

UKRAINIAN NOBILITY AT THE BREAK OF 16 AND 17 CENTURIES

By [Prof. Michal Hruszewski](#)

Original document at < http://www.dobra.org/history/hrusz_eng.htm >

A part of vol. 6 "History of Ukraine-Ruthenia", chapter 3 "Cultural and national relations: national composition and national element". Translation reviewed and corrected by the author (applies to Polish translation -sp).

Printed in: History of Ukraine, *Commemorative Volume*, edited by W. Lipinski, Kiev 1908

National relations in various parts of Ukraine were different during 14-16 centuries as a result of different political, economical and colonization conditions. Consequently, at the turn of 16 century these relations were quite different in different parts of the Ukraine. It seems useful to introduce a division of the Ukrainian lands into certain parts, which varied under aforementioned aspect one from another and then these parts shall be examined separately. Therefore, it seems appropriate to distinguish Western strip containing Red Ruthenia, Podolia, lands of Chelm and Podlasie with the Brzesc-Lithuanian part of the basin of Bug river, and Pinsk area, the right-bank strip with remaining part of the Bug river basin and with the Dniepr basin, and at the end beyond-the Dniepr strip.

Red Ruthenia. The earliest evolution of the national relations was noted in the Western strip, and these changes were by far the strongest. I have proved before that during 1340-1370 wars for Red Ruthenia, the privileged classes of the Ukrainian inhabitants suffered most and were then greatly weakened (*The History of Ukraine-Ruthenia*, t. 4, p. 61-2, 5. p. 20-3). Those taking active part in the defense of the country against Polish occupation, after Polish victory, were forced - had they not been killed - either to migrate to Wolyn lands or to the Bug river basin, or, in result of the confiscation of the estates, they were pushed down the social ladder. Their place and wherever it was possible, the Polish government introduced privileged Polish elements, or foreign, being supporters of Polish colonization. The government generously distributed ample lands and estates, extensive like principalities, such as Rzeszow lands given to Jan Pokoslaw, Sambor lands given to the Spytkos, Laroslaw lands offered to the Tarnowskis, immense latifundia of the Odrowazs, Kmitas, Buczackis and smaller estates confiscated and taken away from the locals, sometimes "nullo jure possessores", being not able to produce legal documents proving their

claim, as well as farms and villages belonging to peasant freeholders. Poles and other foreigners, fulfilling Polish policies, receive high administrative offices. Burgher class is mixed with Polish and foreign element in big towns, it comes even to the peasant masses in villages settled based on German law.

At the break of 14 and 15 centuries there is still significant number of the local clans, being however, pushed out to the background. Interesting reflection of these relations we can see in the jurors panel judging case of Jagiello against Elzbieta Pilecka in Medyka in 1404. Following nobles and dignitaries took part in the panel: Maciej, bishof of Przemyśl and Athanazy, the esquire, Jan of Tarnow, the Rusyn subprececf, Kmita, the Sandomierz palatine, Iwo of Kleczyca, Benko of Zabokruki, Janko of Mazovia, Mikolaj of Kulikow, Jaszko Klus, Krystyn of Marcinkowicze, Mikolaj Pstroski, Jaszko Fortuna, Franciszek Borsnicz, Hrynko Sokolecki, Andrijko and Hrycko Bybelskis, Hrycko Kierdejowicz, Hlib Dziadkowicz, Wolczko Presluzycz, Danylo Zaderewicki, Kostko Solneczkowicz, Kostko, the Przemyśl judge, Jacko, the Sanok judge, Wasko Teptiukowicz, Mychajlo Procowicz, Drahut (or Drahin) The Walachian, Chodko Czemer, Juryj and Wasko Moszonczyce, Wolczko Kuzmicz, Mychajlo Senkowicz, Iwan Danslawicz, Oleszko Hrudkowicz, Wasko Czortkowicz.

Document in Czartoryskis' library in two original texts, Ukrainian (Rusyn) and Latin. First published in archives J.Z.R. and at Holowacki; new edition (facsimile) in "Paleograficzeskije snimki" I N.31, the Latin text published not long time ago in vol. IV of Kodeks Malopolski, l. 1084. The Ukrainian text some Polish names have Rusyn form, in Latin just opposite. Therefore both texts shall be taken carefully into account. Compare this register with some information from last quarter of the 14 century and first years of 15 century, such as the sale contract of the Kalenik monastery 1378 (Town and land archives II l. 9), where we can meet old Chodko Bybelski with Dworskowicz, Grozd, Wasko Kuzmicz and others, ib. IV.19,V.14 etc.

