

# Framing The Borderland: The Image of the Ukrainian Revolt and Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi in Foreign Travel Accounts

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In many ways, Ukraine burst upon the European scene in the mid-seventeenth century. The great revolt of 1648 brought the largest European state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to near disintegration. By the 1650s events in the Cossack capital of Chyhyryn were being closely followed from Stockholm to Constantinople. European newspapers avidly printed reports on the Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and his armies. Yet for much of Europe “the Ukraine” or the borderland of the Polish state was still a terra incognita about which statesmen and reading publics needed basic information and about which many uncertainties reigned.

Within a few years of the revolt, the thirst for information was answered by publications on Ukraine and accounts of the revolt.<sup>1</sup> The first texts were issued by

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1 On the accounts of the revolt and reactions to it, see Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi, *Chuzhynsi pro Ukraïnu* (Kyiv, 1993) (from the 2<sup>nd</sup> expanded Prague edition of 1942), and the English translation *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions from the VIth to XXth Century* (New York, 1953); Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 8, trans. Marta Olynyk, ed. Frank E. Sysyn and Myroslav Iurkevich (Edmonton and Toronto, 2002), See especially Note 5: Sources for the Khmelnytsky Era and its Historical Tradition, 670-676, 678-683; Joel Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial: The Fate of Jews in the Polish Commonwealth during the Mid-Seventeenth Century as Shown in Contemporary Writings and Historical Research* (Boulder, Colo., 1995); Dmytro Nalyvaiko, “Zakhidnoevropeis'ki istoryko-literaturni dzhherela pro vyzvol'nu viinu ukraïns'koho narodu 1648-1654 rr.,” *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (1969) 8: 137-144, 9: 137-143, 10: 134-145, 11: 131-136, 12: 128-132, (1970) 1: 138-140; id., *Kozats'ka khrystyians'ka respublika: Zaporiz'ka Sich u zakhidnoevropeis'kykh pam'iatkakh* (Kyiv, 1992) and id.,

the government's supporters, in some cases for internal consumption, but also, especially when victories were proclaimed, to rally support abroad. Latin functioned both as the language of the Commonwealth's learned elite and the international medium for the various cultures of the Commonwealth and the reading public abroad. By 1652, the Silesian Lutheran (for a time an Anti-Trinitarian) Joachim Pastorius published his Latin-language history of the revolt in Gdańsk (Danzig).<sup>2</sup> Like many of his Anti-Trinitarian confreres, he had resided in the Ukrainian lands in the 1630s and 1640s, but had fled the revolt. He was later to be rewarded for his historical writing by the post of court historian in Warsaw (he converted to Catholicism in 1658). Other writers had a targeted public in mind. Another refugee from Volhynia, the Jewish Talmudist and kabbalist Nathan Hannover, issued his account of Jewish suffering and martyrdom during the revolt in Hebrew in Venice in 1653 not only as a commemoration but as a way to collect funds for other refugees.<sup>3</sup>

The first work to take advantage of the need for accurate information on Ukraine in Europe originated from the pen of a French engineer and servitor of the Polish king. In 1651, Guillaume de Beauplan published his *Description* in Rouen, with subsequent editions appearing in 1660 and 1661.<sup>4</sup> His perceptive account of Ukraine and the Cossacks, which was translated in full or in part into Latin, Dutch, Spanish, and English by the early eighteenth century, long served as the source for subsequent writing on the revolt. His maps published in Gdańsk provided the basic information on geography, mapping Ukraine for the European world. Indeed another French eyewitness to events in Ukraine, Pierre Chevalier, was to borrow

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*Ochyma zakhodu. Retseptsiia Ukraïny v Zakhidnii Ievropi XI-XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1998). On the earliest accounts of Kyiv and the surrounding area, see Hennadii Boriak, "Inozemni dzherela pro Kyiv XIII-seredyny XVII st.", *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 25, 12 (1981): 31-41.

- 2 J. Pastorius, *Bellum Scythico-Cosacicum seu de coniuratione Tartarorum, Cosacorum et plebis Russicae contra Regnum Poloniae* (Gdańsk, 1652).
- 3 On the influence of Hannover's work, see Gershon Bacon, "The House of Hannover: Gezeirot Tah in Modern Jewish Historical Writing", *Jewish History* 17, 2 [special issue "Gezeirot T"ah: Jews, Cossacks, Poles and Peasants in 1648 Ukraine"] (2003): 179-206.
- 4 The second expanded edition has been reprinted: Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan, *Description d'Ukraine qui sont plusieurs provinces du Royaume Pologne* (Rouen, 1660, reprint Kyiv and Cambridge, Ma., 1990). For a modern English translation and discussion of the various editions and translations, see id., *A Description of Ukraine*, trans. and ed. Andrew B. Pernal and Dennis F. Essar [with introduction and notes] (Cambridge, Ma., 1993).

liberally from Beauplan in his influential account of the revolt.<sup>5</sup> The seventeenth-century English translator of Chevalier's work, Edward Brown, eloquently expressed the reasons for the European public's interest in the area and the revolt in his preface, which also declared that the English as a maritime nation should have a particular fascination with the Cossacks:

Although *Ukraine* be one of the most remote regions of *Europe*, and the *Cossackian* name very Modern; yet hath that Countrey been of late the Stage of *Glorious Actions*, and the Inhabitants have acquitted themselves with as great Valour in *Martial Affairs*, as any Nation whatsoever; so that this, and other Motives have made me earnest to put this account of it into English, where it cannot be otherwise then acceptable, since the Description of a Countrey little written of, and the achievements of a daring People, must needs be grateful to those, who of all the World, are the most curious and inquisitive, and the greatest lovers of bold Attempts and Bravery. The Ocean is our delight, and our Engagements upon the Seas, have rendred us considerable to the World. The *Cossacks* do in some measure imitate us, who took their rise from their Victories upon the *Euxine*, and settled themselves by incounting the *Tartars* in those Desert Plains, which do so far resemble the Sea [...] The Actions of *Kmielniski*, General of the *Cossacks*, are very remarkable; and how he raised himself to that greatness, so as to be feared by a Nation [Poland-F.S.], which neither the Power of *Christendom*, nor the *Turks* could shake.

