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UKRAINIAN COSSACKS IN THE BATTLE OF TSESORA AND THE KHOTYN WAR IN SCIENTIFIC WORKS OF JÓZEF SZUJSKI

The purpose of this article is to analyze and highlight the views of the prominent Polish historian, one of the founders of the Krakow historical school, Jozef Szujski, on the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks at the beginning of the seventeenth century, expressed in the second volume of «The History of Poland in Recent Studies», published in 1862, as well the perception of Tsetsora and Khotyn events, published in an article under the same name, printed in 1877. The main task of the author is to determine how Jozef Szujski estimated the importance of the Ukrainian Cossacks for the historical development of the Commonwealth at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and how he assessed and described the events under Tsetsora in 1620 and Khotin in 1621, which place was assigned to the Ukrainian Cossacks and their prominent representative – Hetman P. Konashevich-Sagaidachny. The methodology of the research is based on the general scientific principles of systematicity, reliability, historicism, logic. Biographical, comparative-historical, and comparative-textual methods were used for profound analysis of the scholar's scientific work. The scientific novelty of the research is that for the first time the scientific work of the outstanding representative of the Krakow School of History, Jozef Szujski, was analyzed for the first time through the prism of his views on the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks from 1619 to 1621 and in the general context of the history of the Commonwealth. The specificity of the Cossack perception as well as its reflection in the synthetic and specialized work of the scientist is highlighted. Conclusions. The analysis of «History of Poland ...» suggests that Jozef Szujski concentrated, first of all, on the socio-political side of historical events, which is characteristic of the Krakow historical school, but, unlike M. Bobzhinsky, he devoted considerable attention to military aspects of history and the Commonwealth. It was important for the historian to comprehensively describe the history of his own state through the prism of international relations, internal social-political processes and military actions as the agents of these processes. On the one hand, the Cossacks received a negative assessment due to unlawful, unauthorized military actions that damaged diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire in a difficult time for the Commonwealth. On the other hand, the historian noted the assistance of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the defense of the Commonwealth, although he emphasized on the negative features and the disastrous consequences of their assistance to the state, which is particularly clearly reflected in the course of the battle at Khotyn. An analysis of the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the events of the Tsetsora battle and Khotyn War in the brochure under the same name makes it possible to state that Jozef Szujski paid much less attention to this issue, comparing it with the «History of Poland ...», his statements were more carefull, without expressing controversial remarks regarding their role and significance in the battle, he added new small details related to the Cossack subject and made new judgments. However, information on Cossack topics in general, unfortunately, is not enough. One can assume that the interpretation of events by Jozef Szujski changed, first of all, given the patriotic and educational purpose of this work, the new socio-political processes in the Krakow historical environment, and the final departure of the historian from the romantic views of J. Levelel, which took place in the 70-ies of the 19th century.

Key words: Ukrainian Cossacks, Jozef Szujski, Krakow Historical School, History of Poland, Tsetsora, Khotyn.

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УКРАЇНСЬКЕ КОЗАЦТВО В ПОДІЯХ ПІД ЦЕЦОРОЮ І ХОТИНСЬКІЙ ВІЙНІ В НАУКОВОМУ ДОРОБКУ Ю. ШУЙСЬКОГО