This panel of significant "nobles and gentry of the Ruthenia lands", how they are called in the document, in fact the Western part of Ruthenia, Przemyśl area, shows remarkable number of the Rusyns (Hrynko Sokolecki and subs., except Drahin, are probably all Rusyns). However, they are mentioned after Poles, and there are no dignitaries among them, except Kostka Bolestraszycki, the Przemyśl judge, and Jacek, the Sanok judge, by no means high ranking officers (fact from before legal reform in Red Ruthenia. Similar relations we see in Eastern part of Red Ruthenia. There, in first half of th 15 century we can see still a great number of well off Ukrainian (Rusyn) aristocracy, but also without influence and on rather low offices.

The Lviv and Zydaczow lands Confederation Act more than a half of the nobility names are names of the Ukrainian nobles, sometimes with Rusyn seals, such as Jursza of Chodorowstaw, Stanko of Dawidowa (in 1410 he was named Ostaszko of

Dawidow), Dmytro Lahodowski, Martyn Kalenyk of Podhajce, Michno and Paszko of Borszczow, Juryj of Malczyce, Senko Halka of Iljaszow, Senko of Nahorce, Olechno, Marko and Lenko of Drohoszow, Petro Wolczko of Kolodenice, Stecko, Onyszko and Stecko-Ilko of Czerkasy, Dmytro and Jacko of Didoszyce (Diduszykis), Jacko of Roznitow, Andrejko of Swaryczow, Iwaszko of Duliby, Iwan of Koszawa, Oleksa and Luczko of Witwice, Danko, Myka and Senko of Balice, Jacko of Nowosielice.

Town and land archives. VII, 55; description of the seal p. 108-109; the Cyrillic descriptions are on 8 seals, some have Latin description but with Rusyn forms of names, like Michn... de Borsofsky, Ilko, Stecko dominus de Sirkaz, (Iac)konis de Dzedosicze.

Rusyns during 15 century still are among dignitaries and on the offices, either elected or as king's nominees. Senko of Siennow (de Syennow) is the Przemyśl chamberlain and a tutor during 1436-37 confederation, Ihnat of Kutyszczewo for long years was a Halich judge (1438-1471), Wasko of Rybotyczewo was a Przemyśl judge (and a sub-judge before that) (1460-67), Jacko Bybelski is a master of the pantry, and Olechno alias Aleksander Porochnicki a deputy master of the pantry for Przemyśl, Hlib-Mikolaj of Siennow is known as a sub-judge (1471-77), and one of Porochnickis was a Przemyśl castellan (1449-54).

Dates as shown in the respective archives.

But it is also a period of fast denationalization of the more prominent Ukrainian clans, which still were present among upper classes of the local nobility. They slowly melted away and disappeared among new incoming Polish element. The major factors causing aforementioned denationalization were: the same feudal interest, pursuing of actual (not only legal) equality with privileged Polish aristocracy, aspiration of obtaining all these prerogatives and honors available only to the Polish magnates and nobility, influence of the Polish culture and growing pressure of the Catholicism, which was conquering new Ukrainian lands and finally, mixed marriages between Rusyns and Poles. "When it happened - wrote Jan Prochnicki (Porochnicki), Lviv archbishop and great supporter of Jesuits, himself being of Ukrainian ancestry, on the process of polonization of Ukraine - that a girl was an only daughter with estate or a rich widow, the kings would send the Polish nobles to Ruthenia, (faverunt) and helped them with their influence to get married and it resulted with filling Ruthenia with religionem catholicam romanam. The rest, perfectit vigilantia pastorum (was done by the perfection of the priests), that the previous masters of Ruthenia went to the Roman church, eurate schismate graeco (throwing away the Greek schism).