Professional historians and men of letters joined in writing about the Ukrainian revolt, not least because Europe of the 1640s and 1650s was shaken by a whole series of upheavals and civil wars. It was this coincidence that would lead the twentieth-century scholar Roger Bigelow Merriman to pen his famous monograph *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions*, in many ways the pathfinder for the discussions on the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century that gripped the historical profession in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>6</sup> Yet while Merriman did not examine the Ukrainian revolt against the Polish-Lithuanian state, his seventeenth-century predecessor Maiolino Bisaccioni devoted his second longest essay to this subject in his monograph on

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5 Pierre Chevalier, *Histoire de la guerre des Cosaques contre Pologne avec un discours de leur origine, païs, mœurs, gouvernement & religion. Et un autre des Tartars Précopites* (Paris, 1663). His work was published in 1672 in an English translation, without mentioning his authorship, by Edward Brown, *A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government and Religion of the Cossacks, With another of the Perecopian Tartars. And the History of the Wars of the Cossacks against Poland* (London, 1672). A Ukrainian translation of the French original appeared as P'ier Sheval'ie, *Istoriia viiny kozakiv proty Pol' shchi* (Kyiv, 1960).

6 Roger Bigelow Merriman, *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (Oxford, 1938).

civil wars first published in Venice in 1653.<sup>7</sup> Many Italian historians followed Bisaccioni's lead in writing on the revolt.<sup>8</sup>

## ALBERTO VIMINA AND PAUL OF ALEPPO

The accounts and histories of the revolt have often been mined for the information that they provide on the events described. They have also been looked at as sources for European opinion, not least because as the Ukrainian national movement of the nineteenth and twentieth century sought affirmation of its goals and postulates, its proponents could find them in the foreign accounts. Less attention has been paid to the accounts as sources for the cultural world view and political agendas of the writers'. In this paper attention will focus on two of the most important accounts of seventeenth-century Ukraine and the revolt by Michele Bianchi (Alberto Vimina) and Paul of Aleppo. Both were written by clergymen who travelled to Ukraine on missions and personally met with Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. One came from the pen of a European, while the other is one of the accounts that came from outside Europe, demonstrating the interest the revolt engendered in the Middle East. The comparison of a non-European, albeit Christian account, with a European account affords us with the opportunity to put in sharper focus the importance of the traveller and his world view and formation in shaping the representation of the revolt.<sup>9</sup>

The first mission was undertaken in June, 1650 by the Venetian clergyman Michele Bianchi (1603-1667), who is better known by the pseudonym Alberto

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7 Maiolino Bisaccioni, "Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia", in *Historia delle guerre civili di questi ultimi questi tempi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Venice, 1654), 272-397. On Bisaccioni's sources, see Lorenzo Pompeo, "Maiolino Bissacioni i jego polskie źródła", *Barok* 5, 2 (1998): 109-125.

8 On Venetian historians, see Teresa Chynczewska Hennel, "Najjaśniejsza o Najjaśniejszej. Rzeczpospolita w weneckiej literaturze historycznej XVII wieku", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 50 (2006): 191-203.

9 A comparison for Muscovy, using the writing of Paul of Aleppo and Adam Olearius, has been undertaken by Charles J. Halperin, "In the Eye of the Beholder: Two Views of Seventeenth-Century Muscovy", *Russian History* 24, 4 (Winter 1997): 409-23. Many of his comments on Paul of Aleppo's description of Muscovy apply to his account of Ukraine. There has yet to be a full comparison of Paul of Aleppo's descriptions of Muscovy and Ukraine. On the general question of use of travel accounts in describing Muscovy, see Charles J. Halperin "Sixteenth-Century Foreign Travel Accounts to Muscovy: A Methodological Excursus", *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 6 (1975): 89-111.

Vimina. Born into a burgher family in Belluno, Bianchi had adopted a pseudonym and absented himself from the Italian peninsula because of threats to his person. Finding refuge in Warsaw with the papal nuncio, Giovanni de Torres, Vimina gained protection from the Crown grand chancellor, Jerzy Ossoliński, who stood for the policy of accommodation with the Cossacks. Undertaken by Vimina at the behest of the Venetian resident in Vienna, Nicolo Sagredo, the mission sought to convince the hetman to provide his marine forces to come to the aid of Venice in the war it was fighting against the Turks. This mission, like a subsequent endeavor the Venetians undertook in 1652 to win the Cossacks to their side, did not meet with success, not least because it presumed that the rebels and the Polish-Lithuanian government could come to terms and join the struggle together. Nevertheless, Vimina was to have a long diplomatic career, embarking on missions to Muscovy and Sweden, before he returned to Veneto and a sinecure in Pieve d'Alpago.<sup>10</sup>

Like all Venetian emissaries Vimina had to write reports that fully described the lands that he visited. His report of the 1650 trip was included in part in his history of the civil war in Poland that was published posthumously in 1671. That volume also contained accounts of his missions to Muscovy and Sweden.<sup>11</sup> Vimina's book was largely overlooked by historians of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising, but the account of his 1650 mission found in manuscript form in Ferrara by G. Ferraro and published in Reggio nell'Emilia in 1890 has had considerable impact in historical writing, in part in studies of the mission and the correspondence it engendered.<sup>12</sup>

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10 On Russian-Venetian relations, see Philip Longworth, "Russian-Venetian Relations in the Reign of Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich", *Slavonic and East European Review* 64, 3 (July 1986): 380-400.

11 For sections of the account on the Cossacks, see Vimina, *Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia* (Venice, 1671), 7-9.

