

ARTICLES

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TOMASZ KEMPA

(Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)

THE ATTITUDE OF RUTHENIAN MAGNATES AND NOBLES
TOWARD THE UNION OF LUBLIN (1569)
AND THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTONOMY OF UKRAINIAN LANDS*
WITHIN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

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The Polish-Lithuanian Union, signed in Lublin in 1569, has long aroused great interest among successive generations of historians. It is caused not only by the importance of this event, but also by the fact the Union was being considered through the prism of historical debate, which was contested among Poles and Lithuanians in the era of the Sejm of Lublin and also after its conclusion. This approach to the problem ensured that scholars often overlooked the important issue of the attitude towards the Union of Lublin of the Ruthenian nobility from the Ukrainian lands, which, before 1569, belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and which were incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland at the Union of Lublin in 1569. All these territories had much in

* The term 'Ukraine' (or the 'Ukrainian lands') usually referred the Kyiv and Bratslav voivodships in the last decades of the 16th and in the first half of the 17th century. Volhynia was treated as a separate region. After incorporating the land of Chernihiv into the Commonwealth (after the war with Muscovy in 1619), it was also considered as a part of the Ukrainian lands. Later – in the era of the Cossack uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (from 1648) – the Cossack elite and a part of the Ruthenian nobility began to extend the idea of 'Ukraine' to Volhynia, Podolia and the Ruthenian voivodships, which were inhabited by Ruthenians, who – in 1569 – were still mainly Orthodox. In addition, in the 16th and 17th centuries the terms 'Ukrainian lands' or 'Ukraine' were also used in a wider sense, referring to all the lands lying on the eastern border of the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Zbigniew WÓJCIK, *Ukraina w ramach Rzeczypospolitej do połowy XVII w. Prawo, programy, praktyka polityczna*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Historia, vol. 66: 1988, p. 59; Władysław A. SERCZYK, *Granice Ukrainy w kronikach „ruskich” i kozackich XVII–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Aere Perennius. Profesorowi Gerardowi Labudzie dnia 28 XII 2001 roku w hołdzie*, ed. Antoni CZUBIŃSKI, Marcei KOSMAN [et al.], Poznań 2001, p. 141.

common. They were overwhelmingly inhabited by Ruthenians, most of whom in the mid-16th century still professed Orthodoxy. There was a unified system of law. Moreover, all these lands: Volhynia (Volyn), Bratslav (Eastern Podolia)¹ and Kyiv were specifically threatened by the Tartar invasions (mainly from the Khanate of Crimea). This article summarizes recent research on the attitude of magnates and nobility from these lands to the Union of Lublin and to the relationship of the Ukrainian provinces to Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Lithuanian historians have traditionally treated Ruthenian nobles from the Ukrainian lands as part of the Lithuanian nobility. They have concentrated on the ethnic Lithuanian noblemen, who had converted to Catholicism after the union with Poland at the end of the 14th century². Polish historians, on the other hand, mostly concentrated on contesting Lithuanian assessments of the Union of Lublin, and did not, for the most part, consider this group as having their own aspirations and political objectives³. There were always exceptions. Oskar Halecki, in his classic work⁴, did take some account of Ruthenian nobles, while more recently Tomasz Kempa and Karol Mazur have published important studies devoted to them⁵. The older Ukrainian researches, in turn,

¹ Before the administrative reform in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (in 1565–1566) the Bratslav land was a part of Volhynia. However, at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries Volhynia was sometimes considered as a province that included not only the Bratslav area, but also a part of Kyiv land on the basis of the borders of estates in the Kyiv voivodeship which belonged to some of the great Volhynian magnates families. W. A. SERCZYK, op.cit., p. 132; Henryk LITWIN, *Struktura przestrzenna województwa kijowskiego i jej wpływ na życie polityczne i społeczne szlachty w latach 1569–1648*, Kwartalnik Historyczny, vol. 109: 2002, no. 3, pp. 55–56.

² For instance Mečišlovas JUČAS, *Unia polsko-litewska*, trans. Andrzej FIREWICZ, Toruń 2004, pp. 231–268; Zigmantas KIAUPA, Jūratė KIAUPIENĖ, Albinas KUNCEVIČIUS, *The History of Lithuania before 1795*, Vilnius 2000, pp. 236–239.

³ The only work in the Polish historiography, which gives an overall image of Polish-Lithuanian union, is: Oskar HALECKI, *Dzieje unii jagiellońskiej*, vol. 1–2, Kraków 1919–1920. Other important studies on the Union of Lublin and its consequences: *Unia Lubelska i tradycje integracyjne w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, Paweł KRAS, Hubert ŁASZKIEWICZ, Lublin 1999; Henryk LULEWICZ, *Gniewów o unię ciąg dalszy. Stosunki polsko-litewskie w latach 1569–1588*, Warszawa 2002. The overview of the Polish historiography on the issue of the union: Dorota MICHALUK, *Unia lubelska w polskiej historiografii XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Tomasz KEMPA, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Toruń 2011, pp. 151–184; Anna CZERNIECKA-HABERKO, *Unie polsko-litewskie w historiografii polskiej*, Toruń 2013.

⁴ Oskar HALECKI, *Przylączenie Podlasia, Wołynia i Kijowszczyzny do Korony*, Kraków 1915.

⁵ Tomasz KEMPA, *Magnateria ruska wobec unii lubelskiej*, Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne, vol. 16: 2001, pp. 5–25; idem, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525–1608), wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej*, Toruń 1997, pp. 43–50; idem, *Możnowładztwo i szlachta z Wołynia wobec unii lubelskiej (1569)*, [in:] *Liublino unija. Idėja ir jos tęstinumas*, ed. Liudas GLEMŽA, Ramunė ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ, Vilnius 2011, pp. 172–187; idem, *Rusini wobec unii lubelskiej. Czy ruscy możni i szlachta chcieli ściślejszego połączenia z Polską w 1569 roku?* [in:] *Unia Lubelska – Unia Europejska*, ed. Iwona HOFMAN, Lublin 2010, pp. 83–93; idem, *Ziemie ruskie inkorpo-*

just like the Lithuanians, perceived the Union of Lublin as the manifestation of the Polish expansion to the East. And among most important effects of the Union of Lublin they noticed Polonization and bringing the Ukrainian nobles and magnates into Catholicism⁶. However, it is impossible not to notice that the process of transplanting western cultural models in the Ukrainian lands began earlier, and it was only accelerated by the Union of Lublin. For a long time, Ukrainian historians refused to stress the fact that the union of Polish and Ukrainian lands led to more dynamic modernization processes in this territory. This issue, however, is beginning to be reflected in recent Ukrainian historiography⁷.

Undoubtedly, the main players at the Sejm of Lublin in 1569 were Poles (senators and noble deputies), supported in their political plans by King Sigismund II Augustus⁸, and the Lithuanians led by a group of powerful magnates. However, the representatives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania lost their strong bargaining position following their secret departure from Lublin on the night of 28 February to 1 March, at the instigation of Mikołaj Radziwiłł, called 'the Red', who was the most powerful Lithuanian dignitary of that time. However,

rowane do Korony w 1569 roku – odrębności prawnoustrojowe i postawy polityczne szlachty ukraińskiej (ruskiej), [in:] *Rzeczpospolita w XVI–XVIII wieku. Państwo czy wspólnota?*, ed. Bogusław DYBAŚ, Paweł HANCZEWSKI, Tomasz KEMPA, Toruń 2007, pp. 129–148; Karol MAZUR, *W stronę integracji z Koroną. Sejmiki Wołynia i Ukrainy w latach 1569–1648*, Warszawa 2006; idem, *Szlachta wołyńska wobec unii jagiellońskiej w dobie sejmu lubelskiego 1569 r.*, *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 95: 2004, no. 1, pp. 37–52; idem, *Nieznana petycja szlachty wołyńskiej do króla w dobie sejmu lubelskiego 1569 r.*, *Соціум [Sotsium]*, vol. 2: 2003, pp. 41–56.

⁶ Михайло Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, vol. 4, Київ 1993 [Mykhaylo HRUSHEV-S'KYI, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 4, Kyiv 1993], pp. 394–417; Jarosław PELENSKI, *Inkorporacja ukraińskich ziem dawnej Rusi do Korony w 1569 roku. Ideologia i korzyści – próba nowego spojrzenia*, *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 65: 1974, no. 2, pp. 243–262. Cf. Natalia JAKOWENKO, *Historia Ukrainy od czasów najdawniejszych do końca XVIII wieku*, trans. Ola HNATIUK, Katarzyna KOTYŃSKA, Lublin 2000, pp. 153–155.

⁷ Natalia BIŁOVS, *Wpływ unii lubelskiej na rozwój urbanizacji województwa kijowskiego*, [in:] *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Tomasz KEMPA, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Toruń 2011, pp. 201–208; Андрій Заяць, *Урбанізаційний процес на Волині в XVI – першій половині XVII ст.*, Львів 2003 [Andriy ZAYATS', *Urbanizatsiyniy protses na Volini v XVI – pershoy polovini XVII st.*, Lviv 2003]. The overview of the Ukrainian historiography on the Union of Lublin: Наталія О. Білоус, *Люблінська унія 1569 р. Історіографічні погляди та інтерпретації (до 440-річчя Люблінської унії)*, Український Історичний Журнал [Nataliya O. BIŁOVS, *Lyublins'ka uniya 1569 r. Istoriohrafichni pohlyady ta interpretatsiyi (do 440-richchya Lyublins'koyi uniyi)*, *Ukrayins'kyu Istorychny Zhurnal*], 2010, issue 1, pp. 65–83.