Excerpts from that family chronicle of archbishop Prochnicki, written in first quarter of the 17th century, are given in the 48th volume of "Zapiski nauk. Tow. im. Szewczenki", p. 6

It is quite impossible to attribute so great influence to the mixed marriages, however, the fact is that those marriages caused a great number of the Ukrainian estates went to the Polish hands and they were a direct cause of polonization of Ukrainian families or clans. The Bybelski clan in which archbishop Prochnicki had his roots - one of the best off Ukrainian clans in Red Ruthenia - let the granddaughter of Chodko Bybelski, Duchna marry a Pole, Jan Barzy of Bolozow

(Beginnings of the family unclear, but judging from the names, already in first half of the 15th century the family was if not Polish, then polonized. The following may serve as a documentation of that kind of marriages - one of many: *generosa Oluchna de Hermanow consors generosus Albert Svathek de Uyasd iudicis castr. leopoliensis. Town and Land archives VII, 53)*

and the family of the latter, enriched with the Bybelskis estates, gained high offices and senatorial chairs in 16 century, not available for Bybelskis. Marriage articles related to the marriage between Senko Bybelski and Fredro of Pliszowice from 1441 says that Fredro will give his daughter to Senko, under conditions that Senko will become a roman catholic. "Noble Frydro of Pliszowice - we can read there - and nobles Jacko of Bybel and his brother voluntarily agreed that Frydro will give his daughter Jadwiga to Senko of Bybel as a wife, under a condition that the marriage will be executed in four years, together with the wedding (*in quatuor annis debet fore copula et cum hoc nupcie*), and if any party will not hold to the agreement, it will pay to the other party one thousand grzywny as pledge, and Senko, with similar pledge, will become a roman catholic before the wedding (*et etiam Senko sub eodem vadio debet se baptizare prius quam copulam contraheret*), and Frydro will give to Senko two hundred grzywny of dowry and clothing worth same. Senko shall pay his wife Jadwiga dowry of 600 grzywny secured on the half of the estates he will receive.

(Town and land archives, XIII, 1491)

That kind of evolution was taking place during 15th and 16th centuries within families and other private arrangements. The proof of the evolution could be double names being in use in second half of the 15th century by people representing Ukrainian families of Red Ruthenia, those Costhko alias Joannes Porochnicki, Joannes alias Hrycko Bybelski, Hlib-Mikolaj of Siennow etc.

(Town and lands archives, VII 63, IX 81 i 110, and indexes, vol. XIII i XVII)

In general, history of polonization of the Ukrainian families was never examined and explored in spite of fact that it is extremely interesting from the cultural point of view and that there is abundance of documents related to it.

In 16th century there was almost no magnate families in Red Ruthenia, which would persevere in Ukrainian (Rusyn) nationality.

Al. Jablonowski names (Zr. *Dziejowe*, XVIII cz. II str.287-288)* such magnate families out of old aborigin clans as the Lipskis, (decendants of Dymitr of Goraj, endowed by Casimir the Great with immense estates in Chelm lands, the Czurylos (from the same clan), the Bybelskis-Nowomiejskis - all using coat of arms Korczak. The Danilowiczs, Dzieduszyckis and Tarnawskis - using arms Sas. The Kierdejs, Wapowskis, Lahodowskis - using other arms. Except Lahodowskis, which still in 16th century show off their Rusyn origin by care of Uniow monaster, the others denationalized by the end of first half of the 16th century, mostly even before the 16th century outbreak.

* Due to the problem of great interest, here and in a few other paragraphs we quote extensively Alexander Jablonowski's "Zrodla dziejowe", which were mentioned by prof. Hruszevskij. *Editors*

"By nature of things the Rusyn magnates should have major influence in Ruthenia. The boyar families were powerful there during Ruryk descendants rule and could not be moved out by new sovereign - Casimir the Great and his successors. That was what happened. Taking into consideration both immediate results and historic data we shall conclude that first Polish rulers maintained good relations with important boyar families leaving them at their estates." Then the author names these boyar families mentioned above by prof. Hruszevskij. Al. Jablonowski counts also the Komarnicki family (perhaps with a kind of question mark) using arms Junosza into boyars. Then "the intermediate link between old Rusyn and pure Polish families were houses, which came to Ruthenia during Opolczyk's rule from Silesia or Moravia, such as the Herburts using arms Paweza and undoubtedly the Fredros using arms Boncza (or from Hungary)" writes Mr. Jablonowski. Further Jablonowski writes: "so numerous formerly in Red Ruthenia and in other Rustyn lands boyar class, now at the end of 16th century semmed ceased to exist. It splitted into two parts: one got itself luckily into file of nobles-gentry endowed with Polish laws, the other pauperized, fell to the class of simple servants, serfs, etc." (p. 175-176)