12 G. Ferraro, *Relazione dell'origine e dei costumi dei Cosacchi fatta l'anno 1656 da Alberto Vimina ambasciatore della Repubblica di Venezia* (Reggio nell'Emilia, 1890) on the basis of a manuscript in a Ferrara library (page numbers for Vimina refer to this publication). The text was also published on the basis of a manuscript in a Vatican library: L. Alpago Novello, "La relazione intorno ai Cosacchi di Alberto Vimina", *Archivio storico di Belluno, Feltre e Cadore* 6 (1934): 581-586. A third manuscript copy in Venice was used as the basis for the Ukrainian translation by Kseniia Konstantynenko: Al'berto Vimina, "Relatsiia pro pokhodzhennia ta zvychai kozakiv", trans. Kseniia Konstantynenko, *Kyïvs'ka starovyna* (1999) 5: 69. For the correspondence, see M. Korduba, "Venets'ke posol'stvo do Khmel'nyts'koho (1650)", *Zapysky Naukovogo Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (1907): 51-89; and D. Caccamo, "Alberto Vimina in Ukraine e nelle 'parti settentrionali'", *Europa Orientalis* 5 (1986): 223-283, 265-283. See also P. Pirling, "Al'berto Vimina:

The account appeared in Russian, Polish and Ukrainian translations, and in fragments in English.<sup>13</sup> It has been valued for its description of everyday life in Ukraine and for the first-hand observations on Hetman Khmel'nyts'kyi.<sup>14</sup>

The account of the second clergyman, the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (Ar. Bulos al-Halabiyy) (1627-1670), son of Patriarch Makarios III of Antioch (Ibn al-Za'im), has had an even greater resonance in modern historiography. In part this greater resonance can be explained because it is the account of an insider, an Orthodox clergyman, who was at the same time an outsider from the Middle East. As such, it combines privileged access to native informants and intimate knowledge of cultural and religious traditions with the curiosity of a traveller from afar who wished to explain what he saw to readers in the Eastern Mediterranean world.

Paul accompanied Makarios on a journey for alms to shore up the tottering Antiochian patriarchate for which the primary patrons were the Orthodox rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia, and above all the sole independent Orthodox ruler, the Muscovite tsar. Trips by Eastern patriarchs over the preceding seventy-five years to

Snosheniia Venetsii s Ukrainoiu i Moskvoiu 1650-1663", *Russkaia starina* 109 (January 1902): 57-70.

- 13 See the Russian translation by N. Molchanovskii, "Donesenie venetsiantsa Al'berto Vimina o kozakakh i B. Khmel'nitskom (1656 g.)", *Kievskaia starina* 19, 1 (1900): 63-75. For the Polish translation, see Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel and Piotr Salwa, "Alberta Viminy Relacja o pochodzeniu i zwyczajach Kozaków", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 30 (1985): 207-222. For the Ukrainian translation, see Al'berto Vimina, "Relatsiia pro pokhodzhennia ta zvychaï kozakiv", trans. Konstantynenko, *Kyïvs'ka starovyna* (1999) 5: 64-69. For fragments in Ukrainian see Sichyn's'kyi, Chuzhyntsi pro Ukraïnu, 77-81 and in English see Ukraine in Foreign Comments, 89-92. English translations in this text were made by MyroslavYurkevich and this author from a corrected version of the Ferrara text supplied by Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel. We are grateful to Olga Pugliese of the University of Toronto for her careful correction of our text.
- 14 On Vimina and his writings, see Kseniia Konstantynenko, "Relatsiia pro pokhodzhennia ta zvychaï kozakiv' Al'berto Viminy: Istoriiia, uiavy, real'nist'", *Kyïvs'ka starovyna* 5 (1999) 5: 50-64; Riccardo Picchio, "E.M. Manoleso, A. Vimina e la Polonia", in *Venezia e la Polonia nei secoli dal XVII al XIX*, ed. Luigi Cini (Venice and Rome, 1968), 121-132; Lorenzo Pompeo, "Maiolino Bissacioni i Alberto Vimina: Dwóch historiografów wloskich wobec problemu kozaków w 1648", *Warszawskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze* 4-5 (1997): 494-504; Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, "Venetian Plans towards Poland and Ukraine in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century. Girolamo Cavazza and Alberto Vimina", in *Tentorium Honorum: Essays Presented to Frank E. Sysyn on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Olga Andriewsky, Zenon E. Kohut, Serhii Plokhly and Larry Wolff (Edmonton and Toronto, 2010), also published in *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 34 (2009): 105-116.

Moscow through Ukraine had given them considerable experience in Ukrainian and Cossack affairs. Makarios's predecessor, Joakeim V, had confirmed the statute of the Lviv brotherhood in 1586. The Jerusalem Patriarch Theophanes III had restored an Orthodox hierarchy under the protection of the Cossack Hetman Petro Konashevych Sahaidachnyi in 1621, and his successor Paisios had blessed Khmel'nyts'kyi as a prince at Christmas 1648. Makarios's trip was the first to occur after the Cossack Hetmanate had taken shape, and Khmel'nyts'kyi had sworn allegiance to the Muscovite tsar in 1654. Passing through Ukraine in 1654 on his way to Moscow and in 1656 on his road back, Paul penned one of the most ample descriptions of Ukraine at a turning point of its history.