⁸ For the king's changing views on the Polish-Lithuanian union, as well as his activity during the Lublin Sejm in 1569 see: Ewa DUBAS-URWANOWICZ, *Wkład Zygmunta Augusta w dzieło unii polsko-litewskiej*, [in:] *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Tomasz KEMPA, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Toruń 2011, pp. 121–129; Agnieszka JANUSZEK-SIERADZKA, *Król Zygmunt August wobec idei unii polsko-litewskiej (w świetle listów)*, [in:] *Unia Lubelska – Unia Europejska*, ed. Iwona HOґMAN, Lublin 2010, pp. 113–122.

at the time of the Sejm of Lublin, a lot depended also on the attitude of the Ruthenian magnates (and to some extent also the Ruthenian nobility), representing the territories of Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav. Consequently, it is difficult to imagine a peaceful incorporation of these provinces to the Kingdom of Poland without the consent of the local Ruthenian magnates and nobility. However, had this incorporation not occurred, it is unlikely that the king could have forced the Lithuanians to return to Lublin to complete the negotiations for a new union with Poland. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that if the Ruthenian magnates from these territories had cooperated with the Lithuanians in 1569, the negotiations at the Union of Lublin would have followed a very different course.

The explanation as to why the problem of the attitude of the elites of Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav towards the Union of Lublin attracted relatively little attention was in part due to the limited nature of printed primary sources available to historians, which largely consisted of Sejm diaries⁹. Very little use was made of the correspondence of contemporary Lithuanian and Ruthenian dignitaries, largely because it mostly remains unpublished¹⁰. Recently, Karol Mazur has discovered a valuable manuscript – a petition to the king, which revealed the attitude of Volhynian dignitaries and nobles towards the union negotiations, and in particular towards the decision to incorporate Volhynia into Poland, taken by the king under pressure from the Poles¹¹. No consensus has emerged, however, over how best to interpret this document. For Mazur, it bears testimony to the Volhynians' opposition towards the incorporation; I would suggest, however, that the petition indicates that the Volhynians wanted to highlight the distinctiveness of their position with regard to the Polish-Lithuanian union¹². Most importantly, they were significantly more receptive than the Lithuanians to the Polish proposals. Moreover, the approach of the Ukrainian Ruthenians to the Lublin negotiations was so different to that of

⁹ The diaries of the Sejm of Lublin (1569) were published in: *Źródłopisma do dziejów unii Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego*, vol. 3, ed. Tytus DZIAŁYŃSKI, Poznań 1856; *Дневник люблинского сейма 1569 года*, ed. Михаил Коялович, С.-Петербург 1869 [*Dnevnik lyublinskago seyma 1569 goda*, ed. Mikhail KOYALOVICH, Sankt-Peterburg 1869].

¹⁰ *Археографический сборник документов относящихся к истории северозападной Руси* [*Arkheograficheskiy sbornik dokumentov odnosyashchikhsya k istorii severozapadnoy Rusi*] (further cit. AS), vol. 7, ed. Петр Гильтебрандт, А. Миротворцев, Вильна 1870 [ed. Petr GIL'TEBRANDT, A. MIROTVORTSEV, Vil'na 1870], no. 22–27, pp. 36–49; Tomasz KEMPA, *Listy Radziwiłłów z okresu unii lubelskiej (1568–1569)*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, vol. 69: 2004, no. 4, pp. 87–109.

¹¹ K. MAZUR, *Nieznana petycja*, pp. 41–56.

¹² K. MAZUR, *Szlachta wołyńska wobec unii jagiellońskiej*, pp. 41–49; T. KEMPA, *Możliwość władztwa*, pp. 178–183.

the Lithuanian political elite, that it is clear it was easier for them to accept the Polish proposals for a closer union. What influenced this stance?

Volhynia was the mainstay of the most important Orthodox princely and magnate families: the Ostrogski, Zasławski, Wiśniowiecki, Zbaraski, Czartoryski, Korecki, and Sanguszko¹³. Before it was united with Lithuania in 1452 (with the exception of the territory of Ratno, which belonged to Poland)¹⁴, Volhynia had been the object of intense conflict between Poland and Lithuania. This land retained some autonomy within the Grand Duchy's political system, which had strengthened the sense of a separate identity among the local elites. There were separate noble conventions, established in the 1440s by Świdrygiełło (Lithuanian: Švitrigaila), who governed Volhynia on behalf of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. He was a brother of the King Władysław Jagiełło (English: Ladislaus Jagiello; Lithuanian: Jogaila), who had instituted the Polish-Lithuanian union in 1385–1386. Volhynia also had a number of offices, found nowhere else, such as the marshal of Volhynia¹⁵. His authority was abolished, however, by the administrative reform implemented in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1565 and 1566. This reform unified the Lithuanian administrative system along Polish lines.

The most significant difference, however, was religious in nature. For Orthodox nobles had, since the beginning of the Polish-Lithuanian union, not enjoyed equal status with their Catholic counterparts, after Catholicism became the religion of the majority of the previously pagan Lithuanian nobility after 1385. Until 1563 the Orthodox were legally barred from holding the four most important secular offices in Lithuania: the voivodeships and castellanies of Vilnius and Trakai, which were territorially connected with the ethnic Lithuanian (non-Ruthenian) lands. These offices bestowed membership of the Council of the Grand Duke of Lithuania¹⁶, which was a small group of the

¹³ The title of *Knyaz* (prince) was granted to members of families which descended from the Gediminids and Rurikids, that is, the ruling dynasties of Lithuania and Kievan Rus' respectively. In addition some of knyazs in Lithuania came from Tatar aristocracy who had been settled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since 14th century.

¹⁴ Grzegorz BŁASZCZYK, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, vol. 2: *Od Krewa do Lublina*, part 1, Poznań 2007, pp. 830–831.

¹⁵ Zygmunt L. RADZIMIŃSKI, *Marszałkowie wołyńskiej ziemi przed unią lubelską i ich spadkobiercy marszałkowie szlachty wołyńskiej w dobie porzobiorowej*, Lwów 1916, p. 7; Aleksander JABŁONOWSKI, *Pisma*, vol. 4: *Wołyń, Podole, Ruś Czerwona*, Warszawa 1911, p. 12; T. KEMPA, *Konstanty*, pp. 29–30, 44.

¹⁶ Lidia KORCZAK, *Litewska rada wielkksiążęca w XV wieku*, Kraków 1998, pp. 37, 49; T. KEMPA, *Magnateria*, p. 7; Wiktor CZERMAK, *Sprawa równouprawnienia schizmatyków i katolików na Litwie (1432–1563 r.)* (Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, vol. 44), Kraków 1903, pp. 348–405; Kazimierz CHODYNICKI, *Geneza równouprawnienia schizmatyków w Wielkim Ks. Litewskim. Stosunek Zygmunta Augusta do wyznania grecko-wschodniego*, Przegląd Historyczny, vol. 22: 1919–1920, pp. 54–135.

closest collaborators of the Lithuanian ruler. This ban was instituted by clause no. 10 of the *Act of the Union of Horodło* (Lithuanian: Horodle) from 1413, which gave formal recognition of the dominant role of the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania¹⁷. The generally tolerant policy of the Jagiellonian dynasty, however, meant that occasionally the ban was ignored, although any such appointments, such as that of Konstanty Ostrogski, who was appointed castellan of Vilnius in 1512 and voivode of Trakai in 1522¹⁸ by King Sigismund I 'the Old' always provoked serious protests. This campaign forced Sigismund to issue a privilege, in which he stated that Ostrogski's nomination was to be regarded as a unique departure from the law that was not to be repeated¹⁹. This privilege at the request of the leading Lithuanian Catholic dignitaries was then confirmed several times, first by Sigismund I in 1529, and then by Sigismund II Augustus in 1547 and 1551²⁰. The frequency of confirmation of this ban by the Lithuanian rulers proves that the Lithuanian Catholic magnates (Gasztołd, Radziwiłł and other families) had no intention of sharing their power with Orthodox Ruthenian magnates²¹.

It should be noted that although there were no formal restrictions, Ruthenian magnates from the Ukrainian territories were rarely appointed to the post of governor (*namiestnik*) or voivode as they all were called after the establishment of the Polish administrative system in 1566. These posts were largely reserved for representatives of the magnate families of Lithuanian origin. There was, however, quite a large Orthodox group among them, including representatives of the Sapieha, Wołłowicz, Chodkiewicz, and Pac families. Jerzy Suchocki's research shows that representation of the Orthodox in the political Lithuanian elite increased gradually in the 15th and 16th centuries²². Orthodox

¹⁷ Dariusz BARONAS, Stephen C. ROWELL, *The Conversion of Lithuania: From Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians*, Vilnius 2015, pp. 315–326.

¹⁸ Афанасий Ярушевич, *Ревнитель православия, князь Константин Иванович Острожский (1461–1530) и православная литовская Русь в его время*, Смоленск 1897 [Afanasiy YARUSHEVICH, *Revnitel' pravoslaviya, knyaz' Konstantin Ivanovich Ostrozhskiy (1461–1530) i pravoslavnyaya litovskaya Rus' v yego vremya*, Smolensk 1897], pp. 236–237; Aleksander ŁAPIŃSKI, *Zygmunt Stary a Kościół prawosławny*, Warszawa 1937, pp. 151–156; Tomasz KEMPA, *Dzieje rodu Ostrogskich*, Toruń 2002, pp. 37–38.

¹⁹ *Archiwum Komisji Prawniczej*, vol. 7, Kraków 1900, pp. 273–275, 280–281; K. CHODYŃSKI, op.cit., p. 112; A. Ярушевич, op.cit., p. 166.

²⁰ K. CHODYŃSKI, op.cit., pp. 101–103; T. KEMPA, *Magnateria*, p. 10.

²¹ Tomasz KEMPA, *Konflikt litewsko-ruski (katolicko-prawosławny) w elicie politycznej Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w latach dwudziestych XVI wieku*, [in:] *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Centrum a peryferie w systemie władzy Jagiellonów*, ed. Bożena CZWOJDRĄK, Jerzy SPERKA, Piotr WĘCOWSKI, Kraków 2018, pp. 125–130, 142–145.

²² Suchocki calculated that in the period 1417–1447 Ruthenians from outside the ethnic Lithuanian territories including Samogitia constituted nearly 20% of the leading officeholders in the Lithuanian state. With reference to the period 1447–1492, this coefficient increased to 37%,

Ruthenians from the Ukrainian territories, however, were rarely appointed to posts with responsibility in other areas of the Grand Duchy.