Few better off noble families remained, which could be counted into Ukrainian (Rusyn) population by their national identification. In known for example petitions of 1539-1540 to the Metropolitan in regard with the Halicz eparchy, following Red-Rusyn nobles took a part: Marek Szumlanski, Iwan Stanimirski, Iwan and Stefan

Demidecki, Nikandro Switelnicki, Michal and Marek Balaban, Pawel Zeliborski, Iwan Lopatka, Piotr Uhernicki, Wasko, Trufan and Iwan Grabowiecki, Iwan and Pawel Zahwozdecki, Olechno Zamostski, Iwan Dubrowicki, Wasyl and Olechno Czolhanski, Iwan and Wasko Roznitowski, Raszko and Stefan Swaryczewski, Deonisij and Iwan Horbaczewski, Iwan and Pawel Sambor, Michal and Jacko Jaczniski.

(Archives Z. R. II, 193 and 198)

From aforementioned noble families a few could be counted as wealthy: the Balabans, perhaps the Demideckis and Czolhanskis; the remaining group belongs to moderately wealthy or petty like the Grabowieckis, Dubrowickis, Rozniatowskis, Swaryczewskis, Jaczniskis, etc.

(See at Jablonowski after p. 339 and next, passim*.)

*) "Petty gentry of Rusyn origin. We have deliberated a little - writes Jablonowski - about certain characteristic order of propagation of Rusyn families, known or little known. And it is not a small retinue by no means! Firstly, all houses and families using arms **Sas**(about 50 families, page 340) just Rusyns, if we discount a legend originating their roots behind the Mountains of Beskid, from Hungarian Walachia. Immediately next to those, there are families with arms Wreby and Korczak (circa 40 families, page 341), probably the aboriginal Ruthenia. Also, although not to same extent, arms Kierdeja are of old Rusyn origin; and with rather Turkish than Hungarian roots come Salawa and Holobok. That is it! The remaining part of the old Rusyn families and houses adjusted their original seal signs to well established already Polish arms, or just adopted them. More often than others such as Nieczuja, **Sulima**, Junosza, Jastrzab, Ostoja".

Those gentry folk of Ukrainian (Rusyn) progeniture settled widely Red Ruthenia (particularly Przemysl lands) already in 16th century. Later, in 17th century all Rusyn families removed earlier by the government from everything giving income and influence, joined those aforementioned. Propagating and growing in numbers, the petty nobility was losing their holdings and meaning and finally, it landed among petty landlords, except of course those families extinct earlier or polonized during 16th century. As a result, we can see first half of the 17th century Ruthenia following Rusyn families of petty gentry.

(Lozinski "Prawem i Lewem" I, p. 290-1, gives a list of those families together with other pertinent data. The list, however, is by no means exhaustive, therefore I am adding a number of names being conscious that it will still remain far from being complete and there is a number of names left.)

In Halicz area we have: the Berezowskis, Chocimirskis, Drogomireckis, Grabowieckis, Holynskis, Kniahynickis, Krechowieckis, Medynskis, Swistelnickis, Sulatyckis, Strutynskis, Tatomirs, Uhernickis, Wolkowickis, Zeliborskis, Zurakowskis; in Lviv region: the Balickis, Czolhanskis, Dubrowskis, Hoszowskis, Kopeckis, Lozinskis, Podwysockis, Podlasieckis, Pletenieckis, Pohoreckis, **Popiels**, Przedzimirskis, Swirskis, Semihinowskis, Srokowskis, Winnickis, Witnickis; in Przemysl region: the Baczynskis, Bereznickis, Bilinskis, Bojarskis, Bratkowskis, Dobrianskis, Horodynskis, Horodyskis, Inickis, Jaminskis, Jasienickis, Jaworskis, Kolnofojskis, Koblanskis, Komarnickis, Kopystynskis, Krynickis, Kruszelnickis, Kulczyckis, Litynskis, Luckis, Monastyrskis, Matkowskis, Paclawskis, Podhorodeckis, **Popiels**, Radylowskis, Rytarowskis, Sieleckis, Sozanskis, Smereczanskis, Stupnickis, Terleckis, Tureckis, Turianskis, Tustanowskis, Uniatyckis, Uruskis, Winnickis, Wysoczanskis, Zeliborskis; in Sanok region: Dobrianskis and Lozinskis *).

