святою, же накладал на церквы, на монастыри, на шпиталѣ, прїймовалъ въ домъ свой гостей, приходневъ, пелґрымов, выкуповалъ и вызволявъ неволникωвъ зъ неволѣ поганскои, же былъ покорнымъ, набожнымъ, часто ωчищалъ сумленьє своє сповѣдю святою и прїймовалъ пренайсвятѣйшїй сакраментъ еυхарістїей тѣла и крове Христовои, заховалъ посты, застановялъся за Церковъ Божїю и за ωтчызну, великїи працы и труды для Церкви Божеи и для ωтчызну подыймовалъ»). Thus, the object of the sacred oration is to show the presence of Christian virtues and the mortification of sin in the subject of the speech.

40. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 102: «Въ горахъ бѣ вопія: то знакъ перваго грѣха смертнаго—гордости.»

41. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 102: «Живяще во гробѣх: то знак втораго грѣха смертнаго—нечистоты.»

42. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 102: «Въ рызу не облачашеся: то знакъ третьяго грѣха смертнаго—овжирства, жарлоцтва, піянства, которое и праведнихъ Ноевъ обнажати умѣетъ.»

43. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 102: «Никтоже можаше минути путемъ тѣмъ: то знак

четвертаго грѣха смертнаго—лакомства.»

44. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 103: «Растерзая узы желѣзныя: то знакъ пятаго грѣха смертнаго—гнѣва.»
45. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 103: «Толча каменіемъ: то знакъ грѣха шестаго смертнаго—зависти.»
46. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 103: «Въ храмѣхъ не живяше: то знакъ седмаго грѣха смертнаго—лѣнивства.»
47. Tuptalo's seven archangels reveal his late seventeenth-century, Jesuit-style, Ukrainian Orthodox way of thinking. Three of these archangels have unusual names: Salathiel, Jehudiel, and Barakiel. According to Tuptalo (*Propovĭdi*, pp. 100-101), the names of these angels, and the descriptions that accompany them, are taken from mosaics found in the *thermae* of Diocletian's baths (restored by Michelangelo and now known as the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli) in Rome, and from copies of these images frescoed on the walls of the cathedral in Palermo, Sicily. These three names, and the reference to the Palermo frescoes, are taken directly from an early seventeenth-century commentary on the book of Revelation by the Jesuit scholar Cornelius a Lapide (in Dutch: Cornelis Cornelissen van den Steen, 1567-1637). Lapide was the Jesuits' most prolific scriptural exegete of the seventeenth century, and his work was circulated throughout Roman Catholic (and Ukrainian Orthodox) Europe. According to I. Šljapkin, (*Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremja*, appendix, p. 55) Tuptalo's library contained ten volumes of Lapide's scriptural *commentaria*, including his exegesis on the apocalypse. It was doubtless a source from which Tuptalo drew when composing his St. Michael Sermon. For references to Lapide's Revelation commentary, including these three angelic names and the references to the Palermo frescoes, see Theodor Klauser, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 208, 217, 231. For a complete bibliography of Lapide, see: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 4 (Louvain, 1963), pp. 1511-1526.
48. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 103: «Святый архистратигъ Михаилъ, чести и славы Божой обороніа, ткнетъ по зміевой той главѣ отмстителнимъ мечемъ, обоюду острымъ который зъ едной стороны наощренъ познаніемъ Бога творіа своего, зъ другой стороны наощренъ познаніемъ себе, же суть створеніе создателю.»
49. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 104: «Стаетъ противъ той нечистой головы святый Гавріилъ...а стаетъ зъ свѣтлою (яко въ ночи) лихтарнею, тму вшетеченства отгоняющею, а якобы на грѣху застаючи, обличаючи, громячи, завстизаючи, и казнь наносячи, оразъ и съ презорчистымъ стает звѣріадломъ, абы тое шкаредное головиско, якъ зразливый базѣлешекъ свою въ зѣріадлѣ шпѣтность увидѣвши само отъ своего взорку здохло...а твоего смроду отворочаются вси цілому дредныи, душу свою въ тѣлѣ, якъ свѣчку въ лихтарнѣ, тьмою нечистоты непомраченную, заховати усилуючи, а въ сумнене свое чистое, якъ въ зеріадло.»
50. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 105: «Восхити Рафаилъ демона...а тым поступкомъ кождого учитъ: кладе сердце твое на жаристое угліе любве Божія, а вилготность тѣла твоего страстную высушь, выпаль воздержаніемъ, постомъ.»

51. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 105: «Четвертый аггелъ святый Уріилъ, служитель божественныя любве, на тую голову добыветъ меча а оразъ и огня...и меч и огнь то сут любве божественныя знаки. Кто мѣетъ сердце свое любовію Божіею уязвленное, яко мечемъ, кто мѣетъ сердце свое желаніемъ Бога распаленное, яко огнемъ.»
52. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 106: «Стаетъ противъ той зміевой яростной головы святый Селаѳіилъ, выну къ Богу о родѣ человѣчестѣмъ моляйся, а молитвами своими яко рѣкою огнь, ярость огнепалную вражію затопляетъ.»
53. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 106: «Святый Егудіилъ завистную бѣсовскую голову, простираетъ десницу свою зъ вѣнцемъ златымъ, коронуючи тыхъ, которыи претерпѣваютъ крѣпко зависть такъ отъ враговъ видимыхъ, отъ друговъ и сосѣдовъ враждебнихъ, яко и отъ враговъ невидимыхъ.»
54. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 107: «Семую голову зміеву седмаго грѣха смертнаго лѣности святый Варахіилъ запахомъ рожь бѣлыхъ, которыми суть благословенства и дарованіи Божіи человѣкомъ чрезъ руки его подаваемыи, тыми оную труитъ и убиваетъ.»
55. The treatment of structure in Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka" is also typical of epideictic speech. Classical rhetoric allows for great freedom in the introduction of a speech (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* [III viii 9]: "in demonstrativis vero prohoemia esse maxime libera existimat"). Likewise, Galjatovs'kyj gives several choices for the subject of the introduction. For Sunday sermons, the theme is taken from the Sunday Gospel readings: *Ključ*, p. 216: «Ґды въ недѣлю схочешъ казанье повѣдати, ѡзми ѳема зъ єѵангелїи, которое читано было на службѣ божей, и ведлугъ тоеи ѳемы учини казанье.» For festal sermons, the theme is drawn from various books of the Bible, including the Pentateuch, Psalms, Proverbs, Prophets, Epistles, the Gospels, and the Apocalypse (*Ključ*, p. 216: «Єсли засъ въ свято схочешъ казанье повѣдати, можешъ любъ зъ книгъ Мѡѵсеѡвыхъ, любъ зъ ѱалмѡвъ Давидовыхъ, любъ зъ приповѣстей Соломѡновыхъ, любъ зъ прорѡка, албѡ апостола якого, любъ зъ єѵангелїа, любъ зъ апокалиѱи»). Less frequently, Galjatovs'kyj suggests that a preacher may wish to choose a theme from non-biblical sources, such as patristic writings, or from liturgical texts, such as *troparion*, *kontakion*, *stichera*, *sedalion*, *antiphon*, *theotokion*, or other church hymns appropriate to the given feast day (*Ključ*, p. 217: «Єсли въ короткомъ часѣ притрафиться великая и пилная потреба повѣдати казанье, а не можешъ взяти ѳемы въ писмѣ святомъ, въ библѣи, на той часъ можешъ знайти ѳему зъ святого ѡтца якого, учителя церковного, албо зъ тропаря албѡ зъ кондака, албѡ зъ стихиры, албѡ зъ сѣдалны, албѡ зъ антифѡна, албѡ зъ догмата, албѡ иншогѡ гимну церковного»).
56. Galjatovs'kyj, *Ključ*, p. 211: «Тыи всѣ части мают ся згажати зъ ѳемою...части, которы ся въ казанью знайдуютъ, повинны ся зъ ѳемою зъгажати, жебы що ся въ ѳемѣ знайдуєтъ, тое въ ѥ҃ѯордїумъ, и въ нарраціи, и въ конклюзїи ся знайдовало.»
57. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 1: «Се есть животъ вѣчный, да знаютъ Тебе Единаго истиннаго Бога.»
58. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 6: «А то жъ явно, же тотъ тылько Бога добрѣ знаетъ, хто его любитъ.»

59. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 9: «Тако гды хто любовь правдивую въ сердцы своемъ до Бога мѣетъ, той запевне добрѣ Бога знаетъ, коштуетъ его любовію и знаетъ сердечною сладостію, яко благъ есть, и таковый власнѣ доступитъ живота вѣчнаго зъ познанія Бога походячого, по словеси Христову: се есть животъ вѣчный, да знаютъ Тебе единаго истиннаго Бога.»
60. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 10: «Слава Отцу и Сыну и Святому Духу.»
61. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 17: «Власнѣ теды Богу Отцу въ молитвѣ нашей благоговѣинство прислушаетъ.»
62. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 19: «Если теды хочемъ Сына Божіа въ тѣлѣ нашемь прославити, мѣемъ же его прославити крестомъ, страданьми.»
63. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 22: «Чистотою убо теды маемъ Бога Духа Святого прославляти.»
64. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 25: «Слава Отцу, и Сыну, и Святому Духу. Слава Богу Отцу, сѣдящему на престолѣ славы своея! Слава Богу Сыну, преклоншему небеса и сошедшему на землю! Слава Бога Духу Святому, вездѣ сущему и вся исполняющему!»
65. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 26: «Поклонѣмся Отцу и его Сынови и Святому Духу, святой Троици.»
66. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 29: «То поклонъ Богу Отцу, а поклонъ той будетъ отъ души нашей.»
67. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 38: «Такъ теды и нашъ поклонъ, отъ тѣла нашего бываемый Богу Сыну.»
68. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 42: «Отъ духа нашего поклонъ Святому Духу.»
69. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 47: «Тыхъ только Господь человѣколюбивыми зритъ очима, которыи приближаются ему сердцемъ, а далеко отстоящимъ, зъ блуднымъ сыномъ удаляющихся на страну далече, хощь и видитъ всевидящимъ очима на ихъ, человѣколюбными еднакъ и милосердными очима на ных не поглянетъ и якобы не дозритъ.»
70. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 54: «Радуемся и мы о тебѣ, Господѣ нашемъ, Христе Спасителю нашъ, а молимъ твою благость: покрый насъ и отъ сонма и оружіа враговъ нашихъ видимыхъ и невидимихъ, во вся дни живота нашего, уврачуй душевныя и тѣлесныя недуги наши, и вѣчнаго угодившихъ тебѣ наслѣдія не лиши насъ!»
71. This text is read during the liturgy on the eve of the feast of the Theophany (January 6/19); it quotes the words of St. John the Baptist, prophesying the arrival of the Messiah. Its choice as a theme for the feast of the Dormition, however, is hardly inappropriate. The Dormition of the Theotokos, which falls on August 15 (28), coincides with the harvest period in Ukraine. Much of Ukrainian folklore surrounding this holy day is rich in harvest imagery. See Stepan Kylymnyk: *Ukrajins'kyj rik u narodnix zvyčajax v istoryčnomu osvitlenni*, vol. 5 (Winnipeg, 1962), pp. 95-107.
72. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 56: «Нива, яко мовится, есть шестьдесятолѣтное житіе пречистыя Богородицы, маючая своя бразды, свои части, на которихъ класы ей добріи, а надъ всѣхъ святыхъ Богу пріятнѣйшіи дѣла.»
73. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 74: «Отдаемъ должный поклонъ и мы вси тебѣ, о пренебесная хлѣба животнаго пшенице....»

74. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 76: «Таинство странное вижду и преславно: небо сущу пещеру.»
75. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 79: «Небо престолъ есть Божій, а и въ пещерѣ Богъ сѣдитъ на престолѣ святѣмъ своемъ, на рукахъ дѣвическихъ.»
76. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 93: «Пришедшу Іисусови въ страну Гадаринскую....»
77. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 93: «Михаилъ и ангелы его брань сотвориша съ зміемъ.»
78. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 108: «Не отъидетъ память его, и имя его поживетъ въ родъ и родъ, премудрость его повѣствуютъ языци, и хвалу его исповѣсть церковь.»
79. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 133: «Буди тебѣ память вѣчная и въ небѣ посредѣ преподобныхъ и богоносныхъ отецъ нашихъ Антонія и Ѳеодосія и прочихъ отецъ печерскихъ, абысь тамъ слышалъ завше таковый привѣтъ....»
80. Cf. Galjatovs'kyj, *Ključ*, p. 516.
81. Cf. Galjatovs'kyj, *Ključ*, p. 516.
82. Another characteristic of Galjatovs'kyj's "Nauka" that borrows from classical theory about epideictic speech is the great attention that is paid to ornamentation as a means of delighting the audience. Galjatovs'kyj gives several techniques for "enticing the audience to listen" («Повабити людей до слуханья»), including the promise of new and unusual ideas, the use of wordplay, apostrophe, epithets, metonymy, and *loci topici*. One way in which the preacher may interest his listeners is by promising them something new and wonderful that they have not seen nor heard of before (*Ključ*, p. 216: «Можешъ повабити людей до слуханьа ѡбѣцати якую новую речъ показати, которои ѡни не видали и не чували»). Another technique involves wordplay, which is typical of the humanist *copia verborum*. Poetic effects may be achieved by playing with the letters of a subject's name (e.g., «Богъ же богатъ сый въ милости») and Galjatovs'kyj suggests that it is possible to organize an entire sermon based on the structure of a wordplay (*Ključ*, p. 216: «Можешъ повабити людей до слуханья, тлумачачи якоє імя, и можешъ цілоє казанье часомъ зъ имени учинити»). Another technique is the use of apostrophe, whereby the preacher turns his attention to the individual who is the subject of the oration, and addresses him or her directly. Galjatovs'kyj suggests that a preacher may wish to call upon Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin, or the saints, as if they were present in the room, and beseech them for help (*Ključ*, p. 217: «Можешъ конклюзію въ казанью учинити, ѡбернувшися и мовячи до Христа, албо до Пречистои Дѣвы, албѡ до иншогѡ святогѡ»). Another ornamental technique recommended by Galjatovs'kyj is the use of epithets, or the giving of many different names for one thing (*Ključ*, p. 220: «Єдна речъ мнѡгими и розными именами называєтъся»). Metonymy is another ornamental technique in which the preacher calls two different objects by the same name (*Ključ*, 220: «Ведлугъ розмаитогѡ сенсу мнѡгїи и розъныи речи єднимъ ся именемъ называютъ.») Yet another technique is the use of *loci topici*, or extended associations between many different objects. In his "Nauka," Galjatovs'kyj suggests the use of *loci topici* as a means of ornamenting sermons. One example he gives is a sermon on the feast of St. Nicholas, in which various precious stones are described;

these stones are then associated with the decorative stones on St. Nicholas's mitre; and finally, the decorations on St. Nicholas's mitre are then associated with various virtues belonging to the saint (*Ključ*, p. 230: «Въ нарраціи выличай тыи дорогіи каменѣ—карбункулъ, ясписъ, шафѣръ, хризолѣтъ, берилъ, ґаґатокъ, аметист, шмараґдъ, топазіѡнъ, маґнесъ, которыи каменѣ Святый Ніколай въ коронѣ своей маєтъ и кождого каменя натуру власности и скутки аппликуй до Святого Ніколая»). A similar example is found in his sermon for St. Onuphrius: various threads used for weaving are described; from these threads St. Onuphrius (who is portrayed nude in icons) weaves himself a garment; finally the threads of this garment are associated with the saint's virtues (*Ključ*, p. 230: «Въ нарраціи выличай тыи нитки—лняную, волняную, єдвабнию, золотую, зъ которыхъ Святый Онофрій уткалъ собѣ шату, кождои нитки власности и скутки аппликуй до Святогѡ Онофрію»).

83. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 1: «Першая—не кождый Бога добрѣ знаетъ, що черезъ вѣру Его знаетъ; а затымъ не кождый вѣрный христіанинъ доступитъ живота вѣчнаго; другая—тотъ тылько добрѣ Бога знаетъ, который Его при вѣрѣ и любитъ, а любитъ правдивѣ, и тотъ только доступитъ живота вѣчнаго.»
84. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 7: «Еще и то певной знакъ правдивой любви Божой, естли хто любитъ Бога для самого тылько Бога, а не для себе, то есть не для своей приваты, не для своего пожитку, не для заплаты.»
85. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 11: «А якожь...будемъ знати Бога, ежели о немъ...не будемъ испытовати?»
86. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 12: «Не высокомудрствуй, но бойся; вѣруй, славь, покланяйся благочестно, а не истязуй любопытно.»
87. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 48: «Стою,—мовитъ,—предъ Богомъ: живъ Господь, емуже предстою предъ нимъ: то есть: любъ тѣломъ есмь на земли, предстою лицу царя земного, але умъ мой, мысль моя, сердце мое самому на небесѣхъ сущему, на херувимскихъ престолѣхъ почиваюшему, предстоитъ Богу.»
88. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 69.
89. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 61.
90. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 60.
91. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 104.
92. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 43.
93. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 18.
94. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 48: «Святый пророче Иліе, що жъ ты мовишь?»
95. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 5: «Дякуемъ тебѣ, учителю святый, за науку.»
96. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 133: «Буди тебѣ и во всей Россѣй церкви вѣчная память....»
97. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 110: «Пирамиду альбо столпъ ку вѣчной памяти въ Богу зешлому высоцѣ превелебному его милости господину отцу Иннокентію Гизелю....»
98. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 109: «Ноево по потопѣ размноженное потомство, зебравши о томъ раду, мовитъ: пріидите, да созиждемъ себѣ градъ и столпъ, емуже верхъ будетъ до небесъ, и сотворимъ славно имя наше.... Авессаломъ, втожъ прагнути вѣчной у людей памяти, поставилъ бѣ столпъ себѣ во удоли

царствѣм.... Симонъ Маккавей, такъ же хотячи родичамъ и братамъ своимъ, тут тежъ и себѣ память учинити....»

99. Tuptalo, *Propovĭdi*, p. 61: «Рѣкою была Мудрая Дѣва, пречистая и преблагословенная Маріа: чрезъ море міра житія своего теченіе мѣла....»

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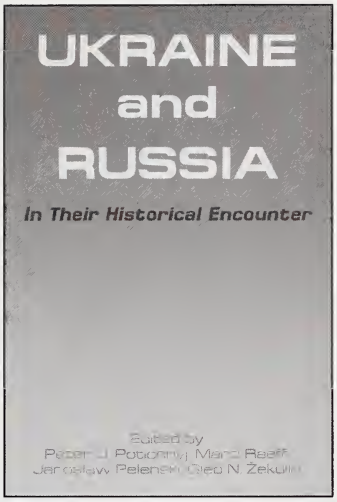

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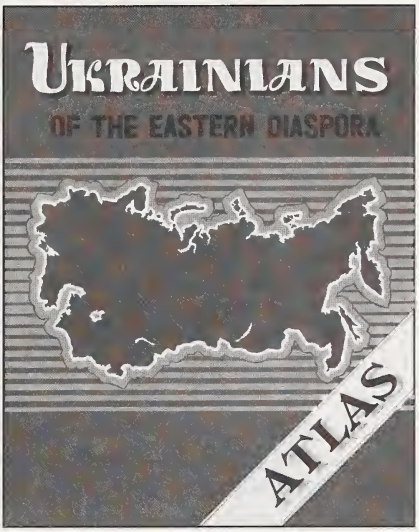

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