At the Lithuanian Sejm in Vilnius in 1563, Sigismund II Augustus, as part of his preparations for the new Polish-Lithuanian union, decided to publish a privilege abolishing the restrictions on the access to the highest Lithuanian offices for the Orthodox²³. It is striking that at the time of the announcement there were no protests from the Lithuanian Catholic magnates. Why not? The development of the reformation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was certainly a major factor. A careful analysis of the document shows clearly that it considered not only the Orthodox, but also Protestants. Meanwhile, many leaders of the Lithuanian magnates converted to Protestant confessions, mainly in the second half of the 1550s and the beginning of the 1560s, following the example of the most powerful Lithuanian dignitary, Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'the Black'. Another privilege announced by Sigismund at the Grodno Sejm of 1568 allowed the Ruthenians to maintain their princely titles. After the Union of Lublin, however, princely titles provided no tangible benefits. Their holders had no automatic access to the Senate (the upper chamber of the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm)²⁴, whereas previously, the most important princes had sat in the extended Grand Ducal Council. Consequently, in this case the Ruthenian prince families from the Ukrainian lands lost more because of the Union of Lublin than they gained from it. Nevertheless, the prestige conferred by these titles was still important for the Ruthenian princes, in particular because there were no such titles in the Polish Kingdom.

The significance of the royal privileges issued in 1563 and 1568 for the eventual approval of the Ruthenian magnates and nobility of the Union of Lublin and the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands into the Polish Kingdom must be stressed. Taken together, these documents constituted one of the main pillars of the Union of Lublin as it pertained to Volhynia and the two Ukrainian

and by 1492–1529 and 1529–1569 it had reached 41%. Jerzy SUCHOCKI, *Formowanie się i skład narodu politycznego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim późnego średniowiecza*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, vol. 48: 1983, no. 1–2, pp. 73–75. Cf. Marzena LIEDKE, *Rody ruskie w elicie politycznej Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Spółczesność a polityka*, ed. Iwona DACKA-GÓRZYŃSKA, Andrzej KARPIŃSKI (Spółczesność Staropolskie. Seria Nowa, vol. 1), Warszawa 2008, pp. 137–164.

²³ *Monumenta reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae* (further cit. MRPL), ser. 1, vol. 1: *Zabytki z wieku XVI*, Wilno 1925, no. 4, pp. 14–19; *Акты относящиеся къ исторіи западной Россіи* [*Akty odnosyashchiesya k' istorii zapadnoy Rossii*], vol. 3, Санктпетербургъ [Sanktpeterburg] 1848, no. 32, pp. 118–121.

²⁴ The efforts of the Orthodox princes of Słuck, the closest relatives of the Jagiellon dynasty, to retain their place in the Senate as their birthright failed. Tomasz KEMPA, *Zabiegi kniazíów Olelkowiczów słuckich o uzyskanie miejsca w senacie po 1569 roku*, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, vol. 47: 2003, pp. 65–88.

voivodeships, in particular on account of the introduction of full equality between Christians of different confessions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which brought it into line with Poland, where there had never been formal restrictions with regard to appointment to office²⁵. These privileges opened up for Orthodox nobles prospects for fashioning political careers at the highest level in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Noble support for the new Polish-Lithuanian Union and the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands to Poland in Volhynia in particular also reflected the increasing Polish cultural and economic influences in Volhynia, which had grown considerably in the first half of the 16th century. There was a long tradition in Volhynia, dating back to the rule of Romanowicz dynasty (1194–1340), of mixed Ruthenian-Polish (Orthodox-Catholic) dynastic marriages. In the first half of the sixteenth century such marriages were increasingly concluded by the representatives of the most important families of magnates in Volhynia. Of particular significance were the marriages of the powerful and wealthy Ostrogski family. The son of hetman Konstanty Ostrogski, Ilya Ostrogski married Beata Kościelecka, and his half-brother, Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski married Zofia Tarnowska, daughter of the Polish Grand Hetman Jan Tarnowski²⁶. Before the Union of Lublin some representatives of the Polish nobility, most notably Olbracht Łaski, Michael Działyński and Mikołaj Łysakowski, acquired properties in Volhynia through marriage despite the formal legal barriers to the ownership of property by Poles in the Grand Duchy²⁷. In consequence Polish cultural influences in Volhynia began to spread, which had a positive influence on relations between Volhynian and Polish nobles.

With regard to the chain of events in 1569, the analysis of diaries of the Sejm of Lublin clearly shows that at least some among the Ruthenian magnates from the Ukrainian lands supported the king's efforts to mediate between the Poles and the Lithuanians in the first phase of the proceedings in January and February²⁸. When Lithuanians secretly left Lublin, the most influential Ruthenian

²⁵ Juliusz BARDACH, *O Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów. Dzieje związku Polski z Litwą do schyłku XVIII wieku* (Dzieje Narodu i Państwa Polskiego, vol. I–10), Warszawa 1998, p. 23.

²⁶ For other Polish-Ruthenian (Volhynian) marriages see: Наталія Яковенко, *Українська шляхтя з кінця XIV до середини XVII ст. (Волинь і Центральна Україна)*, Київ 2008 [Nataliya YAKOVENKO, *Ukrayins'ka shlyakhta z kintsya XIV do seredyuny XVII st. (Volyn' i Tsentral'na Ukrayina)*], Kyiv 2008], pp. 234–235; eadem, *Паралельний світ. Дослідження з історії уявлень та ідей в Україні XVI–XVII ст.*, Київ 2002 [*Paralelnyy svit. Doslidzhennya z istoriyi uяvlen' ta idey v Ukrayini XVI–XVII st.*], Kyiv 2002], pp. 64–79. About Polish influences in Volhynia in the 16th century see: Anna DEMBIŃSKA, *Wpływy kultury polskiej na Wołyń w XVI wieku (w łonie warstwy szlacheckiej)*, Poznań 1933.

²⁷ Stanisław ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, *Wołyń pod panowaniem Litwy*, Rocznik Wołyński, vol. 2: 1931, p. 21.

²⁸ *Дневник люблинського сейма*, p. 119; T. KEMPA, *Konstanty*, p. 45.

officials associated with the Ukrainian lands, the voivode of Kyiv Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, and Stefan Zbaraski – who, although he held the office of voivode of Trakai, was a leading Volhynian magnate – initially remained in Lublin. They made no attempt, however, to reach any decision on behalf of the Grand Duchy as a whole, and did not support the Polish proposals in any substantial way, before they too left Lublin soon after the Lithuanians²⁹.

Thereafter, magnates, princes and nobles from the Ukrainian territories stuck together. They did not participate in the convention that was convoked in Vilnius by Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘the Red’, the leader of the Lithuanian opponents of closer union³⁰. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Ruthenians did not themselves return to Lublin³¹. There is no doubt that in this way they deliberately signaled the distinctiveness of their position with regard to both the Polish and Lithuanian sides. This attitude was reflected in the local convention, which met in Lutsk in late March. The petition to the king drawn up by the Volhynian nobles at this convention, clearly stated that they distanced themselves from the positions of both the Poles and the Lithuanians. Nevertheless, they also suggested that they were prepared to consider a new union with Poland, but this union would have had to take into account their interests. Thus they refused to accept the decision to join Volhynia to Poland, which was announced to the Sejm by the king in March, without their participation. The Volhynian nobles were willing to take part in a separate Sejm with the Poles but without the Lithuanians, which would reach a decision about the nature of the future relationship of their province to Poland³².

Finally, the Volhynian nobles and their magnate leaders, together with representatives of the Kyiv and Bratslav territories, decided to return to the Sejm of Lublin after several summonses and threats from Sigismund Augustus, threatening to deprive officeholders of their posts and estates if they did not accept the union with Poland. Most of them arrived in Lublin in the last

²⁹ *Дневник люблинского сейма*, p. 152; T. КЕМПА, *Konstanty*, p. 46.

³⁰ Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘the Red’ to Roman Sanguszko, 13 III 1569, [in:] *Archiwum XX. Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, vol. 7, ed. Zygmunt L. RADZIMIŃSKI, Bronisław GORCZAK, Lwów 1910, no. 260, p. 320; T. КЕМПА, *Konstanty*, p. 46.

³¹ By these means, the magnates from the Ukrainian territories sought to secure their interests in case the new union failed to come to fruition. It is significant that most Lithuanian magnates, led by ‘the Red’, treated all concessions to the Poles as a betrayal of the interests of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This was evident in their attitude to the deputies from Podlasie (Adam Kosiński and Mikołaj Bujno), who first declared their willingness to unite their province with the Polish Crown, see: Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘the Red’ to Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł ‘the Orphan’, 26 IV 1569, [in:] T. КЕМПА, *Listy Radziwiłłów*, p. 101; Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski to Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘the Red’, March 1569, Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie [The Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków] (further cit. BCzart.), MS 77, no. 22, p. 97.

³² T. КЕМПА, *Możliwość*, pp. 179–181. Cf. K. MAZUR, *Nieznaną*, pp. 54–56.

ten days of May³³. Initially the leading Volhynian magnates (the voivode of Kyiv Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, the voivode of Volhynia Alexander Czartoryski, the starost of Zhytomyr Konstanty Wiśniowiecki, and Bohusz Korecki, the starost of Lutsk, Bratslav, and Vinnytsia) were reluctant to make any binding decisions concerning the union without the permission of Lithuanians, but finally, after several hours of talks, they agreed to the incorporation of Volhynia into Poland after receiving guarantees of their privileges, in particular concerning the maintenance of princely titles and the rights of the Orthodox Church, and the autonomy of their lands within the Polish Kingdom. These four leading Volhynian magnates swore a mutual oath, though, according to the Sejm diaries, their attitudes to the new union were not uniform. Their individual positions were determined by their ties of affinity with Lithuanians or Poles and their personal interests and experiences. Meanwhile, the Volhynians urged the king to include the territory of Kyiv to the Kingdom of Poland. Once this was done, the Volhynians agreed to a new Polish-Lithuanian union without major obstacles³⁴.