*) Al. Jablonowski, mentioning the names of the Red Rusyn origin nobility still holding their estates at the end of 16th century, apart from aforementioned undoubtedly Rusyn families, gives additionally following clans:

In Halicz region: the Bednawskis, Bludnickis, Czastylowskis, Czerleniowskis, Dymideckis, Grabowskis, Hnileckis using arms Sas Krechowskis (Sas), Kunaszowskis, Lichanskis, Orzechowskis, Obertynskis(Sas), Powerbeckis, Poplawnickis, Szumlanskis, Studzinskis arms Holobok, Zagwojskis, Zywaczowskis.

In Lviv area: the Belzeckis, Borszowskis, Borosniowskis arms Sas, Czajkowskis, Ciemierzynskis arms Sas, Hermanowskis, Jastrzebskis, Narajowskis, Pieczychojskis, Polatyckis, Rozniatowskis arms Sas, Streptowskis, Swaryczowskis arms Sas. In Przemysl lands: the Boryslawskis, Baranieckis arms Sas, Bystryowskis, Blazowskis arms Sas, Chlopczyckis, Chlopickis, Czyzowkis, Dabkowskis, Debowskis, Dubowlanskis, Jasienskis arms Sas, Klodnickis arms Sas, Korczynskis arms Sas, Kropiwnickis arms Sas, Krukienickis arms Korczak, Kupiatyckis, Lubienieckis, Lowieckis, Morawskis, Nowosielskis arms Sas, Nowoszyckis, Tarnowskis, Wolosieckis arms Sas, Zupanskis. In Sanok region: Bukowskis, Leszczynskis, Lodzinskis arms Sas" (p. 330-333).

From among those families, these using arms Sas, Korczak, Holobok are, as we know, undoubtedly of Rusyn progeniture, and the others, the fact of their settling as early as 16th century would proof local progeniture, however, it is prudent to accept Jablonowski's conclusion that "since nobles of Rusyn origin took with time Polish arms, it is difficult to distinguish roots of these houses from houses of Polish origin, taking names from the endowed lands, without in-depth examination." (p. 342).

"Great number names taken from the Red Ruthenia localities can be explained that apart from already accounted for reasons, there was a custom that each separating branch of the family or house or clan, used to take separate name or by-name. And there we have the Boratynskis house arms Korczak from Przemyśl region, which gave beginnings to the houses of the Malczyckis, Dabrowskis etc. The Grochowskis arms Junosza, also from Przemyśl lands, gave beginnings to the houses of the Hermanowskis, Komarnickis, Kijewskis." (p. 352). *Editor's notes*.

Mostly they were old families, holding significant estates, which with time grew in numbers, divided into different branches with characteristic by-names and nicknames, such as Proskurczetas, Kalinowieta - Kniahynickis; Lechowskis, Josypowiczs, Jakubszowiczs - Zurakowskis; Beryndas, Soloninkas, Trunkowicz - Czajkowskis; Hryckowietas, Iskrzeta - Paclawskis etc.

(See at Jablonowski's p. 353*) and at Lozinski's 1. c.)

*) Nicknames among the Terleckis - wrote Al. Jablonowski - Popowietas; Sieleckis - Hryckowietas, Dziurdzies; Blazowskis - Czechs, Sochas, Telepas, Iwankowietas; among the Komarnickis - Jankowietas, Dudyczs; Turzanskis - Holowaczs, Lujs; Sozanskis - Prasolas, Woronowiczs; Winnickis - Mukasz, Oszosts; Jaworskis - Mrzyglodowiczs; **Popiels** - Tarapatyczs, Petelczycs (Chwosciaks - Lozinski, p. 291); Bratkowskis - Puhaczs; among the Kruszelnickis - Wolks, Holowkas, Popowietas, Blyszczycs; Swaryczewskis - Czepiels; Chojenskis - Kostrowiczs; Sosnowskis - Feciulowiczs; Czarnolozkis - Orzeszkowiczs; Piaseckis - Skoczylas; Gruszeckis - Zakowiczs; Stawskis - Bylinas, Sowas; Komorowskis - Malcherowiczs.

These families belonged to two specifically Ukrainian coat of arms groups: Sas and Korczak (in particular to the first one). Progeniture and propagation of these arms among Ukrainian (Rusyn) nobility remains unresolved, however, from historic and cultural point of view, very interesting story.

(See footnote 4, p. 610-12, v. VI "Historia Ukrainy-Rusi")

Military reviews prove great number of these petty nobility families (military review was a mandatory gathering and presentation of all nobles in the region to show military readiness - sp) of first half of the 17th century.