A speaker of Greek who picked up some Romanian in his travels, Paul is thought by some scholars to have learned Slavic vernacular during his long stay in Muscovy from 1654 to 1656, though this would not have given him direct access to his interlocutors in Slavic during his first stay in Ukraine.<sup>15</sup> Written as a diary at the behest of a colleague deacon Gabriel, but with an authorial voice that also addressed a purported reader, the immense Arabic text records the trip from Syria to Moscow and back from 1652 to 1659.<sup>16</sup> The trip included two visits to Ukraine in 1654 and 1656, and Paul was present at meetings with Hetman Khmel'nyts'kyi.<sup>17</sup>

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15 Hilary Kilpatrick maintains that in addition to these languages, he knew Slavonic ("Between Ibn Baūa and al-īahāwī: Arabic Travel Accounts of the Early Ottoman Period", *Middle Eastern Literatures* 11, 2 (August 2008): 239). The assertion does not correspond with Paul's own statement at the beginning of his stay in Muscovy that the members of the delegation spoke in Greek or Turkish to an interpreter they had hired in Moldavia, who translated into "Russian [Rus']", "for one and the same is the language of the Cossacks [Ukrainians], and of the Servians [Serbians], of the Bulgarians, and of the Muscovites." Cf. Paul of Aleppo, *The Travels of Macarius: Patriarch of Antioch*, 2 vols., trans. F.C. Belfour (London, 1836), 1: 261. Presumably he referred to Church Slavic, a sacred language in Moldavia and in the Orthodox Slavic countries. Maria Kowalska says that he knew Greek and had freely learned Russian by 1656, the end of his stay in Muscovy (*Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo*, trans. M. Kowalska (Warsaw, 1985), 7). Charles Halperin rejects this view, though he does muse that his meetings with boyars were unlikely to have occurred through a translator (In the Eye of the Beholder, 413). Although there is no direct evidence of his use of Turkish in Ukraine, the language was one known in Khmel'nyts'kyi's chancellery.

16 Kilpatrick's article situates Paul's account in the Arabic travel literature of the age.

17 The diary survives only in copies, not all of which are complete. The Arabic text was published in a partial English translation from one of the extant manuscripts in the 1830s (*The Travels of Macarius*) and in Russian translations in the late nineteenth century. The

## UKRAINE AS THE CLASSICAL BORDERLAND

Selection of a Western Christian and an Eastern Christian clergyman corresponds well with the position of Ukraine between West and East.<sup>18</sup> Ukraine was a borderland or a meeting point in many ways. It stood at the point where the vast Eurasian steppe met the forest-steppe zone. Largely Slavic agriculturalists came into contact with Turkic pastoralists. Spheres of influence of the Ottomans, the Muscovites, the Lithuanians, and the Poles overlapped. Frontier societies such as the Crimean Khanate and the Zaporozhian Cossacks carried on raids and trade over a porous, sparsely inhabited zone across which the Tatars hunted for slaves and the Cossacks embarked in their small boats to take booty as far away as the environs of Constantinople. Western Christians and Eastern Christians, including the Uniates who emerged in 1596 when some Orthodox bishops and faithful were accepted into the Church of Rome, dwelled together in a land with an ancient Armenian community and a fast growing Jewish population. The second serfdom and a

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most authoritative Russian translation is *Puteshestvie Antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makariiia v Rossiiu v polovine XVII veka, opisannoe ego synom, arkhidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim*, trans. G. Murkos, 5 pts. (Moscow, 1896-1900, reprint Moscow, 2005). The sections on Ukraine have been reprinted as *Puteshesvnie Antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makariiia na Ukrainu v seredine 17 veka* (Kyiv, 1997). A 20<sup>th</sup>-century edition of most of the Arabic text as well as a partial French translation appeared as “Voyage du patriarche Maccaire d'Antioch: Texte Arabe et traduction française”, trans. B. Radu, *Patrologia Orientalis* 22, 1 (1930): 3-199; *ibid.* 24, 4 (1933): 443-604; *ibid.* 26, 5 (1949): 603-717; and a Polish one in Kowalska, *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku* [translated from the Arabic]; the Ukrainian translations are from the Russian texts: Pavlo Khalebs'kyi, *Kraiina kozakiv: Z podorozhnikh notatok*, comp. M. Riabyi, trans. M. Slyvyns'kyi (Kyiv, 1995) and *Ukraina-zemlia kozakiv*, comp. and trans. M. Riabyi (Kyiv, 2008). Unless otherwise noted, the English translations of Paul's writings used here are from Belfour's English translation, with supplementary identifications in brackets. Belfour's translations are not always satisfactory. Citations are also given to English translations of Hrushevsky's renderings in Ukrainian of the Murkos edition in Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1, trans. Marta Olynyk, ed. Serhii Plokhly, Frank E. Sysyn and Myroslav Iurkevich (Edmonton and Toronto, 2008), chp. 9. The Polish translation is especially valuable because of the translator's understanding of the material and provision of explanatory notes. For fuller information on the editions, translations and literature on Paul of Aleppo, see Halperin, *In the Eye of the Beholder*, 411.

18 On Ukraine's intermediary situation in this period, see Ihor Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West: Essays on Cultural History to the Early Eighteenth Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. edn. (Edmonton-Toronto, 2009).

society of estates were taking hold in a military frontier that had earlier enjoyed greater equality guaranteed by the brotherhood of arms.<sup>19</sup> The mix of civilizations, social norms, and political systems made Ukraine both familiar and exotic to the surrounding societies. The dissonances in this mix were the flash points for an enduring revolt and an involvement of much of Europe and the Middle East in an uprising launched by a few hundred Cossacks from the sich or stronghold beyond the Rapids of the Dnipro River.

Generally states and courts prevailed in the information and legitimation wars waged with the rebels, especially if the rebels did not belong to established elites. In the main, the Polish-Lithuanian government did as well, employing fear of a bloody uprising of the lower orders and the solidarity of Catholic Europe, above all of the papacy, against schismatic rebels as arguments for securing favor and even assistance. Still the paralysis in the Commonwealth in the early phase of the revolt brought on by the death of the king and the enormous successes of the rebels in the first months undermined the Commonwealth's cause. Other perceptions of the Polish-Lithuanian state also worked to weaken the state's case. The Republic was known for its cavalier treatment of monarchs, and the proponents of absolutism and the power of kings had ample reason to be critical of the Republic.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, most commentators saw the harsh serfdom of the Polish state and the overweening power of the nobility as virtually enslaving the populace and having goaded the peasants into rebellion.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the perceived privileged position

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19 On military borderlands and revolts, see Yves-Marie Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: An Essay on the History of Political Violence*, trans. J. Bergin (Manchester, 1987), 130-134, 156-163.