Метою даної статті є аналіз й висвітлення поглядів видатного польського історика, одного із фундаторів краківської історичної школи – Ю. Шуйського на історію українського козацтва початку XVII ст., виражених у другому томі «Історії Польщі за останніми дослідженнями», виданої в 1862 р., а також безпосередньо подіям під Цецорою та Хотиним в однойменній розвідці, надрукованій у 1877 р. Головне завдання автора – визначити, як Ю. Шуйський розглядав значення українських козаків для історичного розвитку І Речі Посполитої початку XVII ст., як оцінював та описував події під Цецорою 1620 р. та Хотиним 1621 р., яке місце в них відводив українському козацтву та його видатному представнику – гетьману П. Конашевичу-Сагайдачному. Методологія дослідження ґрунтуються на загальних наукових принципах: системності, достовірності, історизму, логічності. Для глибокого аналізу наукового доробку вченого застосовувалися біографічні, порівняльно-історичні, та порівняльно-текстологічні методи. Наукова новизна дослідження полягає в тому, що вперше проаналізовано науковий доробок видатного представника краківської історичної школи Ю. Шуйського крізь призму його поглядів на історію української козацчини 1619 – 1621 рр. в контексті історії І Речі Посполитої. Відображено специфіку сприйняття козацтва й висвітлено її відображення у синтетичній та спеціалізованій праці вченого. Висновки. Проведений аналіз «Історії Польщі...» дозволяє стверджувати, що Ю. Шуйський зосередився в ній, в першу чергу, на суспільно-політичній стороні історичних подій, що характерно для краківської історичної школи, але, на відміну від М. Бобжинського, значну увагу присвятив військовим аспектам історії І Речі Посполитої. Для історика було важливим всесторонньо описати історію власної держави крізь призму міжнародних стосунків, внутрішніх суспільно-політичних процесів та військових дій як виразників цих процесів. З одного боку, негативну оцінку козацтву отримало через незаконні, несанкціоновані військові дії, що шкодили дипломатичним стосункам з Османською імперією в складний для Речі Посполитої час. З іншого боку, історик відзначав допомогу українських козаків в обороні Речі Посполитої, хоча й акцентував увагу на негативних рисах та згубних наслідках їх допомоги для держави, що особливо виразно відображено в сюжеті про битву під Хотиним. Аналіз висвітлення історії української козацчини в подіях Цецорської і Хотинської битви в однойменній брошурі дозволяє констатувати, що Ю. Шуйський значно менше приділив їй уваги, порівнюючи з «Історією Польщі...», висвітлював більш обережно, не висловлюючи контрверсійних зауважень стосовно їх ролі та значення в битві, додав нових дрібних подробиць, пов'язаних з козацькою тематикою та подав нові судження. Однак інформації з козацької тематики в цілому, на жаль, обмаль. Можна припустити, що трактування подій Ю. Шуйським змінилося, в першу чергу, з огляду на патріотично-виховне призначення даної роботи, нові суспільно-політичні процеси в краківському історичному середовищі та остаточний відхід історика від романтичних поглядів Й. Лелевеля, який відбувся в 70-х роках XIX ст.

Ключові слова: українське козацтво, Ю. Шуйський, краківська історична школа, історія Польщі, Цецора, Хотин.

Statement of the problem. The issue of Ukrainian Cossacks aroused interest in the Polish historical literature from the very beginning of their history in the late 15th century. However, there are still no studies that would present the perception of the Polish classical historiography, and particularly, the view of the founder of the Krakow historical school – Józef Szujski, on the influence of the Ukrainian Cossacks on the historical development of the Commonwealth at the beginning of the XVII century. The question remains about Józef

Szujski's evaluation of the Battle of Tsetsora in 1620 and Khotyn War in 1621, and what place was assigned to the Ukrainian Cossacks and their prominent leader – Hetman P. Konashevich-Sagaidachny.

The purpose of this article is to analyze and highlight Józef Szujski's views on the history of Ukrainian Cossacks at the beginning of the seventeenth century, expressed in the second volume of «The History of Poland in Recent Studies», published in 1862, as well as his analysis of the Tsetsora battle and Khotyn War in the work under the same name, printed in 1871.

Research analysis. Scientific achievements, life and social and political activities of Józef Szujski are widely represented in Polish historiographic works (Smolka, 1883), (Dembiński, 1908), (Buszko, 1969), (Michalak, 1987), (Maternicki, 2009), (Zamorski, 2015), (Słoczyński, 2017). However, the Cossack themes and, in particular, the participation of Ukrainian Cossacks in the Battle of Tsetsora and the Khotyn War were almost ignored by both Ukrainian and Polish historians. In this context, it is worth noting the works of Ukrainian researchers: Ye. Sinkevich (Sinkevich, 2006, 2010), O. Ruda (Ruda, 2007, 2010). Among the Polish scholars, A. Stenpnik (Stępnik, 1998) outlined the Cossack theme in coverage of Krakow historians, in particular – Józef Szujski.