(Numbers related to the reviews per Lozinski, op. c. I p. 339-40, 342)

So, during Lviv lands nobility review i 1621, total number of gentry was 518. Among them 43 Czajkowskis, 34 Hoszowskis and 40 Witnickis. During Przemyśl lands review in 1648 among almost 1000 gentry there were 70 Jaworskis, 46 Kulczyckis, 36

Winnickis, 23 Bilinskis). In the documents related to the reviews we can find details on arms and armories and war readiness of the nobles, showing clearly their "wealth" and social status. Few of them could afford a retinue and those being able to show on the horseback and at arms were in minority. Out of 43 Czajkowskis three came with horses, remainings presented themselves on foot. Out of 40 Witwickis nobody was riding a horse. The Lviv lands review shows even with greater emphasis the petty gentry poverty, due to which, most of them could not afford not only a horse, but even any kind of armory. Noble Hryc Wolczkowicz Jasnicky of Jasnyszczce presented himself on foot, but with a saber and a musquet. Noble Iwan Wolczkowicz Jasnicky stood also on foot, but only with a "stick" (a primitive rifle - sp); noble Roman Hoszowski standing as a substitute for his father Anton Hobrycz Hoszowski presented himself also only with a "stick"; noble Fedor Hoszowski of Kleczkowicze was on foot with a saber and a musquet, but noble Stec Andronikowicz Hoszowski wielded only a rapier (considered as inferior to a saber - sp), noble Fedor Szumlanski of Bratkowicze presented himself on foot with a "stick", noble Hryhory Rudnicki of Bratkowicze (note two nobles were sharing an estate, possibly with others) with a saber and a musquet, noble Iwan Zaplatynski of Ostaloicze with a saber, an axe and with a bird gun (small caliber rifle), etc.

(Town book of Lviv, 280, p. 2581-5)

Poverty did not allow these people to afford even so low degree of learning and culture, which better off Polish and polonized nobility could afford. This caused that these petty gentry was closer to the "masses" and peasants and in the effect caused that these people preserved their national identity as Ukrainians (Rusyns) through out not only 17th and 18th century, but also later, till modern times. These folks remained in 17th and 18th century, similarly as in 15th and 16th centuries faithful to their "Rusyn religion" and national tradition and in a same way as all those Waskas, Fedkos, Hryckos (typical Rusyn names - sp) with no less characteristic by-names like Puhacz, Kolodrobs, Wowkos, Holowkos, Tarapatyczs, Popowietas, etc. differ from Przeclaws, Prandotas, Zboznys and Szczesnys, Polish nobility, gente or natione.

(See Lozinski, op. c. p. 291)

Their national identity is alive with them and, sometimes, they show off as representatives of "all Ruthenia", Ruthenia of unclear form, indistinctive, such as it was in the imagination of all Western frontier inhabitants, immense Ruthenia reaching with its boundlessness, yonder, to the Eastern horizon beyond haze.

Being in majority among all local nobility and based on the Polish Constitution recognizing all nobles as equal, without distinguishing the wealthy from the petty, honors, education, titles and offices and resolving all public matters by common vote

of all present, these masses of petty gentry could easily govern their lands and counties, elect their candidates to the offices and have leading role in the life of province. Unfortunately, they were lacking solidarity, well defined social, political and national goals, organization, and in result, those people were too often moved to insignificant position and subdued to their better off and having more influence Polish "brothers".

There were however, moments, when crystallized in some cast in concrete fact national or class interest pushed this nobility mass towards more active and solidary action. Reasons and conditions creating such an action are not always clear, even when the facts are well known. Such mysterious activity was massive joining of the Halicz region nobility the Moldavian palatine Bohdan army during his aggression against Red Ruthenia lands in 1509.

(This Bohdan's aggression and resulting retaliation against Moldavia Pulaski describes in his sketch: "Zygmunt I's war with Moldavian palatine Bohdan in 1509", Sketches, v.I)

Incidentally there we can find that people such as Iwanko Demidecki and Ilja Szumlanski, Iwanko, Jacko, Wasko Mieszczenskis (?), Fedko Dubrowicz, Zan Cucylowski, Sienko Witwicki, Wasko and Marek Kniahynickis, Semen, Iwan, Senko and Sydor Drogomireckis, Sienko Balicki, Dmytro z Danyskowicz, Hryhory, Senko, Hryncza, Hryhor, Ficza and Iwasko Berezowskis, Iwasko Pyszyninski (?), Andrzej Lucki joined Moldavian forces.

