ORTHODOXY AS A FIGHT FLAG FOR COSSACK AUTONOMY
WITHIN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

The relevance of the article is conditioned by the need to uncover the genesis of state-developing processes in Ukraine as part of the European socio-cultural space of New time. The purpose of the study is to find out the basic principles and ways of forming the idea of Cossack autonomy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of XVI - the first half of XVII c. The methodology is based on the application of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, retrospection) and specifically historical (problem-chronological, historical-comparative and critical-analytical) methods of scientific research. It clarifies the genesis of the self-government of the Zaporozhye community and the extension of its principles to the Dnieper region. Key focus is dedicated to the role of Orthodoxy in this process via the leaders of Zaporozhian Army and Ukrainian high clergy. The author proves that the principles of self-government as an important factor of autonomy were formulated in Zaporozhian Sich. This led to the appearance of various political projects, where the leading role was assigned to the Zaporozhian Army. The union of the Cossack elite with the Orthodox hierarchs promoted an awareness of the positions of both parties in the conditions of Polish expansion. It was fully manifested during the Cossack rebellions in Ukraine in the 20-30s of the XVII c., which led to the formation of the idea of Cossack autonomy within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The results of the research will contribute to the study of the evolution of the state idea in early modern Ukraine.

Keywords: Ukrainian Cossacks; Cossack autonomy; Orthodoxy; Zaporozhian Army; clergy.

Methods
The methodological basis of the article is the principles of historicism, systematality and objectivity in the approach to clarify events in the past. General scientific (analysis, synthesis, retrospection) and specific historical (problem-chronological, historical-comparative, critical-analytical) methods are used while solving stated tasks.

Results
The modern concept of autonomy - the special status of entities that exist within a state on the basis of broad self-government, is incorrectly applied unconditionally to the early modern era. At the same time, self-government is a fundamental principle of legalized independence. The fact of recognition was, as a rule, based on the formed phenomenon, the duration of which was different. This thesis is quite adequate to the genesis of the idea of Cossack autonomy within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

It is quite obvious that Zaporozhian Sich did not have a separate legal status, but the absence of legal grounds does not deny the fact of its existence with specific self-government in the second half of the XVI c. It initiated the idea of the Zaporozhye community as a self-sufficient military and political union in relations not only with the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but also with the outside world. The Cossack system envisaged the functioning of the Cossack Council, which addressed the most important issues of community life through a narrow circle of senior leaders, which is led by the otaman. So there was actual autonomy in Zaporozhye, which is designated in the national historiography as "the Cossack Christian Republic" (Nalyvaiko, 1992). Its priority values were knightly dignity and fight against enemies of Orthodoxy. Separate elements of the autonomy of Zaporozhian

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Embassy of Cossacks again went to Warsaw. One of the points in their petition concerned the "reassurance of our ancient Greek faith...". Sigismund III Vasa's decision not to accept Cossacks' request led to a further escalation of social tension in Ukraine, and in 1625 a new rebellion broke out in the Dnieper region.

The punishments could not resolve the conflict with the help of weapons, instead they concluded a compromised Kurukivska agreement, where the Cossacks achieved rights to assert rights on a certain territory. One of the clauses of the agreement contained information about the formation of six registry regiments upon the territorial principle - Bilotskerivskyi, Pereyaslavskyi, Korsunskyi, Kanivskyi, Chyhrynskyi and Cherkasy. Obviously, it was on the basis of this document requirements of rebellions led by Taras Fedorovich were formulated in 1630 about the withdrawal of the Crown troops to the West of the Bila Tserka. By the way, in the Hetman's universals, alongside the Cossack demands, for the first time it was stated "fight for faith". The Crown Hetman Stanislaw Konopczynski also emphasized the religious aspect of the rebellion led by Fedorovich in his speech at the Seim in 1631: "There were letters from some spiritual and secular persons where they stated that their faith is being ruined, churches being taken and they ask for defense; these rumors annoyed poor people and stirred up the whole Ukraine, so that none of the nobility there was safe in their home" (Peasant Movement, 1993: 239).