The Lithuanians were outraged by the decision of the magnates and nobility from Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav about a union with Poland, which was reported to ‘the Red’ by those Lithuanians who had stayed in Lublin to observe the events³⁵. Yet there was a good reason for the decision. The Ukrainian nobles had secured assurances from the king and the Sejm that they would secure considerable autonomy within the Kingdom of Poland. Thus the privileges (the *Acts of Incorporation*) for Volhynia (26 V 1569)³⁶ and for the Kyiv land (5 VI 1569)³⁷, which were almost identical in content, refer to ‘restoring’ and ‘joining’ these lands with Poland, while the equality of the two sides – the Polish Crown and the provinces of Kyiv and Volhynia together with Bratslav – was emphasized. This was to be a union “równych do równych, wolnych do wolnych ludzi” [“of equals with equals and of the free with the free”], which was how the relationship between the Polish and Ruthenian nobility was described. This phrase was frequently quoted by deputies from the Ukrainian voivodeships in the first half of the 17th century. As Henryk Litwin observed,

³³ T. КЕМПА, *Magnateria*, pp. 17–18; idem, *Możnowładztwo*, p. 181.

³⁴ *Дневник люблинского сейма*, pp. 384–385, 396–398; *Źródłopisma*, p. 164; T. КЕМПА, *Możnowładztwo*, pp. 181–182; idem, *Konstanty*, pp. 48–49.

³⁵ Jan Chodkiewicz to Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘the Red’, 31 V 1569, [in:] AS, vol. 7, no. 23, p. 38; Mikołaj Naruszewicz to Mikołaj Radziwiłł ‘the Red’, 5 and 11 VI 1569, [in:] AS, vol. 7, no. 24, 26, pp. 40, 44.

³⁶ The privilege for Volhynia included also Bratslav land. *Akta unji Polski z Litwą 1385–1791*, ed. Stanisław KUTRZEWA, Władysław SEMKOWICZ, Kraków 1932, no. 136, pp. 300–308; *Volumina Legum* (further cit. VL), vol. 2, ed. Jozafat OHRYZKO, Sankt Petersburg 1859, pp. 80–84.

³⁷ *Akta unji*, no. 138, pp. 308–319 (Latin and Polish versions); VL, vol. 2, pp. 84–87 (in Polish).

the privileges proclaimed during the Sejm of Lublin were a bilateral agreement³⁸. These acts therefore were constituted as fundamental laws, since according to their final formulation, the legal norms they contained, which were guaranteed by a royal oath, could not be in any way altered or contravened by “any privileges, statutes or constitutions of the Sejm” in the future³⁹.

What did these privileges grant to the inhabitants of the Volhynia, Bratslav and Kyiv lands? They spoke of the inviolability of the borders of these provinces; their integrality and distinction within the Polish Kingdom was thereby emphasized. The administrative structure of this area, established by the 1565–1566 reforms, was to be maintained. The *Acts of Incorporation* released the nobility, in practice mainly the magnates of these lands, from the revindication of alienated royal estates under the legislation passed by the Polish Sejm in the 1560s as a result of pressure from the movement for the Execution of the Laws⁴⁰. This matter was covered extensively in the *Acts of Incorporation*, which stressed that all grants of royal land made by Sigismund Augustus and his predecessors should remain in force. From the legal point of view, however, the most important mark of autonomy, was the preservation of Lithuanian law in the three Ukrainian voivodeships, as they now became. At that time the *Second Lithuanian Statute*, adopted in 1566, was in force and it was supposed to be the basis of the legal system in all three voivodeships. Moreover, since they were no longer part of the Grand Duchy, the *Second Statute* was to remain in force there even after the compilation of the *Third Lithuanian Statute*, which introduced several important new provisions in 1588. The only change in the legal system in the Ukrainian lands was the deletion the article concerning the defense of the land from the second chapter of the *Second Statute*, since it was deemed contrary to Polish law. The king also granted, at the request of the nobility of the three voivodeships, the possibility of modifying the *Second Statute* and proposing new laws.

Another thread uniting the Lithuanian and Ukrainian provinces was the Ruthenian language, which remained as the official legal language in the noble courts and also in documents issued for these lands by the royal chancelleries. Cases in the municipal courts, however, which were governed by the Magde-

³⁸ Henryk LITWIN, *Narody pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Tradycje polityczne dawnej Polski*, ed. Anna SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA, Alicja DYBOWSKA, Warszawa 1993, p. 178.

³⁹ Litwin compared the *Acts of Incorporation* for the Volhynia and the Kyiv lands with the *Act of Incorporation* for Podlasie. It is significant that in the latter, the king did not guarantee any particular rights to this province. Nevertheless, I disagree with Litwin, who sees the “irreversibility of restitution and reintegration” only in Podlasian *Act of Incorporation* (see H. LITWIN, *Narody*, p. 178), because also the documents issued for Volhynia and the Kyiv lands clearly spoke about it. Cf. the *Act of Incorporation* for Podlasie published in: VL, vol. 2, pp. 77–80.

⁴⁰ Krzysztof CHŁAPOWSKI, *Realizacja reform egzekucji dóbr 1563–1665. Sprawa zastawów królewskich małopolskich*, Warszawa 1984.

burg law, were to be conducted in Polish. Thus Ruthenian remained the official language mainly for the nobility. Finally, the *Acts of Incorporation* repeatedly emphasized the equal rights of Catholics and the Orthodox (and other Christians) in a confirmation of the guarantees included in the privileges issued by Sigismund Augustus in 1563 and 1568.

The guarantee that the Execution of the Law would not be enforced in the Ukrainian territories and the retention of princely titles, which would now be recognized in Poland as well, were of particular significance for the Ukrainian magnates. Yet the magnates failed to overturn Sigismund Augustus' decree of August 1564, by which the privilege that the lords (*pany*) – the upper levels of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility – could only be judged by the Grand Duke himself, was revoked, which meant that the magnates were now subject to the noble land courts (*sądy ziemskie*) and castle courts (*sądy grodzkie*). Thus was the principle that all nobles, whatever their wealth or status, were legally equal before the law was reinforced.

Under the *Acts of Incorporation*, the Ruthenian princes also lost, at least formally, the privilege of keeping control of their own privately-raised forces when the noble levy (*pospolite ruszenie*) was summoned⁴¹. Previously, this prerogative ensured that magnates enjoyed a considerable degree of independence during military campaigns. The princes also lost their privilege of membership in the Lithuanian Council of Lords, since it no longer existed as a separate institution, and they could attend the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm only through election as an envoy by a sejmik, or through appointment to one of the offices of voivode, castellan, or government minister, which conferred membership of the Senate upon their holders. Nevertheless, the loss of this privilege was not of particular significance for the leading magnate families as their representatives dominated appointments to the senatorial offices in the voivodeship of Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav after 1569⁴².

This domination was secured by the clause of the *Acts of Incorporation* which stipulated that these offices should only be conferred upon citizens “osiadłym stanu szlacheckiego” [“from among the settled nobility”] in these voivodeships. This stipulation was highly beneficial for the wealthy and even the middling nobles of the Ukrainian lands. By the mid-17th century it was rare for offices in these voivodeships to be held by the incomers from either

⁴¹ See for instance T. KEMPA, *Dzieje rodu Ostrogskich*, p. 57.

⁴² In the hierarchy of senatorial dignities, among the dignitaries of the three incorporated provinces, the voivode of Kyiv, ranked 14th among voivodes, his Volhynian equivalent was 3 places below, and the voivode of Bratslav, as a new creation, was placed in 34th place, towards the bottom of the table of prestige. Among the castellans, the castellan of Kyiv was ranked 10th, while the castellan of Volhynia was 13th and the castellan of Bratslav was 28th. See VL, vol. 2, p. 93.

Lithuania or Poland⁴³. The greatest beneficiaries of the Union of Lublin on the Ukrainian side, however, were the most influential princely and magnate families of Volhynia: the Ostrogskis, Zbaraskis, Koreckis and Wiśniowieckis. Their representatives were able to secure the highest senatorial offices in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moreover, they increased their ownership of vast properties in Ukraine⁴⁴. In addition, they became the owners of substantial estates in the central voivodeships of the Commonwealth, particularly in Lesser Poland, mainly thanks to successful marriages.

It is difficult to agree with the thesis of some Ukrainian historians that the leading representatives of the Ukrainian magnate families and the nobility more generally accepted what they term the 'minimum program' during the Lublin Sejm. They are accused of a failure to formulate sufficiently robust political demands during the negotiations⁴⁵. Would it have been possible, however, to create a tripartite union through the creation of a Duchy of Rus', as was proposed in the Union of Hadiach in 1658, as a guarantor of the autonomy of these lands, and their equality within the structures of the Commonwealth, as some Ukrainian scholars have argued?⁴⁶ This was certainly not a possibility envisaged by either side in 1569. The inhabitants of Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav lands secured substantial autonomy, which enabled them to maintain and uphold their separate Ruthenian identity, at least in the short term, as clearly was in the first decades after the Union of Lublin.

For after 1569 there were two clear directions of political activity maintained by the nobility in the Ukrainian territories. The first aimed to confirm and secure the political rights obtained as a result of the Union of Lublin, and at the same time, to defend the Ukrainian lands against the claims of the Lithuanians who wanted to overturn the *Acts of Incorporation* and retrieve the lost Ukrainian territories for the Grand Duchy. Secondly, the local nobility sought to protect the autonomy of the voivodeships of Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav

⁴³ Н. Яковенко, *Українська*, pp. 114–115 (contains a list of individuals who held senatorial offices in Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav after the Union of Lublin down to the mid-17th century); Witold KŁACZEWSKI, *Z badań nad urzędnikami kijowskimi XVI–XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia historyczno-prawne. Prace dedykowane Profesorowi Janowi Sereyde w siedemdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Janusz DOROBISZ, Włodzimierz KACZOROWSKI, Opole 2004, pp. 113–116; N. JAKOWENKO, *Historia*, p. 156.

⁴⁴ See tables showing these processes in: Н. Яковенко, *Українська*, pp. 122–126. More on the subject of the structure of land ownership in the Kyiv voivodeship at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries see: Witold BOBIŃSKI, *Województwo kijowskie w czasach Zygmunta III. Studium osadnictwa i stosunków własności ziemskiej*, Warszawa 2000, p. 96 and *passim*.

⁴⁵ J. PELEŃSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 259; N. JAKOWENKO, *Historia*, p. 154.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wiktor BRECHUNENKO, *Unia lubelska a unia hadziacka. Dwie ruskie elity, dwie idee*, [in:] *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Tomasz KEMPA, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Toruń 2011, pp. 209–215.

enshrined in the *Acts of Incorporation*. This reflected the attachment to Orthodox tradition and the Ruthenian past.