20 Janusz Tazbir, "W oczach obcych," in *Rzeczpospolita i świat: Studia z dziejów kultury XVII wieku*, ed. id. (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, 1971), 175.

21 For Chevalier's discussion that the peasants were treated like slaves and that one should not wonder why peasant disturbances were so frequent, see *Discourse*, 20-21, *Istoriia*, 45-46. Beauplan, A Description of Ukraine, 15, discussed the ill-treatment of the peasantry as a cause of the revolt in the following manner: "Thus, if it happens that these wretched peasants fall into the bondage of evil lords, they are in a more deplorable state than convicts sentenced to the galleys. It is this slavery which goads many of them to take flight, the more courageous of them fleeing to Zaporozhe, which is an area on the Borystenses to which the Cossacks retreat. After having dwelt there for some time and having been to sea, they are considered to be Zaporozhian Cossacks. Because of such flights, the numbers of the Cossack ranks swell enormously, as is shown with sufficient evidence by the present revolt, in which the Cossacks, having defeated the Poles, rose some 200,000 strong and made themselves masters of an area more than 120 leagues long and sixty wide." (French original: *Description d'Ukraine*, 8)

of Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian state, including their rights to administer Christian subjects, was viewed as unacceptable in Christian Europe and as having driven the populace to revolt.<sup>22</sup>

The rebels' search for a hearing was also aided by the renown of the revolt's organizing force, the Cossacks. The origin and nature of this phenomenon of the Slavic-Turkic borderland had been discussed by Polish historians of the sixteenth century. They dwelt on issues such as whether the Cossacks were merely a group of outliers of society or whether they represented a particular people or nation.<sup>23</sup> Their discussions were picked up by Western and Central European commentators of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century who had come to see certain legitimacy for Cossacks as a social group or even a nation.<sup>24</sup> As the revolt made Ukraine the Cossack land in popular imagination, commentators more frequently dealt with the Cossacks as either a military force or the totality of the Ruthenians of the Ukrainian territories. Most important was that from the late sixteenth century when the Emperor Rudolf sent a delegation to the Zaporozhian Cossacks, they had received recognition as a subject of international diplomacy.<sup>25</sup> Indeed the Muscovite state and the Ottoman Empire had dealt with the Ukrainian Cossacks as early as the mid-sixteenth century. This prehistory of the Cossacks in international affairs and as a military-naval force that shook Ottoman control of the Black Sea meant that the Cossacks were not an unknown quantity in international affairs in 1648. In addition, the role of the Cossacks as defenders of the Orthodox faith from the early seventeenth century and the rebels' espousal of the Orthodox cause made the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising correspond to the most commonly accepted and

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22 For Chevalier's discussion of the Jewish leaseholders' severity and cruelty as a cause of the revolt, see *Discourse*, 21, *Istoriia*, 46. The Jewish issue was one of the few about which even Polish Catholic apologists admitted fault on the government's side. See Frank E. Sysyn, "A Curse on Both Their Houses: Catholic Attitudes towards Jews in Father Ruszel's *Fawor Niebieski*", in *Israel and the Nations: Essays Presented in Honor of Shmuel Ettinger* (Jerusalem, 1987), ix-xxiv.

23 On the earliest accounts about the Cossacks, see Marshall Poe, "The Zaporozhian Cossacks in Western Print to 1600", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 19 (1995): 531-547.

24 "Nations" might be presumed to have certain rights in the early modern world, including as Khmel'nyts'kyi was to argue the right to resist slavery or tyranny. See Frank E. Sysyn, "The Political Worlds of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi", *Palaeoslavica* 10, 2 (2002): 203-205.

25 On the mission of Erich Lassota in 1594, see the German original *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau*, ed. Reinhold Schottin (Halle, 1866) and the English translation, L. Wynar and O. Subtelny, eds., *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks: The Diary of Erich von Lassota von Steblau* (Boulder, Co., 1975).

legitimizing explanation of revolts of the period, a religious war.<sup>26</sup> The anti-Catholic nature of the revolt meant that Orthodox powers had a certain sympathy for the revolt, even though this sympathy did not always outweigh their fear of social disorder. Protestants could also see the revolt as undermining the Counter-Reformation, and by the 1650s Sweden and Transylvania could conceive of the Cossack Hetmanate as a component of a Protestant coalition.

## MYTHICAL UKRAINE

The great revolt occurred at the time that two of the major myths about Ukraine that were to endure for centuries took shape. This was also the period that the myth of Muscovy as a tyranny/depotism flourished as did that of Poland as a paradise for nobles and a purgatory for peasants and later as an anarchic polity.<sup>27</sup> As Nancy Shields Kollmann has pointed out, Ukraine in contrast was the subject of two positive myths.<sup>28</sup> The first was that Ukraine was a land of unbelievable abundance. This myth had its origin in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Polish writings.<sup>29</sup> Some of that abundance was seen as associated with game and fish, but more important was the image of Ukraine as a virtual Eden, in which grain and produce grew with almost no toil on the part of its inhabitants. The second myth represented Ukraine as a land in which the people cherished liberty. Though its inhabitants might seem

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26 See Serhii Plokhyy, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (Oxford, 2001); and Frank E. Sysyn, "Orthodoxy and Revolt: The Role of Religion in the Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Uprising against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", in *Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia, and the West*, ed. James D. Tracy and Marguerite Ragnow (Cambridge, 2004), 154–84.