Statement of the main material. Józef Szujski is a prominent Polish historian, one of the founders of the «new» or «Krakow» historical school, an extramarital son of Carolina Szujski from an ancient Russian-Polish princely, but impoverished family, that lost its influence (Michalak, 1987: 12). He studied at the Krakow Gymnasium St. Anne, and later graduated in 1855 – 1859 in Krakow and Vienna. After receiving education abroad, Józef Szujski, compromising himself with contacting representatives of radical nationalists, was under police supervision, and therefore could not pass the exam of a gymnasium professor (Ruda, 2007: 111). The scientist was forced to stay with his relatives in the village of Zbyshitsy, where he was engaged in writing literary works, and later in the publication of politico-journalistic periodicals (Szocki, 1991: 81).

The life of the scientist changed under the influence of the processes of liberalization in Galicia, and especially with the granting of autonomy to it in 1863, thanks to which the Polish History Department at the University of Krakow was established. At that time, Józef Szujski received a habilitation, and a little later – as a professor of the newly established department, he headed it in 1869 (Teczka osobowe). Since then, the scientist was inextricably linked with teaching at the University of Krakow and political activity in Galicia. Regarding political activity, in 1866 he was appointed permanent ambassador to the regional seim. At the same time, in 1867 – 1869 Józef Szujski was an ambassador to the Council of the State, and from 1881 became a member of the House of Lords in The Imperial Council (Sinkevich, 2006: 117–119).

It should be noted that the sphere of scientific interests of J. Szujski was diversified, and the scientific activity was extremely versatile. The scientist researched the Polish medieval chronicles, namely Dlugosh, Kalimakh, and Vaapovsky, and their significance for Polish historiography. He conducted historical and philological studies, studied the history of Krakow. A lot of attention was paid to the history of the Jagiellonian Period and the First Commonwealth, paying attention to the causes of its decline. Among the achievements of the scientist there are works devoted, to the events of the early XVII century. «Tsetsora and Khotyn», «Marina Mnishek and the two impostors». An important part of the scholar's heritage were the articles in which he outlined his conceptual principles of research and coverage of the history of Poland («On false history as a tool of false politics», «Materialist theory of our time»,

«Introductory lecture, opening course of Polish history», «About the youth of our civilization development») (Zoll, 1884).

However, his most complete of historical views, historical and methodological principles, the prominent Polish scientist expressed precisely in the most significant for his time generalizing works on the history of the Polish state, entitled «History of Poland ...». The first and second volume of «History» was published in 1862, and the third, divided into two parts, were published with delay in 1864 and 1866. (part 1, 1572 – 1668, part 2, 1668 – 1794) (Szujski, 1864). The views on the battle of Tsetsora and Khotyn were most fully expressed by the scientist in the same intelligence published in 1871 (Szujski, 1871).

Let us start with the analysis of his synthesis, an earlier scientific achievement of Józef Szujski, written under the influence of J. Lelevel's republican-democratic ideas (Smoleński, 1887: 127–128), to highlight the views of a scientist on this problem. In the first part of the third volume of the scholar's work, there is a special section dedicated to the events the day before and during the Battle of Tsetsora in 1619 – 1620. The main emphasis in it was made by a scientist at the Cossack commissions and by the defeat of Zholkevsky in a military confrontation with the Turks and Tatars. Józef Szujski detailed the course of the Rostavytsia Commission, noting its composition and arrangements. In particular, the scientist noted that under the terms of the commission: «Cossacks promised 40 thousand zlotys per year, providing that not only they restrain themselves from campaigns on the Black Sea, but also restrain others – all people that had been raiding for five years» (Szujski, 1864: 214), as it was a time when «the Commonwealth could not afford such a large number of (Cossacks)» (Szujski, 1864: 214) (the precision is ours – Auth.). Those were the Cossacks who were discharged from the Cossacks during each limitation of their number, based on the constant shortage of financial resources of the Polish government and urgent military and political needs. Under the conditions of the Rostavitsia Commission, the Cossacks also had to remain under the jurisdiction of the starshina and «recognize the authority of hetman, such as, Oryszowski. «The starshina» Petro Konashevich signed the deal with his own hand» (Szujski, 1864: 214). The scientist reveals interesting information about the behind-the-scenes talks on the Rostavytsia of the Cossacks with the Polish, quoting the informal correspondence of S. Zholkevsky: «There was a lot of bidding and faith. Others wanted to add or to lose in their reversat (guarantee document) some things... 20 thousand of reward for Moscow service, which was not mentioned in the letters ... 10 thousand left as a deposit of salary, 4 thousand for rifles, 700 «postav» (the old unit of measuring fabrics) of cloth» (Szujski, 1864: 214) (the precision is ours – Auth.). This information is present in works of contemporary authors, but it is interesting to know its use and origin in historiographical sources of previous historical periods. However, for our study, a more important assessment of the abovementioned events by Józef Szujski: «It is clear from this how dangerous at that time was the increase of the Cossacks' power, how it was necessary to make every effort to refrain them» (Szujski, 1864: 214) (the precision is ours – Auth.). The scientist also noted that «it soon became apparent that frequent Cossack commissions only raised the faith of the Cossacks in their own power» (Szujski, 1864: 214). It is interesting that the last sentence – a kind of conclusion, which the author does not put in quotation marks. This clearly does not allow doubting about its authorship. However, judging by the context and content, this opinion belongs to the historian and reflects his attitude towards the Cossack commissions of the early 17th century. These conclusions clearly expressed the author's concern about the growing strength of the Cossacks as a powerful destructive factor of the well-being of the Commonwealth, that from the middle XVII century turned into uncontrolled military-political power due to the false policy of the Vasa dynasty.