With regard to the first of these aims, during the *interregnum* after the death of Sigismund Augustus in July 1572, the Ukrainian nobility strongly rejected the Lithuanian demand to “repair of the union”, which aimed to restore the lands annexed by Poland in 1569. At the council before the Sejm of 1572 which assembled before the king’s death, the Kyiv nobility defended the decisions taken at the Lublin Sejm. They termed the union, which was concluded there, as a “holy and glorious” creation⁴⁷. The Volhynian nobility explicitly supported cooperation between Volhynia and Poland at the convention in Lutsk in July 1572, convened shortly after the death of the king⁴⁸. It is significant that some representatives of the Kyiv and Bratslav nobility also attended⁴⁹. Alexander Chodkiewicz, who was sent to Volhynia by Lithuanian senators at this time, observed that when it was proposed that Volhynia and Podlasie should be restored to Lithuania, the nobles from the two voivodeships cried out: “nie chcą przysiąg swych łamać i przeciw sumnieniu swemu co poczynać” [“that they do not wish to break their oaths, or to do anything against their conscience”], adding that: “to wiem za pewne, że ich wielka część jest nieżyczliwych litewskiemu państwu” [“I know that it is certain that a great part of them is hostile to the Lithuanian state”]⁵⁰. Similar resolutions were taken at a convention in Gliniany, which was attended by the nobility of the voivodeships of Podolia, Ruthenia and the Belz land, all of which bordered with the Ukrainian voivodeships⁵¹. Since Podolia, Ruthenia, and Belz all contained substantial Ru-

⁴⁷ K. MAZUR, *W stronę*, p. 257.

⁴⁸ At that time, some of the most important magnates associated with Volhynia, including the voivode of Kyiv Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, the voivode of Volhynia Bohusz Korecki, the voivode of Bratslav Andrzej Wiśniowiecki and Janusz Zbaraski were reluctant to commit themselves. They declared (in secret talks with the Lithuanian envoy Alexander Chodkiewicz) that they might support Lithuanian claims to the incorporated provinces. In practice, however, the Volhynian magnates did nothing to advance the matter, and some of them, like Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, defended the unions of Volhynia and the rest of the Ukrainian lands with the Kingdom of Poland. See Ławryn Woyna to Jan Chodkiewicz, 4 III 1573, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku [Kórnik Library] (further cit. BKórn.), MS 11617; Alexander Chodkiewicz to Jan Chodkiewicz, 6 X 1572, *ibid.*; T. KEMPA, *Magnateria*, pp. 22–23; *idem*, *Konstanty*, pp. 49–50.

⁴⁹ Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie [Jagiellonian Library in Kraków] (further cit. BJag.), MS akc. 3/52, f. 30v–35; Ewa DUBAS-URWANOWICZ, *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewiach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta*, Białystok 1998, pp. 28, 159; K. MAZUR, *W stronę*, pp. 259, 268.

⁵⁰ Alexander Chodkiewicz to Jan Chodkiewicz, 6 X 1572, BKórn., MS 11617; Stefan GRUSZECKI, *Walka o władzę w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej po wygaśnięciu dynastii Jagiellonów (1572–1573)*, Warszawa 1969, pp. 30–31, 42–43; T. KEMPA, *Magnateria*, p. 22.

⁵¹ BCzart., MS 80, no. 49; BJag., MS akc. 3/52, f. 28–35; E. DUBAS-URWANOWICZ, *Koronne*, pp. 40, 128, 135, 159; T. KEMPA, *Magnateria*, p. 22; K. MAZUR, *W stronę*, p. 268.

thenian populations, it is interesting to note the emergence of a community of interests between the Ukrainian nobles and the Ruthenian nobility which had been part of the Polish Kingdom since the 14th century⁵². Finally, at the Convocation Sejm in January 1573, when the place, conditions and time of royal election were set, the representatives of Volhynia announced that they did not wish to rejoin Lithuania under any circumstances⁵³. This attitude is reflected in the numerous participation of Ukrainian nobles, especially from Volhynia, at the election of the new Polish King Henry of Valois in April and May 1573⁵⁴.

At the same time the Ruthenian nobility from the Ukrainian lands aimed to strengthen the position of the Volhynia, Bratslav and Kyiv voivodeships in the Kingdom of Poland by seeking to act collectively on key issues. Their envoys sought to secure confirmation of the *Acts of Incorporation* by successive Polish monarchs⁵⁵. On account of these efforts, the Ukrainian voivodeships (including Volhynia) were perceived as a collective whole in Polish public life. The unity of Volhynia, Bratslav and Kyiv lands was given clear expression in statutes of the Sejm. Most of them (especially during the first decades after the Union of Lublin) were enacted at the same time for all these three incorporated voivodeships, except for statutes regulating strictly local issues⁵⁶.

In turn, when the Crown Tribunal (*Trybunał Koronny*) – the highest noble court in Poland – was established in the Kingdom of Poland (1578), the Ruthenian nobility initially intended to form a separate court for the Ukrainian lands. In fact, such a court was founded in Lutsk⁵⁷. The increasingly close relations and economic interests of the Ukrainian nobles and magnates with

⁵² Lithuanian Mikołaj Dorohostajski wrote to Jan Chodkiewicz from Volhynia: “panowie z województwa ruskiego i bełskiego często obsyłają się i postanowienia, które czynią na zjazdach swych zawsze Ich Mościom panom wołyńskim oznajmują, używając rady i chcąc się we wszem zgadzać z pany wołyńskimi” [“magnates from the Ruthenian and Bełz voivodeships often communicate themselves and resolutions that they make on their conventions always are declared to Volhynian nobles, using their advices and wanting to agree with them in all matters”]; Mikołaj Dorohostajski to Jan Chodkiewicz, 9 XI 1572, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie [Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków], MS 8809, f. 148–150. See also N. JAKOWENKO, *Historia*, pp. 157–158; H. LITWIN, *Narody*, p. 172; K. MAZUR, *W stronę*, pp. 268–269.

⁵³ Jakub Gosławski to Jan Chodkiewicz, 24 I 1573, BKórń., MS 11617; T. KEMPA, *Magnateria*, p. 22; idem, *Możnowładztwo*, p. 184. Cf. H. LULEWICZ, op.cit., p. 129.

⁵⁴ Władysław TOMKIEWICZ, *Wołyń w Koronie (1569–1795)*, *Rocznik Wołyński*, vol. 2: 1931, p. 32.

⁵⁵ *Akta unji*, no. 160, p. 384; VL, vol. 2, p. 262.

⁵⁶ See for instance VL, vol. 2, pp. 185, 188, 262, 395, 446; VL, vol. 3, ed. Jozafat OHRZYKO, *Sankt Petersburg 1859*, p. 418.

⁵⁷ VL, vol. 2, p. 185; Karol MAZUR, *Proces integracji Wołyń z Koroną w latach 1569–1648. Wybrane aspekty polityczne i prawne*, [in:] *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Tomasz KEMPA, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Toruń 2011, pp. 190–191.

the rest of the nobility in Poland resulted in the abolition of this 'Ruthenian Tribunal' in 1589, when the voivodeships of Volhynia and Bratslav joined the Crown Tribunal⁵⁸, to be followed by the Kyiv voivodeship in 1590⁵⁹. The unity of the Ukrainian voivodeships in the Crown Tribunal was emphasized by the fact that they all continued to be subject to the *Second Lithuanian Statute*. Furthermore, there were separate sessions of the Crown Tribunal for the nobility of the three voivodeships, and judgments concerning them were recorded in separate registers⁶⁰. Generally however, the accession to the Crown Tribunal was an important factor promoting the increasing unification of the Ukrainian lands with Poland. Noble judges from those voivodeships sitting in the Crown Tribunal, began to apply Polish as well as Lithuanian law and the practice was soon extended to the local noble and municipal courts in the Ukrainian lands, with the trend becoming more noticeable from the end of the 16th century⁶¹. Despite this development, however, the *Third Lithuanian Statute* was more and more willingly used in the judicial practice in the Ukrainian lands after 1588, again in a subsidiary way, which simply suggests the rational approach of the local justice system to the law⁶².

The noble deputies to the Sejm from Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav kept a close eye on the paragraph of the *Acts of Incorporation* concerning the use of the Ruthenian language in Ukrainian offices and courts, and in official documents concerning these voivodeships. For instance, it was emphasized in the constitution of the Sejm in 1578 that it should have been issued for the voivodes of the Ukrainian lands "under the seal of the Crown and written in Ruthenian, according to the privilege that these provinces obtained at the Sejm of Lublin"⁶³. The use of the Ruthenian language in official documents and correspondence between the royal chancelleries and the institutions of the Ukrainian voivodeships was often demanded in the instructions of the

⁵⁸ VL, vol. 2, pp. 282, 292–296. Two deputies from each county (*powiat*) of three voivodeships (there were three counties in Volhynia) were elected to the Tribunal. They gathered in Lublin (like the nobles of Lesser Poland) in order to judge lawsuits. In total, these provinces chose 10 deputies.

⁵⁹ VL, vol. 2, p. 315; VL, vol. 3, p. 13.

⁶⁰ VL, vol. 2, p. 295.

⁶¹ Н. Яковенко, *Паралельний*, pp. 84–86, 93; K. MAZUR, *Proces integracji*, p. 192; W. BOBIŃSKI, op.cit., pp. 59–61; Natalija STARČENKO, *Unia lubelska jako legitymacja regionalizmu wołyńskiego (na przykładzie praktyki sądowej pierwszych dziesięcioleci pounijnych)*, [in:] *Liublińskie unija. Idėja ir jos tęstinumas*, ed. Liudas GLEMŽA, Ramunė ŠMIGELSKYTĖ-STUKIENĖ, Vilnius 2011, pp. 201–211.

⁶² Generally, however, the implementation of the *Third Lithuanian Statute* in the Ukrainian lands was opposed. N. STARČENKO, op.cit., pp. 206–207. Cf. Andrzej B. ZAKRZEWSKI, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie (XVI–XVIII w.). Prawo – ustrój – społeczeństwo*, Warszawa 2013, p. 222.