27 On Muscovy as a tyranny or despotism, see Marshall T. Poe, *'A People Born to Slavery': Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476-1748* (Ithaca, NY and London, 2000). On foreign accounts of the Commonwealth, see Tazbir, *W oczach obcych*, 170-196. On Poland's treatment of peasants, see Beauplan's comments: "In short, since they must give their masters what the latter choose to ask, it is no wonder that these wretches never accumulate anything, being subjected, as they are, to such harsh circumstances. However, that is still not all, for the lords have absolute power over not only their possessions, but also their lives, so great is the liberty of the Polish nobles (who live as if they were in paradise, and the peasants in purgatory)." (A Description of Ukraine, 14-15; Description d'Ukraine, 7-8)

28 Nancy Shields Kollmann, "The Deceitful Gaze: Ukraine through the Eyes of Foreign Travelers", in *Tentorium Honorum*, 293-301.

29 See P. Borek, *Szlakami dawnej Ukrainy. Studia staropolskie* (Cracow, 2002), 15-45.

rude and simple, they were credited with native wit and a striving for freedom. In this way, the revolt could often be conceived as embodying this drive for freedom. As Beauplan put it: “They greatly value their liberty, and would not want to live without it. That is why the Cossacks, when they consider themselves to be kept under too tight a rein, are so inclined to revolt and rebel against the lords of their country.”<sup>30</sup>

While our two travellers were not the authors of works that formed the seventeenth-century myths (as did the works of Beauplan and Chevalier), their writings were in accord with these views.<sup>31</sup> The pervasiveness of the account of Ukraine as a land of unparalleled fertility lends credence to assumptions that the newly ploughed black earth and the wildlife of the Dnipro basin were the sources of an abundance of produce and game in comparison to long farmed areas of Central and Western Europe or the more arid lands of the Middle East. The account of the Venetian Vimina could be seen as part of the Western and Central European visions that saw Ukraine as a type of Arcadia in the abundance of its bounty, the limited effort required in working the land, and the simplicity of its folk, though certainly not in its peaceful nature. He assures his superiors that grain needed no cultivation and that dairy products, meat, and fish were no less abundant than grain.<sup>32</sup> He regales the reader with visions of wild asparagus superior to that of the environs of Rome and Naples. But Vimina was a careful observer who commented on the lack of enclosed gardens and cultivation of vines. These observations coincide with his

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30 A Description of Ukraine, 13; Description d'Ukraine, 6.

31 On the fertility of the land, see Beauplan, A Description of Ukraine, 12: “The fertile land produces grain in such abundance that often they do not know what to do with it” (Description d'Ukraine, 5).

32 Vimina writes in his report: “The part of the land called Zaporizhia is so fertile that it can not only compare with the most cultivated areas of Europe but also satisfy the voracity of the most avid farmer.

This land is called *Ukraina*, that is, borders; its fertility is sustained by the abundance of grain that one sees growing uncultivated here and there, sprouting from seeds that the reapers and the wind have shaken to the ground, which are called *padalica* in the Ruthenian language and would be rendered as ‘fallen grain’ (*caduto*) in ours. Sometimes this grain is harvested, at other times it is neglected, there being such an abundant harvest gathered from the sowing as to make the peasants negligent of the effort required to avail themselves of the gifts bestowed by a generous soil. I would have found it difficult to believe these things had I not seen them with my own eyes, observing that the land yields sheaves so large and laden with grain that in many regions one could not obtain their equivalent despite careful cultivation [...]. Dairy products, meat, and fish are no less abundant there than grain, whether because of the great number of pastures or the abundance of ponds.” Relazione, 9, 10.

vision of a populus that did not devote itself to arduous cultivation of the soil. His further comments on the Cossacks' dedication to growing cabbages and cucumbers and conserving them in brine in the German manner give his relation a ring of authenticity.<sup>33</sup>

In contrast to Vimina's rather limited factual account, that of Paul of Aleppo reveals a wonder at the abundance that rings closer to the medieval Arabic accounts of distant and exotic lands. His much more extensive description tells us more of husbandry and cultivation techniques so that he does not see the people as lacking in industry, but his account of plenty seconds Vimina's.<sup>34</sup> Certainly when he describes fowl that lay eggs in the forest that are not collected because of their great numbers he seems to corroborate Vimina's discussion of attitudes in harvesting grain. Still, Paul seems at times to exhibit naiveté in his praise of Ukrainian abundance. He comments on the various types of pigs that breed three times a year.<sup>35</sup> His amazement on the fertility of nature crosses over to his description of the numerous children of the land and the ability to raise army after army despite the great losses in war, so much that he speculates on the pregnancy cycles of the womenfolk before attributing the population growth to universal early marriage of

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33 Vimina asserts: "Besides all the opulence already described, the bounty of the earth provides the inhabitants with unappreciated delicacies and an abundance of asparagus so large that I believe it can be compared with that most cultivated in Verona. It is very tasty and not bitter, unlike the wild variety with very thin stalks that is gathered in the countryside around Rome and Naples. I wondered at this, and at first sight I thought that they might be broom; in order to satisfy my curiosity I tried them many times, and the excessive quantity consumed then gave me a distaste for asparagus. Onions and garlic also grow wild; I tasted the former, which seemed very sweet to me. One does not see, however, in a country so fertile, any enclosed fruit orchards or gardens of unusual vegetables, melons, artichokes, or celery, except in the vicinity of Kyiv; all the Cossacks' attention is fixed on a single goal –to obtain a harvest of cabbage that they eat raw, or shredded and preserved with salt, as practiced in Germany. Moreover, they sow large quantities of cucumbers, which they also season in brine and eat with bread; they also serve them as a condiment with meat and fish. There are no vineyards, not because it is believed that the soil is unsuitable but because the inhabitants do not bother to plant and cultivate them, as is done in Austria and other regions where winter is very harsh, or perhaps because they are negligent farmers." (Relazione, 11).

34 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 193-195. Paul also describes well-tended orchards in the vicinity of Kyiv. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 396.