Later the text of the synthesis reveals, that there were only 2 thousand Cossacks and 500 thousand of «Selected Knights» in the arrangement of the Polish military forces who participated in the Battle of Tsetsora (Szujski, 1864: 214). 800 cavalry of Moldavian host Gratian entered the military forces too. However, in the generalized description of the military actions Cossacks were not distinguished among the Polish troops.

The reasons for the defeat in the Battle of Tsetsora were not clearly determined by the scientist. Józef Szujski reflected the main course of events that preceded the defeat of the military forces of the Commonwealth, but did not make any relevant conclusions, giving the reader the opportunity to do them on their own. Therefore, judging by the text, among the key causes of the defeat was not a small number of Polish soldiers and even smaller number Moldovan soldiers, but, above all, discord and disorganization among the gentry, which led to the heroic death of the great crown hetman J. Zamoysky.

The course of Khotyn war was retold by the historian in quite a lot of details and information about the participation of the Ukrainian Cossacks was provided as well. Scientist's controversial remarks that «Preparing for a war (Khotyn one) envisaged many difficulties. Gunpowder and ammunition were in such a shortage that the Polish had to borrow them from the Cossacks» (Szujski, 1864: 218) (the precision is ours – Auth.) which is the proof of the lack of the necessary material and technical base of the Polish troops, especially after the Tsetsora battle. From this follows a completely paradoxical conclusion regarding the role of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the Khotyn War. Since then, according to the material provided by the scientist, the previous financial payments by the Polish (to which extent they were voluminous and sufficient?) for the Cossacks' for ammunition and armament paved the way for victory and became an important factor through which the forces of the Commonwealth could restrain the Crimean-Turkish military forces simultaneously with the military support of the Ukrainian Cossacks. However, this question remains controversial and requires a separate study.

An important characteristic of the following events is the scholar's reference to the arrangement of the forces of the Commonwealth during the Khotyn War, which demonstrates quite a large proportion of the Ukrainian Cossacks: «7850 Polish hussars, 2110 cavalry, 7200 Cossacks, 7700 Polish infantry, 6450 infantrymen of German, 1200 lisowczyzy, 40 thousand of Zaporozhian Cossacks, headed by P. Konashevich-Sagaidachny» (Szujski, 1864: 218). It is noteworthy to note the inaccuracy of the quantitative indicators of the Polish military forces, which according to these data exceeded the largest military forces of the stronger European countries of that time and did not take into account the previous military losses of the Polish-Lithuanian state. Calculation errors are often found in sources too. However, for Józef Szujski, the main thing was that this statistic enabled the demonstration «... of Polish forces on the one hand and Cossack power on the other» (Szujski, 1864: 218).

The scientist reflected the extremely negative attitude of the Turks towards the Cossacks, as they were making devastating campaigns on the Black Sea coast. He wrote that «Osman, knowing about the decision of the Cossacks (to help the Polish), tried to cut off all of them from the Polish convoy by all means, attacked individual detachments who defended themselves by all means, and they caused such a rage that the 40 captives were killed with his own hands» (Szujski, 1864: 219) (the precision is ours – Auth.). Thus, Józef Szujski reflected the Turkish hatred of the Ukrainian Cossacks as one of the important factors in the beginning of the war and, in fact, one of the formal reasons for expansion in the direction of Eastern Europe.