⁶³ VL, vol. 2, p. 185; T. KEMPA, *Ziemie ruskie*, pp. 141–142.

Ukrainian sejmiks, of which there was one in each Ukrainian voivodeship. The Kyiv nobles sent a letter in this matter to the Polish king as early as 1571. Later, from time to time, this problem returned in petitions from the Ukrainian lands, which undoubtedly testifies to the fact that the clause on language was not strictly adhered to by the royal chancellery. In 1607, the deputies from Volhynia insisted that there should be at least two scribes who knew the Ruthenian language in the royal chancelleries in order to keep separate books for the Ukrainian provinces (the so-called *Ruska Metryka* or *Wołyńska Metryka*)⁶⁴. In 1638 Volhynian deputies demanded that “there should be a nobleman *possessionatus*” active in preparing the registers of the *Ruska Metryka*, who would be a representative of the Ukrainian provinces. He was supposed to be elected only by the nobility from the Ukrainian voivodeships and have the control of all the *Ruska Metryka* books⁶⁵. Separate registers for these provinces, still written in Ruthenian, were maintained in the royal chancelleries only down to 1673⁶⁶. Paradoxically, however, the instructions of the Ukrainian sejmiks (for deputies to the Sejm) that demanded the maintenance of the Ruthenian language were already written in Polish from the beginning of the 17th century. Single signatures written in Cyrillic under these instructions slowly disappeared, which bears testimony to the gradual cultural Polonization of the local nobility⁶⁷.

With the increasing reception of Polish law in the Ukrainian lands, entries in the registers in the local noble offices (*księgi grodzkie*) and courts (*księgi ziemskie*) were increasingly written in Polish. This was particularly true for private noble entries while the official initial formula of the documents and the sentences included in these registers were still written in Ruthenian⁶⁸. A significant demand was included in the instruction of Volhynian sejmik in 1646. At that time the Volhynian nobility still wished that the official books of the

⁶⁴ Архив югозападной России издаваемый Коммиссиею для разбора древних актов [Архив югозападноу России издаваемуу Коммиссийеу длы разбора древних актов] (further cit. Archiv]ZR), part 2, vol. 1, Киев [Kiyev] 1861, p. 71; Teresa CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL, *Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i Kozaczyzny od schyłku XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 60–61; Н. Яковенко, *Паралельний*, p. 104.

⁶⁵ Archiv]ZR, part 2, vol. 1, no. 21, p. 238; T. CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL, op.cit., p. 61.

⁶⁶ Summaries of all 29 volumes of the *Ruska Metryka* were published in: *Руська (Волинська) Метрика. Регести документів Коронної канцелярії для українських земель (Волинське, Київське, Брацлавське, Чернігівське воєводства) 1569–1673*, Київ 2002 [Rus'ka (Volyns'ka) Metrika. Rehesty dokumentiv Koronnoyi kantselyariyi dlya ukrayins'kykh zemel' (Volyns'ke, Kyiv's'ke, Bratslavs'ke, Chernihiv's'ke voyevodstva) 1569–1673, Kyiv 2002].

⁶⁷ The instructions of the sejmiks of Volhynia, Bratslav and Kyiv from the 17th century were partially published in: Archiv]ZR, part 2, vol. 1–2. See also Henryk LITWIN, *Katolicyzacja szlachty ruskiej a procesy asymilacyjne na Ukrainie w latach 1569–1648*, [in:] *Tryumfy i porażki. Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. Maria BOGUCKA, Warszawa 1989, pp. 51–52.

⁶⁸ W. ТОМКІЕВІЧ, op.cit., p. 33; H. LITWIN, *Katolicyzacja*, p. 51.

noble courts should be written in Ruthenian but extracts from these books could be issued in Polish⁶⁹. Such a demand suggests that the Volhynian nobility, by now largely Polish-speaking, still wished to defend a separate Ruthenian identity. Moreover, the *Second Lithuanian Statute* was translated – for the noble courts and offices in Lutsk and Volodymyr – into Polish at the end of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century⁷⁰. This evidence all demonstrates the growing impact of the Polish language in the lives of the Ruthenian nobility from the late 16th century⁷¹.

Another important means of protecting a separate Ruthenian identity was the efforts aimed at defending Orthodoxy against the influence of Roman Catholicism, the Reformation, and, after the 1596, the Uniate Church established as the result of the Union of Brest. As was rightly pointed out by Henryk Litwin, in the 16th and the first half of the 17th century the most important issue for each Ruthenian in the Commonwealth was the bond of the language and religion⁷². Despite the emphasis upon equal rights for Catholics and Orthodox in the *Acts of Incorporation*, the Ruthenian nobility from the Ukrainian lands sought to confirm the position of Orthodoxy in public fora after 1569. Being concerned about the state of the Orthodox Church, Ruthenian nobility demanded that Orthodox dignities should not be treated as ordinary offices by the king, who appointed Orthodox bishops by his prerogative power, and therefore, they should only be bestowed upon people of the “Greek religion”. This stipulation was written, *inter alia*, in the text of the *Warsaw Confederation*, adopted at the convocation Sejm in 1573⁷³. In turn, in 1576, following the request of the Volhynian deputies, the king promised that the higher dignities of the Orthodox Church in Volhynia would be received only by the people of “Greek faith and of noble estate”⁷⁴.

An important turning point in the history of all the Ruthenian lands in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the conclusion of the Union of Brest in 1595 and 1596⁷⁵, which especially concerned the voivodeships of Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav. The submission of the majority of the Orthodox bishops from the Kyiv metropolitanate (which embraced all the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) under the jurisdiction of the Pope denied,

⁶⁹ ArchivJZR, part 2, vol. 1, no. 26, p. 330.

⁷⁰ Н. Яковенко, *Паралельний*, pp. 89–91.

⁷¹ See more Antoine MARTEL, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes Ukraine et Russie blanche 1569–1667*, Lille 1938; T. CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL, *op.cit.*, p. 56 and *passim*.

⁷² H. LITWIN, *Napływ*, p. 13.

⁷³ VL, vol. 2, p. 124.

⁷⁴ VL, vol. 2, p. 165.

⁷⁵ The Orthodox Ruthenians clearly pointed to the date of the Union of Brest as a caesura separating the ancient history of Rus’ splendor from the new ‘bad’ period that followed after 1596. Cf. T. CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL, *op.cit.*, p. 69.

as practice showed, one of the main pillars of the Union of Lublin, which was religious toleration and the harmonious coexistence of people of different faiths. The state authorities, supporting the idea of the union of the Orthodox with Rome, came to the conclusion that the new Uniate Church was the sole successor of the Orthodox Church which had previously existed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Meanwhile, most of the Orthodox clergy, including two bishops, rejected the new union with the Roman Church. It meant that the Orthodox had in practice to seek the return of legal recognition of their Church. The Union of Brest brought ideological splits and division of the Ruthenians in the Commonwealth. It also had significant implications for the continuing integration of the Ukrainian lands with the rest of the Polish Kingdom⁷⁶. Although the majority of Ruthenian nobles sided with the Orthodox Church⁷⁷, the Union of Brest was supported by many among the Ruthenian magnates and nobility⁷⁸, who had converted to Catholicism before or during the first decades of the 17th century⁷⁹.

The Union of Brest mobilized Ruthenian nobles to become more active in public life. This was particularly true for the Kyiv and Bratslav nobility, which in the first decades after the Union of Lublin was less active in politics than Volhynian nobles⁸⁰, although Volhynia still produced the most prominent political activists, for example Adam Kisiel and Ławryn Drewiński, both of whom were elected as deputies to the Sejm on multiple occasions⁸¹. The activity of Ruthenian deputies at the end of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th cen-

⁷⁶ Tomasz KEMPA, *Czy unia brzeska wpłynęła na procesy integracyjne na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego?*, [in:] *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Tomasz KEMPA, Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Toruń 2011, pp. 227–238.

⁷⁷ H. LITWIN, *Katolicyzacja*, pp. 47–73 (see the appendix containing religious identification of noble families from Ukrainian provinces up to 1648 – pp. 72–73); idem, *Katoli[cy]zacja szlachty ruskiej 1569–1648. Stosunki wyznaniowe na Kijowszczyźnie i Braclawszczyźnie*, *Przegląd Powszechny*, vol. 10: 1985, pp. 58–70.

⁷⁸ There are two examples of collective manifestation of support for the Union of Brest expressed by Volhynian magnates and nobility in 1598 and 1603. However, they were signed not only by Ruthenians, but also by Poles and Lithuanians (Catholics) who owned estates in Volhynia. *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, ed. Waclaw LIPIŃSKI, Kraków–Kijów 1912, pp. 119–120.

⁷⁹ For the religious confessions of representatives of the most important princely families from Volhynia – the Ostrogski, Zasławski, Korecki, Sanguszko, Czartoryski, Zbaraski and Wiśniowiecki families – between 1550 and 1648 see: Н. Яковенко, *Паралельний*, pp. 64–79.

⁸⁰ For the political activity of the Kyiv nobility see: Henryk LITWIN, *Równi do równych. Kijowska reprezentacja sejmowa 1569–1648*, Warszawa 2009; idem, *Struktura*, pp. 57–64.

⁸¹ About Adam Kisiel see: Frank E. SYSYN, *Between Poland and Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653*, Cambridge 1985. About Ławryn Drewiński see: Tomasz KEMPA, *Prawosławni trybuni szlacheccy na sejmach Rzeczypospolitej w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Najjaśniejsza Rzeczypospolita. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Stroynowskiemu*, ed. Małgorzata DURBAS, Częstochowa 2019, pp. 66–70.

ture could be seen, above all, in the defense of Orthodoxy⁸². Almost all sejmik instructions contained a point urging “the pacification of the Greek religion” in which several specific Orthodox demands were usually included⁸³. Importantly, the joint actions in defense of the rights of the Orthodox Church intensified the solidarity among the nobility of three Ukrainian voivodeships in other cases, as well. It was also symptomatic that after the Union of Brest the Orthodox nobility and the Ruthenian burghers gathered in the Orthodox brotherhoods that were important intellectual centers of Orthodoxy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, began to collaborate. The most important Orthodox brotherhoods of the Ukrainian lands – in Kyiv and Lutsk – were formed thanks to the joint initiative of the nobility, burghers and the clergy. Those lands were also influenced by the famous brotherhood of the Uspenska church in Lviv⁸⁴.