35 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 193-195; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 386-387.

young girls.<sup>36</sup> Seventeenth-century Ukrainian sources reaffirmed Paul's observation on the vast number of children with the phrase "Fertile is the Cossack Mother", and subsequent historians have speculated that the demographic boom explained the tensions and revolutionary nature of early modern Ukraine.<sup>37</sup> Yet while both Vimina and Paul reflect a similar reality in their description of abundance and fertility, occasional divergences in their accounts may have reflected their differing standards and expectations, as well as their differing goals. It is only in this way that we can square Vimina's comments on the lack of orchards apart from around Kyiv with Paul's comments on arriving at Lysianka that "In the evening we came to a large town, fortified as usual, and with waters and gardens: for this blessed country is like a pomegranate orchard, so great is its beauty and cultivation."<sup>38</sup>

The perspectives of a Venetian and a Middle Eastern clergyman not only affirm the myth of Ukrainian abundance, they also agree on Ukraine as a land of liberty, albeit with differing definitions of what the essence of that liberty was. For Alberto Vimina the Cossacks belonged to a band of lands stretching from Muscovy to the Tatars, and to a degree including Sweden, in which barbarity (*barbarie*), the opposite of civilization (*politia*) reigned.<sup>39</sup> Yet in these distant lands he was aware that the political systems varied. The representative of the Serenissima Republic of Venice was able to appreciate republican structures whether of the noble-controlled Commonwealth or the Cossack Host. While the Commonwealth's nobles disdained the Cossacks, the Venetian clergyman who sought their help was more egalitarian in his world view. Despite their rough and coarse appearance, he found them not lacking in lively ingenuity.<sup>40</sup> Vimina turned to classical models and references to define the form of government of the Cossacks. He saw them as a hodgepodge of uncultivated people from which a Senate was formed, and he praised the Senate's manner of deliberation. Comparing their polity to Sparta (a positive model of government in seventeenth-century terms), he described the Cossacks as only having liberty to boast of since they cared not for the amassing of wealth.<sup>41</sup> Seeing

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36 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius* 1: 179; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 380.

37 On the demographic explosion as a cause of revolt, with Ukraine a prime case, see Jack Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, 1991), 344.

38 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 193

39 Caccamo, Alberto Vimina in Ukraine, 264-265.

40 Here too one can find an echo of Beauplan (*A Description of Ukraine*, p13; *Description d'Ukraine*, 6).

41 "On the basis of these observations one can readily deduce the customs of these people, who have never left their country except to engage in warfare, a school that generally produces men who are worldly, but coarse and rough. By their outward appearance and manners they

merit in this rude republic, Vimina did not however perceive a well developed system of administration and finances within it, a characteristic of more developed lands.<sup>42</sup>

appear simple, but they are not stupid or lacking in lively intelligence. This is evident from their conversation and methods of governing. For the history of politics is a complex dance that makes men cut a fine figure at gatherings but disappears at the threshold of government and lays bare their crudeness. From this hodgepodge of uncultivated people a rudimentary senate that assists the general is formed. It should be borne in mind that these people take their hands from the plow and the magistracy in order to apply them to wielding arms. In the Senate they bring matters to fruition; arguing their opinions without ostentation, with the goal of contributing to the public good. And if they find the ideas of others better, they are not embarrassed, nor do they hesitate to abandon their own opinion and embrace the better one.

I would therefore say that this republic of the Cossacks might resemble that of Sparta if there were a similar degree of sobriety among them, whereas they can certainly be compared to the Spartans in rigor of training.” (Vimina, *Relazione*, 13-14)

Vimina also writes: “On occasions spent at his table, when glasses were frequently raised, I noted that there was no lack of pleasant and witty conversation. I could quote several witticisms, but, wishing to be brief, I shall recount only one. My servant was at pains to emphasize the grandeur and marvels of the city of Venice, which they were eager to hear about. Having expatiated sufficiently on the location, buildings, and riches, he described the city's great expanse, saying that there were so many alleys that even the residents themselves would get lost. A Cossack replied, ‘Oh, do not exalt the city of Venice to me, for I find that the same thing happens to me too in this small room: after sitting for a few hours at this table, I cannot find the door to return home.’” (Relazione, 19)

He asserts: The Cossacks can boast of nothing other than liberty; it seems that they do not prize wealth at all, as they are content with little. This was a teaching articulated but not practiced by Seneca, who, while accumulating treasures, endeavored to stress in his writings that a man does not become rich through the acquisition of riches but through the diminution of greed.” (Ibid., 14-15)

- 42 He maintains: “I believe it would be both interesting and necessary, in order to make a complete report, to say something about the administration, its forces and revenue. I would describe it even in detail if there were any particular order to be discerned in it. I can say, however, that as far as administration is concerned, in the towns mentioned there live certain consuls who adjudicate civil cases and impose light corporal punishment, while matters of importance are reserved to the judgment of the general, and so it appears to me that he is a true despot. The state of the armed forces is revealed by the experience of past campaigns. Who knows the precise number of soldiers that can be gathered? One can say that there are as many soldiers as there are heads, for they all prefer to engage in warfare than to handle a spade. Concerning income I cannot say, observing only that it is

Paul shared with Vimina the conviction that the Cossacks were content with little,<sup>43</sup> though in his almost uniformly positive assessment he saw them as having an excellent financial administration.<sup>44</sup> Here, of course, the difference may be that Vimina saw the Hetmanate at its birth, while Paul observed the Hetmanate five years later. But for Paul the liberty that the revolt had achieved was above all freedom from the accursed Polish servitude, which was envisioned above all as religious bondage. He saw as the Cossacks' great achievement that they, through their revolt, lived in freedom, which for him meant in an Orthodox state and society.