Hetman P. Konashevich-Sagaidachny arrived, according to the historian, to the Polish military camp on August 21, 1621, promising to bring the Cossacks and immediately cross the Dniester. On September 1, Hetman P. Konashevich set a camp for Polish troops. According to the historian, the military forces of the Zaporozhian Cossacks were on the left wing of the Army of the Commonwealth, along with the military forces of Sapieha, Zenovich and Opalinsky. The main military events with the participation of the Ukrainian Cossacks began on September 3, 1621. The scientist described them as follows: «... the Turks stormed the units of the Cossack regiment on the right side of the main camp. The next day the attack on the Cossacks was renewed, the rumble of the units was so great that the Hetman himself did not hear such a noise in his life; however, with the help of the *lisowczy*, the hostile side was thrown away, some corps were taken and the Cossacks even entered to the Turkish carriage ... On September the 6th, the Turks approached that close, that they entered the Cossack camp» (Szujski, 1864: 220).

Further events associated with the planning of night-time attacks on Turkish troops on the night of 12th to 13th September are more important for our study, as they are described by a scientist in his works. The main role in these operations was given to the Ukrainian Cossacks, although part of the Polish troops had to take part. The historian noted in this regard that «Konashevich and the Cossacks definitely insisted on a night attack on the Turkish convoy. K. Khodkevich doubted that the Cossacks, who were occupied with robbery, could suffer the defeat from the enemy» (Szujski, 1864: 220). However, when the order was finally issued, an unexpected rain prevented from the campaign. In this context, the reflection of the scientist's attitude towards such operations of the Polish forces and the reaction of Ukrainian Cossacks who have sought their pursuit in every possible way is especially important. In particular, the scholar pointed out that «His resistance (the great Hetman of Lithuania K. Khodkevich) to such campaigns was the cause of the riots that took place in the Cossack camp and the special commission had to calm down with considerable promises» (Szujski, 1864: 220). Thus, the historian demonstrated, on the one hand, arbitrariness, inadequacy, destructive behavior of the Ukrainian Cossacks in difficult military conditions, and, on the other hand, the reluctance of the Polish side to take risks with weakened military forces. This allows us to speak of Józef Szujski's controversial, subjective attitude toward the Cossack in various military events of the researched work. Later on, the Cossacks are mentioned only once, in the context of the peace talks, where the Polish traditionally took the responsibility to restrain the Cossacks from raiding the Black Sea. According to the scientist, in 1622, after the death of the Cossack hetman P. Konashevich-Sagaidachny, who was sympathetic to the Commonwealth, the Cossacks took into consideration the will of the king and hetman even less (Szujski, 1864: 234).

Józef Szujski, who studied in military-historical issues more closely, initially delivered an open lecture on December 5, 1870 in favor of the Brotherhood of the Students at the Jagiellonian University, and in the following year he published the text as a separate brochure – «Khotyn and Tsetsora». When highlighting these battles in this work, the specific style of the presentation of historical material by Józef Szujski was especially vivid, considering that this was an attempt to create a popular science book. His work is characterized by vivid imagery of the presentation of the material, an appeal to the reader's emotions, the patriotic orientation of the text. Due to these techniques, the historian expressed his convictions and attitude to events under Tsetsora and Khotyn, tried to awaken patriotic feelings among the readership, and like the scholars of the Enlightenment period, tried to prevent the Polish young generation from repeating the mistakes of the past in the future, using moral teachings, to form a new social and political consciousness.

Tsetsora and Khotyn were two battles that reflected the diametrically opposite sides of the single process of the Polish-Turkish confrontation for Józef Szujski, against which the positive and negative features, first and foremost, of the Polish people, were clearly manifested, showing a peculiar balance in historical events.