(Materyaly, I, 66 - some names distorted)

The were pronounced traitors

(Sua temeritate, fidelitate postposita, sponte et non coacti ad eundem woywodam defecissent eidemque se absque legitima causa subiecissent- ibid.)

and their estates were confiscated. After Polish victory in 1509/10 winter, when Bohdan was obliged by a treaty, to return all Ukrainians, those nobles came back excusing themselves that they joined Moldavian forces not by good will but being threatened and forced into it. Their excuses were accepted and consequently, their rights and estates were returned to them. It is, however, hard to believe their excuses. Some of the circumstances could be explained by certain relation of religious and cultural nature between Western Ukraine and Moldavia, however, there is no definite information on the subject available. When we remember, though, that less than twenty years earlier there was also unclear movement related to certain Mucha, when the Pokucie and Red Rusyn peasantry were represented by a notorious Moldavian

agent. A year after that the Moldavian palatine supports certain pretender (contemporary Polish chronicler named him Andrzej Borul), which called himself a rightful heir to the Rusyn throne, grabbed by Casimir [the Great]. The pretender, having Sultan's military help, tried to take over the Western Ukraine, but he was incidentally apprehended by the Michal Buczacki's servants.

(Monum. pol. hist. III, p. 239-40)

Twenty years after 1509 episode, during another Moldavian raid against Western Ukraine, the Rusyns again, almost unanimously subjected themselves to the palatine, which accepts their act gratefully, having killed the roman Catholics in meantime.

(Ad quem Rutheni illic paene omnes advolant et se illi gestibundi subjiciunt, quos ille benigne suspicit et tractat, eos vero, qui Romani ritus sunt occidi jubet. Acta Tomicina, XII, 393, list w grudniu 1530 r.)

Worth remembering is a king's act of 1511 requiring that the Red Ruthenia lords shall not attend the religious observances in Moldavia, since they - suscipiendorum ordinum, ut ipsi putant sacrorum, causa solent se conferre in Valachiam et alias exteris partes et plerumque de rebus et statu regni apud hostes disserere positionemque regni prodere (Corpus iuris polon. III, 71)

Of course, we have here in all those incidents of the end of 15th and first half of the 16th centuries, certain evidence of a Ukrainian - Moldavian irredentism, so unclear due to the lack of information sources.

Clearer, though, are some acts of the Ruthenian nobles in 17th century. In the Western Red Ruthenia for example, it was a fight going for almost half of a century after Kopystynski's death (1610), for the church of Przemysl lordship, between Orthodox and Greek church members.

(See Dobranski's "Istorja episkopow eparchii peremyszlskoj", Lozinski "Prawem i Lewem" I, p. 294 et subs.), Golubiew "Piotr Mohyla", v. II, p. 135 et subs.)

The defense of the Eastern rite against Greek church was in that time considered as a matter of honor, not only in relation with religion but also with national pride. Local nobles were interested in it very much, since majority of the Orthodox church officers were and members of the local nobility, church lordship including. Therefore all changes, both internal and in hierarchy of the eparchy were not neutral for those nobles. When after Kopystynski's death, also a local noble, who was firmly with Eastern rite, the king promoted to the eparchy a Greek church member and his protégée, Atanazy Krupecki, both clergy and nobility submitted a very strong protest

and started annoy if not bully the eparch. The king Zygmunt took Krupecki under his personal protection and ordered that a great deal of money, as much as 50,000 dukats (gold coins - sp) was deposited against possible harm to the eparch or other harmful action. The names of the eparch's adversaries were mentioned in the king's order, and there we have: Iwan and Mikolaj Chlopeckis, Marcin Rytarowski, Fedor Turianski, Andrzej and Iwan Sozanskis, Iwan Monastyrski, Iwan, Pawel, Iwan, Mikolaj, Lukasz, Adam, Wasyl, Samuel and Michal Kopystianscy, Wasyl Terlecki, Fedor Winnicki, Stefan and Bohdan Radylowskis, Marcin-Aleksander Farafunta Blazowski, **Iwan, Fedor, Hryhory, Pawel and HryckoPopiels**, Martyn Jasieniecki, Hrycko Koblanski, Aleksander Uhernicki, Iwan and Wasyl Buntowieckis (!) (this surname could be translated as Rebel - sp) Fedor and Iwanko Kulczyckis, Piotr Rohozinski, Piotr and Aleksander Holatyckis, Iwan Czajkowski, Hrycko Janocki, Iwan Tustanowski, Fedor Koblanski, Bosko Chmytkowski, Fedor Kuniczkowski, Dmytro and Piotr Hordynskis, Iwan Ilnicki, Dmytro Sydorski, Dmytro Burda, Fedor Tatomir.