A clearer definition of the scope that the Cossacks were prepared to defend is contained in the decision of the Korsunskaya Council of 1632, which it was declared that "they did not give up the peasant faith; if Poles press further on their faith they will appeal to the Tsar and Grand Duke Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia, so that the sovereign may have welcomed them, ordered to take under his state hand, and they, Belarusians and Cherkasians, will stand on the Dnieper for their faith." (Reunion, 1954, 1: 129).

For the first time the Cossacks came up with the idea of asserting their rights in a certain territory, namely Left Bank Ukraine. In essence, it was about the intentions to form own Cossack republic.

In the same year, during the royal election, the Cossacks made a great deal of effort for the appearance of "The Articles to appease the Russians people", which legalized the Orthodox Church hierarchy in Ukraine and Belarus. Kyiv was recognized as the center of the metropolis. A special commission which was set up at the Coronation Seim was supposed to deal with the redistribution of church property between the Orthodox and the Uniates. An important factor in the stabilization of Orthodoxy was the approval of Petro Mohyla in the post of Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia, which was officially recognized by the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The legalization of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine had little effect on the practice of local administrators. While pursuing governmental policies, they supported the position of Roman Catholics and Uniates in every possible way, despite the constant protests by the Orthodox. The mood of the latter was clearly manifested during the next large-scale Cossack rebellion of 1637-1638. Thus, in the universal as of November 4, 1637, the Cossack Colonel Karpo Skidan addressed not only to the Cossacks, but also to all the "Commonwealth people", calling himself "the guardian of all Ukraine". The message, in particular, stated: "We announce to you, our comrades, that we have received a message about the decisive intentions of the chovnirs, who are probably already gathering to Ukraine, in which God does not help them. Therefore, by the power of my authority and by the name of the army, I command..."
and confirm that you should not be kept safe but to stock up of horses, bread, and weapons, and be ready to withstand against the Turks faith when necessary." (Dyaryusz, 1858: 26). Therefore, the Cossacks' advocacy of corporate interests was accompanied by a desire to protect Orthodoxy in Ukraine. Referring to the officers of registry army, the Cossack hetman Pavlo But upbraided them for forgetting the decision of the Kurukivska commission, according to which the Crown troops were not to be stationed on the Left Bank. According to one source, he also stated that he hoped to become 'the owner of the land of Rusia'. In another case, Pavlyuk stated: "when the King and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth need the service of the Zaporozhian Army against some enemy, we will all unanimously depart from our places at the call of the King and his ambassadors; and when there is no need in the Zaporozhian Army, whoever wants to live under military kleynodes in Zaporozhye, let him live freely, and who wants to look after his property, to live in cities other than the border - Cherkasy, Chigirin and Korsun to prevent any possible opposition against the local government. Obviously, the territorial restriction of habitats became the impulse for the continuation of the Cossack rebellion in the summer of 1638. Hetman Dmitry Hun's message repeats the thesis of a vision of a unified community of residents of the Dnieper region whose interests should be protected. "Obviously," the document says, "there is no truth or fear of God here, whether let it be with us, to conduct war with the Zaporozhian Army, who dared to sacrifice our lives and surrendered to the will of the highest God for our bloody merits and for that innocently shed our blood, and indeed the innocent and poor people were given the peace that the voice and the innocent blood spilled cry out for vengeance to God and excite us to that" (Reunion, 1954: 1: 237).