According to them, the historian considered these two events in close connection «as the fall and rebellion from the fall, the result of sins and the result of coming to oneself ...» (Szujski, 1871: 2), stating that «on Tsetsora's defeat there was all evil in the people, and the hetman became the scapegoat of the evil; in the Khotyn advance everything was well formed, in a hurry to fill the great emptiness that opened after the death of a great man» (Szujski, 1871: 2). In this context, underlining the preconditions and factors that influenced this state of affairs, the scholar emphasized at the change in the socio-political life of the Polish-Lithuanian state after the death of S. Batory and the commencement of the colonization of the southeastern territories, that is, the Great Steppe. From this moment, the scientist points out the emergence of «different people of every kind, gentry and non-gentry, which formed on the chains of a knightly the Commonwealth, fighting with the sword on the side, fighting with the Tatars, and the response to the Tatar attacks, seeking the Black Sea hikes under the walls of the Sultan himself» (Szujski, 1871: 3), that is, the Cossacks and the Cossack gentry. However, developing his opinion, Józef Szujski noted the internal socio-political tendencies in the Commonwealth, which influenced the formation of the causes of the attack on Turkey. He pointed out that there were three, opposite by content, reasons to do this: «some sought ... rest, the second – the final war, ending the attacks of Crimea, the third, finally, wanted to maintain the status quo of war as a craft» (Szujski, 187: 3). It is quite clear that the third goal, according to Józef Szujski, was pursued by the Ukrainian Cossacks who, in addition, «were dreaming of the extraordinary benefit of ... a constant war ... living in it as birds in the air» (Szujski, 1871: 3). In general, the scholar noted the discussion of the Eastern question in society of that time, but it was possible to resolve it only by destroying the Tatars, resigning themselves to Turkey and making it unnecessary to protect the borders of the Cossacks, «if they did not want the Cossacks or the magnates to have military campaigns on their own ... they provoked the wars» (Szujski, 1871: 3), as was the case with the campaigns of S. Potocki, S. Koretsky and M. Vyshnevetsky from 1612 – 1616 to Moldova. In general, Józef Szujski's Cossack issue was covered at the background of Turkish-Tatar attacks on the Commonwealth, at the times of the special weakening of its military forces during the Polish-Moscow military campaign and in the context of the Black Sea campaigns of the early seventeenth century.

Conclusions. The analysis of «History of Poland...» suggests that Józef Szujski concentrated, first of all, on the socio-political side of historical events, which is typical of the Krakow historical school, but, unlike M. Bobzhinsky, he devoted considerable attention to the military aspects of the history of the Commonwealth. It was important for the scientist to comprehensively describe the history of his own state through the prism of international relations, internal social and political processes and military actions, as the agents of these processes. In this context, an important role was played by the Ukrainian Cossacks of the early 17th century, and the policy associated with them. Józef Szujski in «History of Poland ...» unequivocally assessed the significance and place of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the military-political processes of the Commonwealth of the first quarter of the XVII century. On the one hand, the Cossacks received a negative assessment through unlawful, unauthorized military actions that damaged diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire in a difficult time for the Commonwealth. On the other hand, the historian noted the significant assistance of

the Ukrainian Cossacks during the defense of the Commonwealth, although he emphasized at the negative features and the disastrous consequences of their assistance to the state, which is particularly clearly reflected in the course of the Khotyn War.

A special emphasis is placed on the fact that it is the unwise policy of King Sigismund III and King Wladyslaw in the unfavorable geopolitical situation during the first quarter of the seventeenth century contributed to the complacency of the Ukrainian Cossacks, and the Crown used them for its military purposes if necessary. This, in turn, contributed to the growth of Cossack arbitrariness and independence at the times the military helplessness of the Commonwealth.

The analysis of the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks at the events of the Tsetsora Battle and the Khotyn War, in the book under the same name, gives the possibility to state that Józef Szujski paid much less attention to the Cossacks, comparing with the «History of Poland ...», he was more cautious, abstaining from making controversial remarks regarding their role and the significance in the battle, adding new small details related to the Cossack subject and introducing new judgments about the Cossack factor in the formation of the Polish-Turkish military confrontation, the subsequent war. However, the information on the Cossack issue in general, unfortunately, is not enough. It can be assumed that the interpretation of events by Józef Szujski changed, given the patriotic and educational purpose of this work, the new socio-political processes in Krakow historical environment, and the final departure of the historian from the romantic views of J. Lelevel, which took place in the 70's-ies of the 19th century.

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