(The Przemysl Archives, 327, p. 18-19) (In later fight between Krupecki and Hulewicz, particular role played the Hulewicz's brothers Aleksander and Daniel Hulewicz, the Czernichow sandarbearer Andrzej Kossakowski, Andrzej Zahorowski, Semen Myszka Choloniewski, Teodor Winnicki and Piotr Szeptycki. - Editor)

Among Orthodox contra-candidates, the nobles supported the eparch Hulewicz, an energetic man who was able to organize the nobles and take the eparchy estates and offices from Krupecki by force. The nobles, due to their persistence, obtained an amnesty act for Hulewicz, together with a lifetime lordship. After Hulewicz's death, the same nobles brought in by force the dead eparch Orthodox successor Winnicki, who successfully ousted Krupecki from the eparchy. Later, the nobles gave strong support to Winnicki in his fight with another king's protégée, Polish national and Greek church member Chmielowski, which caused that Chmielowski was not even able to take over the eparchy, but even live in there. Restlessly, the nobles initiated the local political assemblies acts in defense of Winnicki, instructed their representatives accordingly to act on Winnicki's behalf both in Parliament and before the king, which resulted in Winnicki's confirmation as the eparch.

Not so unified and unanimous, however, very distinguished, was joining of the Red Ruthenia nobility, forces of Bohdan Chmielnicki's popular uprising. Variety of stances was caused by certain economic factors, as well as class interest. Main area of this movement was Halicz region (the movement was relatively weakly developed in Western Red Ruthenia), the local nobles particularly supported though the irredentism organized in Pokucie by Semen Wysoczan (perhaps one of Wysoczanskis). The nobles were there the chieftains, "colonels" leaders of the peasants and burghers which were a core of the Wysoczan's forces.

(see Tomaszewski's "Narodni ruchy w Halyckij Rusy 1648 r. " (in Zapyski nauk. tow. im. Szewczenki, v. XXIV et sep.), p. 39 et subs., comp. p. 121-3)

In this and in the other uprising details we can see a number of the Hrabowieckis, Holynskis, Berezowskis, Skolskis, Kniahinickis, Zurakowskis, Tatomirs, Drohomiereckis, Jazwinskis, Strutynskis, Medynskis, Hoszowskis, **Popiels**. The Poles in general, charged the Ukrainian nobility for supporting the uprising and ousting Poles from the lands, etc.

(Zerela IV, 42, 74, 83, 97, 152. V, 42, 63, 75. see Tomaszewskis op. c. p.41)

Alas, lack of enunciation on the part of the uprising participants offers little possibility of recognizing the nobles' motives and nobility's understanding of the uprising origins and reasons.

Omitting such extraordinary episodes, even regular day-to-day life proves important meaning of the petty nobles in preserving of the Ukrainian element and national tradition. They were rather poor people, not well educated, without influence, however, still their material and social position was much higher than the deprived of any rights feudal peasantry. In spite of the poverty, there were numerous examples of ut in substantia sic in moribus et claritate talented people growing above the level of fall of the Ukrainian element caused by Polish reign. Truly though, those growing became quickly enough in its majority strangers to their own nation and accepting outward cultural forms, assimilated with "cultural" Polish environment. Nevertheless, presence in the Ukrainian file of this a little more wealthy and mainly haughtier element, gave this file some moral power and in many instances it was a help to the contemporary national activist in their works. Reading aforementioned registers of the Red Ruthenia nobility families, the reader could remember the Balabans i Kopystynskis, Zeliborskis and Winnickis, Pletenieckis and Kalnofojks, Radylowks and Zurakowskis, which wrote their names into the Ukrainian history as remarkable activists of religious, educational and cultural life of their motherland. These petty nobles gave their members to clergy; better half of those families became with time clans, let's say dynasties of the high clergy. And great number of those names was written on the chart of the first hundred-year history of the contemporary Ukrainian Galicia national re-birth. (...) s. 15