A new phenomenon in Ukrainian lands was also the partnership between the Orthodox nobility (especially from Kyiv voivodeship) and the Zaporizhian Cossacks⁸⁵ in defense of Orthodoxy. The Cossacks, who had not shown particular religious fervor in earlier times, for which there was no need, became increasingly ardent defenders of Orthodoxy at the first and second decades of the 17th century⁸⁶. The cooperation between Orthodox clergy and nobility with the Cossacks began with the illegal – from the point of view of the authorities of the Commonwealth – resurrection of the upper hierarchy of the Orthodox metropolitanate of Kyiv in 1620–1621 by patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, who was visiting the Ukrainian lands on his way from Moscow⁸⁷. In the early

⁸² For an attempt to construct a collective image of the Ukrainian deputies from the end of the 16th to the mid-17th centuries see: Natalia JAKOWENKO, *Posłowie województw wołyńskiego, kijowskiego i braclawskiego na sejmach Rzeczypospolitej w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku (próba portretu zbiorowego)*, [in:] *Spółczesność obywatelska i jego reprezentacja (1493–1993)*, ed. Juliusz BARDACH, Wanda SUDNIK, Warszawa 1995, pp. 88–93.

⁸³ ArchivJR, part 2, vol. 1, pp. 68–69, 73, 83, 90–92, 105, 119–120, 134, 153–154, 188–191, 254–255, 270, 276, 287, 319–322, 397–398.

⁸⁴ Tomasz KEMPA, *Fundacje monasterów prawosławnych w Rzeczypospolitej w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Życie monastyczne w Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Antoni MIRONOWICZ, Urszula PAWLUCZUK, Piotr CHOMIK, Białystok 2001, pp. 97–98; N. JAKOWENKO, *Historia*, pp. 172, 174; eadem, *Ruś jako trzeci człon Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w myśli ukraińskiej I połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] *Unia Lubelska i tradycje integracyjne w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, Paweł KRAS, Hubert ŁASZKIEWICZ, Lublin 1999, p. 81.

⁸⁵ The name was derived from Zaporizhia – a region of Cossack activity on the lower Dnieper River in the south-eastern borderlands of the Kingdom of Poland.

⁸⁶ About their religious views see: Serhii PLOKHY, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*, Oxford 2002; Mariusz DROZDOWSKI, *Religia i Kozaczyzna zaporoska w Rzeczypospolitej w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 2008.

⁸⁷ Antoni MIRONOWICZ, *The Activities of the Patriarch Teofanes III in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, [in:] *The Orthodox Church in the Balkans and Poland: Connections and Common Tradition*, ed. Antoni MIRONOWICZ, Urszula PAWLUCZUK, Wojciech WALCZAK, Białystok 2007, pp. 77–85. An important role in establishing close cooperation between the Cossacks

1620s important polemical works attacking the Union of Brest were published⁸⁸. These works presented the Zaporizhian Cossacks as a pillar of Orthodoxy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Yet not all Orthodox nobles appreciated the ‘mythologizing’ role of the Zaporizhians, who were responsible for riots and uprisings and who also complicated the external relations of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in particular with the Ottoman Empire.

As a result of these developments, deep changes began to appear in the minds of the local nobility. As Frank Sysyn observes, Polonization also caused the reverse process of “enhancing of Ruthenian awareness” and its development among “wide parts of society” in the Ukrainian lands⁸⁹. Ruthenian nobles also began to search for their own historical roots, as can be seen in the polemical literature of the 1620s, mainly in the works of Meletius Smotrytsky, and speeches given at sessions of the Sejm by leading deputies from the Ukrainian voivodeships. Adam Kisiel used the term ‘Sarmatae Rossi’ in relation to the ancestors of Ruthenian nobility. He also pointed to the equal status of the Ruthenians from the Ukrainian lands and the Poles at the time of the Union of Lublin⁹⁰. The conception of a ‘Ruthenian nation’ slowly began to crystallize, based on these historical foundations and a vision of the Ruthenian nobility as a pillar of Orthodoxy⁹¹. As a result, the conception of Ruthenia (Ukraine) as a third part (along with the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) within the confines of the Commonwealth began to emerge⁹². This conception, despite attempts to make it happen (by the agreements with the Cossacks in Zboriv in 1649 and in Hadiach in 1658), eventually failed, due to, *inter alia*, the complicated relations between the Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth and Russia in the second half of the 17th century⁹³.

and the Orthodox hierarchy in the Commonwealth was played by the Orthodox monastery in Trechtymirów (Ukrainian: Trachtemyriw), traditionally cared for by the Cossacks. N. JAKOWENKO, *Historia*, pp. 176–177.

⁸⁸ Frank E. SYSYN, *Stosunki ukraińsko-polskie w XVII wieku. Rola świadomości narodowej i konfliktu narodowościowego w powstaniu Chmielnickiego*, Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce, vol. 27: 1982, p. 80; N. JAKOWENKO, *Historia*, pp. 178, 197; T. CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL, *op.cit.*, p. 67; Mirosław CZECH, *Świadomość historyczna Ukraińców pierwszej połowy XVII wieku w świetle ówczesnej literatury polemicznej*, *Slavia Orientalis*, vol. 38: 1989, no. 3–4, pp. 583–584.

⁸⁹ F. E. SYSYN, *Stosunki*, pp. 90–91.

⁹⁰ Frank E. SYSYN, *Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Sejm of 1641*, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 6: 1982, no. 2, p. 186 (the appendix includes Adam Kisiel's speech delivered at a session of the Sejm in 1641).

⁹¹ H. LITWIN, *Narody*, p. 187; N. JAKOWENKO, *Historia*, pp. 178–179; M. CZECH, *op.cit.*, p. 572; H. ЯКОВЕНКО, *Паралельний*, p. 232.

⁹² N. JAKOWENKO, *Ruś*, pp. 79–80; eadem, *Historia*, p. 179.

⁹³ See more about this issue in: Janusz KACZMARCZYK, *Rzeczpospolita trojga narodów. Mit czy rzeczywistość. Ugoda hadziacka – teoria i praktyka*, Kraków 2007.

Thus, in considering the genesis of the Union of Lublin one should notice the distinct interests of the Ruthenian nobility and magnates from the Ukrainian lands in relation to both Poles and Lithuanians. Volhynian magnates, despite some initial resistance, supported the new Polish-Lithuanian union and most significantly, the incorporation of Volhynia, Kyiv and Bratslav lands into the Polish Kingdom. The Union of Lublin opened up for them the possibility of a rapid political career. Representatives of the Ostrogski, Zbaraski, Wiśniowiecki, Zasławski and later Czartoryski families obtained the highest dignities in the state, becoming an integral part of the Polish political elite. The Ukrainian provinces enjoyed quite a high degree of autonomy as a part of the Polish Kingdom after 1569 due to their separate legal system, and the substantial role of the Ruthenian language and the Orthodox Church. Without a doubt, the Union of Lublin accelerated the process of Polonization and the spread of Catholicism in the Ukrainian lands. It would not, however, be justified to claim that those processes would not have operated among the Ruthenian magnates, nobles and burghers if the Union of Lublin had not been agreed. To an even greater extent than the political changes, they were accelerated by the social and religious transformations, including the development of the Reformation, and then, in turn, the Counter-Reformation⁹⁴. Furthermore, Polonization and the Union of Brest also provoked a reaction among a large part of the Ruthenian nobility in the Ukrainian voivodeships, which helped to consolidate its separate ethnic consciousness, and later produced the notion of Ruthenia-Ukraine as the third part of the Commonwealth, which never came to pass. Finally, the Union of Lublin accelerated the economic development of the Ukrainian lands, mostly by opening up new land for cultivation, and by promoting urbanization, which was initiated mainly by magnates, both locally born ones and Poles, who purchased estates in the Ukrainian territories.

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Prof. dr hab. Tomasz Kempa
Institute of History and Archival Sciences
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń
e-mail: tkempa@umk.pl
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9990-2412

⁹⁴ In this matter, although mainly with regard to the Ruthenian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (within its borders after 1569), see: Marzena LIEDKE, *Od prawosławia do katolicyzmu. Ruscy możni i szlachta Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec wyznań reformacyjnych*, Białystok 2004.

THE ATTITUDE OF RUTHENIAN MAGNATES AND NOBLES
TOWARD THE UNION OF LUBLIN (1569)
AND THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTONOMY OF UKRAINIAN LANDS
WITHIN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

Abstract

Key words: magnates, nobles, Ruthenia, Ukraine, Union of Lublin, law, Orthodoxy, Polonization, Catholicization

For a long time, historiography was dominated by a dualistic view on what had happened at the Sejm of Lublin in 1569. Thus, when describing the conclusion of the Union of Lublin, scholars focused on the Polish-Lithuanian dispute and the decisive role of King Sigismund Augustus in signing the agreement in Lublin. Recently, however, there have appeared publications highlighting the important role in the conclusion of the Lublin Union played by the Ruthenian nobility and noble representatives of the lands incorporated into the Polish Crown in 1569, that is Volhynia, eastern Podolia (Braclaw Land) and the region of Kiev.

The article sums up the existing knowledge on this subject, stressing the fact of the separate interests of the Ruthenian magnates, especially from Volhynia – where many well-known princely families had their family nests – in comparison to the Lithuanian magnates on the eve of the conclusion of the Union of Lublin. It facilitated the decision of the Ruthenian nobles to support not only the union itself, but also the incorporation of the above-mentioned provinces into the Polish Crown. Also thanks to this attitude of the princes and noblemen of Volhynia, Braclaw Land and the region of Kiev, these areas gained relatively broad autonomy allowing them to preserve their cultural identity. There is no doubt, however, that the Union of Lublin accelerated the process of Polonization of these lands to some extent, although the process had begun well before 1569.