More successfully, the idea of Cossack autonomy under the flag of Orthodoxy was realized with the start of the Liberation War. During the negotiations of the rebellion leaders with the embassy of the Crown Hetman Mykola Potocki in Zaporozhian Sich in March 1648 requirements were formulated, the main one was concerned with the withdrawal of the kwartz (hired) army from the "Dnieper and Ukraine" and abolished here the "management of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth". That is, it was about the separation of the Cossack region into the autonomous formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The victory of the Ukrainian army under Zhoti Vody and Korsun fortified its position. In universals of Bohdan Khmelnitsky which were distributed among population response, there was an intent to liquidate the current authorities, and to introduce its own which is led by hetman. The absence of complete sources is not allowed to find out the status of new formation in the Dnieper, obviously, there is region with broad autonomous rights. Anyway the realization of the plan should lead to the satisfaction of Cossack needs and strengthening of the royal power as a guarantee of restraint of magnate and noble outrage. At the same time, Vladyslav IV death significantly influenced plans of B. Khmelnitsky. Having lost the protector in a person of the King, the Cossacks paid attention on the Orthodox Moscow Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich as a potential candidate for the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Thanks to his support, it was planned to equate the Cossack status with the nobility and to create wide autonomy in "Ukraine". The candidacy of the Transylvanian prince seemed also promising in the Cossacks view. Unjustified expectations forced B. Khmelnitsky to support Jan Kazimír's candidacy for the monarchic throne. According to some researchers, this led to a military campaign on Western lands, during which the hetman articulated more moderate proposals, in particular to increase the number of the registry army, protection of the Orthodox Church and subordination of the Zaporozhian Army exclusively to the King.

A powerful factor for the hetman's realization of the purpose of the struggle was his meeting with Jerusalem Patriarch Paisi in late 1648. In European political life, the consecration of a ruler of the state by a hierarch was one of the most important elements in recognizing his divine rights. According to legends, a similar rite was held over B. Khmelnitsky. Thereby his power was recognized as "Prince of Rus" all over the territory which was controlled by the Cossacks (Plokhii, 2005: 293). Cossack ambas- sador to Moscow Siluyan Muzhilovsky at the beginning of 1649 emphasized the fact that freed territory from the Poles "became permanently their Cossack land, not Polish and Lithuanian" and they live "freely" in those places (Kryp Svjatllich, 1990: 226).

Royal commissioners also noted the radial change in Hetman's behavior and self-esteem during negotia- tions in Pereyaslav in February 1649. In the same place, B. Khmelnitsky announced the intention to merge all Russian / Ukrainian lands in ethnic boundaries by pointing to the Western border "along Lviv, Holm and Halych" (Reunion, 1954: 2: 118). In fact, for the first time the hetman officially declared his intention to create independent Ukrainian state.

Conclusions

The main principles of self-government as an important factor of autonomy were formulated by the leaders of Zaporozhian Sich. This led to the appearance of various political projects, in which the leading role was assigned to the Zaporozhian Army. Cossack's struggle for rights and privileges coincided with the escalation of the denomi- national situation in Ukraine. The union of the Cossack leaders with the Orthodox hierarchs in the first half of the XVII c. promoted awareness of the positions of both parties in conditions of Polish expansion. During the Cossack rebellions, among the slogans of their leaders, an impor- tant place belonged to the protection of Orthodoxy. Social ideals and political values cherished by Cossacks became the catalyst for state formation in Ukraine which manifested itself in the idea of Cossack autonomy within the Polish- Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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ПРАВОСЛАВ'Я ЯК ПАРАПЕСОРОВА ЗА КОЗАЦЬКУ АВТОНОМІЮ В СКЛАДІ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛОГО ПОЛІТІЇ

Авторство статті обумовлене потрібною розкриття генези державотворчих процесів в Україні як части- ні європейського соціокультурного простору Нового часу. Мета студії полягає в з’ясуванні основних засад та шляхів формування ідеї козацької автономії в Речі Посполитій наприкінці XVI – перші половини XVII ст. Методологія заснована на застосуванні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, ретроспекція) та специфічно історичних (проблемно-хронологічних, історико-порівняльних та критично-аналітичних) методів наукового дослідження. Аргументовано висвітлено генезу самоврядування запорозької спільноти й поширення її принципів на територію Подіпіров’ї. Увага акцентується на ролі православ'я в цьому процесі через співвідношення між селянським рухом і запорозьким козацтвом.

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