Another important event from the point of view of maintaining the cultural identity of these provinces was the conclusion of the Union of Brest (1595–1596), as a result of which – upon the decision of most Orthodox bishops of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – the Kiev metropolitanate became subordinated to the Holy See. On the one hand, the majority of Ruthenian nobility from the aforementioned provinces reacted in defense of the Orthodox faith, and to some extent also of the Ruthenian region, which stimulated them to strengthen their identity. In this context, noble tribunes of Ruthenian origin, such as Adam Kisiel, and Orthodox polemic writers, such as Melecjusz Smotrycki (who later became a member of the Uniate Church), began to indicate the existence of a separate Ruthenian nation, also pointing to its different features and *de facto* forming the foundations of its historical tradition. Zaporizhian Cossacks, who consistently defended the Orthodox faith, also joined the process to some extent. On the other hand, in the long run, the Union of Brest led to the Catholicization of local noblemen. Most of Ruthenian nobles eventually converted to the Roman Catholic denomination. However, the fact that the Uniate Church existed might have led to the situation that at least some of the Ruthenian nobles remained in the Ruthe-

nian cultural circle even in the 18th and 19th centuries. Meanwhile, in the 17th century the role of the Ruthenian language tended to decrease in the above-mentioned territories, as it was the case in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the second half of the 17th century the Ruthenian language ceased to be the official language for the benefit of the Polish language.

DIE EINSTELLUNG RUTHENISCHER MAGNATEN UND ADELIGER
ZUR UNION VON LUBLIN (1569)
UND DIE FRAGE DER AUTONOMIE DER UKRAINISCHEN GEBIETE
INNERHALB POLEN-LITAUENS

Abstract

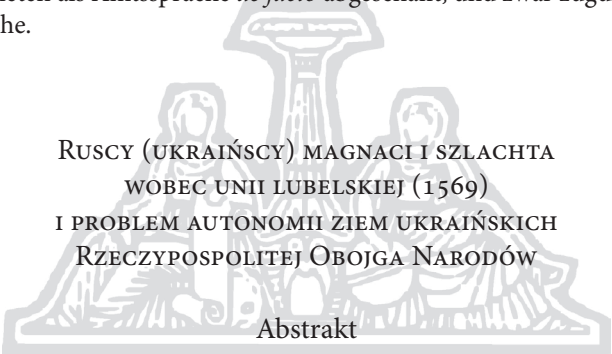
Schlüsselwörter: Hochadel, Adel, Ruthenien, Ukraine, Lubliner Union, Recht, Orthodoxie, Polonisierung, Katholisierung

In der Geschichtsschreibung überwog lange Zeit eine dualistische Vision der Ereignisse auf dem Sejm von Lublin im Jahre 1569. Daher konzentrierten sich die Historiker bei der Darstellung des Abschlusses der Lubliner Union darauf, den polnisch-litauischen Streit sowie die entscheidende Rolle des Königs Sigismund II. August bei der Unterzeichnung des Vertrags von Lublin zu schildern. In den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten sind jedoch auch Publikationen erschienen, die den wichtigen Einfluss des ruthenischen Hochadels und des Adels aus den 1569 in die polnische Krone inkorporierten Gebieten wie Wolhynien, Ostpodolien (Brazlowschtschyna) und Kiewschtschyna hervorheben.

Der Beitrag liefert auch eine Synthese des bisherigen Wissens zu diesem Thema und macht dabei auf die Tatsache aufmerksam, dass die ruthenischen Magnaten, insbesondere jene aus Wolhynien, wo viele bekannte fürstliche Familien ihre Familiensitze hatten, und die litauischen Magnaten am Vorabend des Abschlusses der Lubliner Union unterschiedliche Interessen verfolgten. Dies erleichterte dem ruthenischen Hochadel die Entscheidung, nicht nur die Union selbst zu unterstützen, sondern auch die vorgenannten Provinzen in die polnische Krone einzugliedern. Auch durch eine derartige Einstellung der Fürsten, Herren und Adligen aus Wolhynien, Brazlowschtschyna und Kiewschtschyna erlangten diese Gebiete eine relativ weitreichende Autonomie, dank der sie ihre kulturelle Identität bewahren konnten. Es unterliegt jedoch keinem Zweifel, dass die Lubliner Union den Prozess der Polonisierung dieser Gebiete gewissermaßen beschleunigt hat, obwohl dieser schon lange vor 1569 begann.

Ein weiteres wichtiges Ereignis im Hinblick auf die Wahrung der kulturellen Identität dieser Provinzen war der Abschluss der Union von Brest (1595/96), durch die die Kiewer Metropole – durch die Entscheidung der meisten orthodoxen Bischöfe der Königlichen Republik – dem Papst unterstellt wurde. Einerseits löste dies bei der Mehrheit des ruthenischen Adels aus den vorgenannten Provinzen eine Reaktion zum Schutz der Orthodoxie und in gewissem Maße auch des Ruthenischen aus und regte ihn auf diese Weise an, seine eigene Identität zu stärken.

Vor diesem Hintergrund begannen adlige Volksführer ruthenischer Herkunft wie Adam Kisiel sowie orthodoxe polemische Schriftsteller wie Melecjusz Smotrycki (der später jedoch Uniierter wurde), auf das Vorhandensein einer gesonderten ruthenischen Nation hinzuweisen und dabei auch ihre andersartigen Merkmale hervorzuheben sowie *de facto* die Grundlagen ihrer historischen Tradition zu bilden. Diesem Prozess schlossen sich in gewissem Maße auch die Kosaken aus dem Gebiet Saporischja an, die den orthodoxen Glauben konsequent verteidigten. Auf der anderen Seite führte die Union von Brest langfristig zur Katholisierung der lokalen adligen Eliten. Der Großteil des ruthenischen Adels konvertierte schließlich zur römisch-katholischen Kirche. Vielleicht führte jedoch die Tatsache, dass die unierte Kirche existierte, dazu, dass zumindest ein Teil des ruthenischen Adels auch im 18.–19. Jahrhundert im ruthenischen Kulturkreis verblieb. Gleichzeitig nahm im 17. Jh. die Bedeutung der ruthenischen Sprache in den vorgenannten Provinzen ab, übrigens ähnlich wie im Großherzogtum Litauen. In der zweiten Hälfte jenes Jahrhunderts wurde Ruthenisch in diesen Gebieten als Amtssprache *de facto* abgeschafft, und zwar zugunsten der polnischen Sprache.



RUSCY (UKRAIŃSCY) MAGNACI I SZLACHTA
WOBEC UNII LUBELSKIEJ (1569)
I PROBLEM AUTONOMII ZIEM UKRAIŃSKICH
RZECZYSPOLITEJ OBOJGA NARODÓW

Abstrakt

Słowa kluczowe: magnateria, szlachta, Ruś, Ukraina, unia lubelska, prawo, prawosławie, polonizacja, katolicyzacja

Przez długi czas w historiografii dominowała dualistyczna wizja tego, co działo się na sejmie lubelskim w 1569 r. Opisując zawarcie unii lubelskiej, koncentrowano się więc na ukazaniu sporu polsko-litewskiego, a także decydującej roli króla Zygmunta Augusta w doprowadzeniu do podpisania porozumienia w Lublinie. W ostatnich kilkunastu latach ukazały się jednak również publikacje podkreślające ważną rolę, jaką odegrało w zawarciu unii lubelskiej ruskie możnowładztwo i szlachta z inkorporowanych w 1569 r. do Korony Polskiej ziem: Wołyńia, Podola wschodniego (Braclawszczyzny) i Kijowszczyzny.

Artykuł syntetyzuje dotychczasową wiedzę na ten temat, zwracając uwagę na fakt odrębnych interesów magnaterii ruskiej, szczególnie pochodzącej z Wołyńia – w której to krainie wiele znanych rodzin kniaziowskich miało swoje rodowe gniazda – w stosunku do litewskiego możnowładztwa w przededniu zawarcia unii lubelskiej. Ułatwiło to decyzję ruskich możnych o poparciu nie tylko samej unii, lecz także inkorporacji wyżej wspomnianych prowincji do Korony Polskiej. Również dzięki takiej postawie kniaziów, panów i szlachty z Wołyńia, Braclawszczyzny i Kijowszczyzny tereny te uzyskały stosunkowo szeroką autonomię pozwalającą zachować ich odrębność kulturową.

Nie ulega jednak wątpliwości, że unia lubelska w pewnym stopniu przyspieszyła proces polonizacji tych ziem, choć zaczął się on już na długo przed 1569 r.

Kolejnym ważnym wydarzeniem z punktu widzenia zachowania kulturowej odrębności tych prowincji było zawarcie unii brzeskiej (1595/1596), w wyniku której – decyzją większości prawosławnych biskupów Rzeczypospolitej – metropolia kijowska została podporządkowana papieżowi. Z jednej strony spowodowało to reakcję w obronie prawosławia, a w pewnym stopniu także ruszczyzny, wśród większości ruskiej szlachty ze wspomnianych prowincji, pobudzając ją w ten sposób do umocnienia swojej odrębnej tożsamości. Na tym tle szlacheccy trybuni ruskiego pochodzenia, tacy jak Adam Kisiel, oraz prawosławni pisarze polemiczni, jak Melecjusz Smotrycki (który jednak później został unitą), zaczęli wskazywać na istnienie odrębnego ruskiego narodu, wskazując też na jego odmienne cechy oraz *de facto* tworząc zręby jego historycznej tradycji. W proces ten w pewnym stopniu włączyli się też Kozacy zaporoscy, konsekwentnie występujący w obronie prawosławnej wiary. Z drugiej jednak strony – w dłuższej perspektywie – unia brzeska prowadziła do katolicyzacji miejscowych elit szlacheckich. Większość ruskiej szlachty ostatecznie bowiem przeszła na wyznanie rzymskokatolickie. Być może jednak fakt istnienia Kościoła unickiego doprowadził do tego, że przynajmniej część szlachty ruskiej pozostała w ruskim kręgu kulturowym także w XVIII–XIX w. Jednocześnie w XVII w. malała rola ruszczyzny we wspomnianych wyżej prowincjach, podobnie zresztą jak miało to miejsce w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim. W drugiej połowie tego stulecia ruszczyzna *de facto* przestała na tych terenach odgrywać rolę języka urzędowego, ustępując miejsca polszczyźnie.



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