And what a blessed nation it is! What a happy country! This is its greatest merit, that it contains not one inhabitant of any other sect whatever, but is pure, and peopled only with the orthodox, the faithful, and the truly religious. How great is its zeal for purity and holiness of spirit! how clear its principles in the truth of orthodoxy! Blessed be our eyes for what we saw, which we experienced! For this people, from being in captivity and slavery, are now living in mirth and cheerfulness and liberty.<sup>45</sup>

Having charged that the perfidious Poles had poisoned their own king, implicitly justifying the revolt and seconding the voices that saw the Polish elite as anarchic, the Orthodox cleric could exult that the time of Khmel'nyts'kyi was an age of

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of no great amount or consequence, neither in the public nor the private sphere." (Ibid., 19)

Vimina's use of "true despot" (*vero Despota*) for Khmel'nyts'kyi would seem to conflict with his discussion of the Cossack entity as a republic. It seems that he was reflecting the great power gained by Khmel'nyts'kyi after his victories and not using the term to characterize a political system. *Despota* might better be rendered as master. He may have seen Khmel'nyts'kyi in the tradition of the Italian Renaissance despots.

43 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 200; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 394.

44 Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 381.

45 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 191. "What a blessed people they are! What a blessed land this is! Its great merit lies in the fact that it has no infidels at all but only pure Orthodox believers, steadfast and pious! Delighted are our eyes with what they have seen, delighted are our ears with what they have heard, and happy are our hearts with the joy and rapture they have experienced. Having once been in bondage, these Cossacks now live in joy, pleasure, and freedom". (Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 374)

justice.<sup>46</sup> His concept of justice was not only the right religious order in that he also discussed national and social issues.<sup>47</sup> According to him, the Cossacks had been treated as slaves by the Poles, who had impressed them into arduous tasks, and only after the revolt “those who had laboured and endured all the hardships of the work came into their rightful possession of it”.<sup>48</sup> He saw Khmel’nyts’kyi’s revolt as releasing the Cossacks from slavery and captivity and the Poles’ cruelties.<sup>49</sup>

Paul diverged further from the concept of liberty as referring to Orthodox living in Orthodox states and societies when he contrasted Ukraine with Muscovy in a commentary that, while he may not have been aware of them, fit well in the Western myths of the time. On reaching Ukraine from Muscovy in 1656, he proclaimed

During these two years in Muscovy, a padlock had been set on our hearts, and we were in the extremity of narrowness and compressure of our minds; for in those countries no person can feel any thing of freedom or cheerfulness, unless it be the native population. Any one like ourselves, though he became sovereign of the whole territory, would never cease to have a disturbed mind, and a heart full of anxiety. The country of the Cossacks, on the contrary, was like our own country to us, and its inhabitants were to us boon companions and fellows like ourselves.<sup>50</sup>

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46 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 175; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 380.

47 For a nuanced discussion of religious and ethno-national themes in Paul's work, see Charles J. Halperin, “Friend and Foe in Paul of Aleppo's Travels of Patriarch Macarios”, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 14/15 (1998/1999): 97-114.

48 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 182. “obtained all rights and all power over that which had been the object of their labor and their suffering in bondage.” (Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 382.)

49 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 1: 172.

50 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, 2: 306-307. “During those two years in Muscovy a lock hung on our hearts, and our minds were constricted and oppressed to the utmost. For in that land no one can feel free or satisfied, except perhaps its native inhabitants. Anyone else, just like us, even were he to become ruler of the whole country, will never cease to be agitated in his spirit and alarmed in his heart. By contrast, the land of the Cossacks was as though it were our own country, and its inhabitants our good friends and people like us:” (Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 373-374).

While Paul had written approvingly of the Muscovite state and ruler in the massive sections of his diary on Muscovy,<sup>51</sup> he clearly had been put off by the atmosphere in that Orthodox state and found that of Ukraine more to his liking. His evaluation was formed in the context of foreigners' enforced isolation in Moscow. What he came to, however, may be interpreted as an assumption similar to that of so many Western authors that the Muscovites might be disposed to such a state and society that others, including other Orthodox, found constraining. In Ukraine he had an Orthodox society that he found welcoming and attractive without the pressures and confinement of Muscovy.<sup>52</sup>

## THE AUTHORS' MISSIONS AND AUDIENCES

In addition to reflecting the two general myths on Ukraine of the age in his work, each author portrayed Ukraine and the revolt in accordance with his mission and his desire to elicit the appropriate response from his intended reader. Vimina had to square a circle in reconciling the Cossack rebels with the Polish-Lithuanian government in order to obtain both powers' support in the war against the Ottomans. Hence he had to see the Cossacks as a group worthy to treat with not only by the Venetians, but also by the Polish-Lithuanian authorities. They had come to an uneasy truce with the Cossacks in 1649, when the Crimean khan had been wooed away from the Ukrainian rebels. Therefore Vimina's depiction of the Cossack polity as a rude but militarily powerful entity might be expected. Certainly, he affirmed the wisdom of trying to come to an alliance with the Cossacks when he wrote: "Who knows the precise number of soldiers that can be gathered? One can say that there are as many soldiers as there are heads, for they all prefer to engage in warfare than to handle a spade."<sup>53</sup> For the Venetian authorities he had portrayed the Cossack land as a military republic headed by a powerful general or despot in a wealthy land. His superiors undoubtedly had embarked on their policy because of

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51 See the discussions of Paul's views in Poe, 'A People Born to Slavery', which curiously does not deal with his comparison of Muscovy and Ukraine.

52 Malte Griesse has suggested that Paul's evaluation should be seen as an indictment of Muscovite treatment of foreigners, a situation of captivity not experienced by the native population. I am thankful to him for posing this possibility. Still, I think the passage that "anyone like us, even though he became sovereign of the whole territory" would still not be able to adjust to Muscovite ways indicate a broader negative evaluation of Muscovy and its inhabitants.

53 Vimina, *Relazione*, 19.

these assumptions that Vimina had amplified and confirmed. They also had to hope that a way could be found to overcome religious differences.

The concept of the alliance would require Western and Eastern Christians to set aside their divides. Vimina stressed recent progress in bridging differing interpretations of the *Filioque*.<sup>54</sup> His plans could only work if the differences between the churches could be minimized. Therefore, Vimina pointed to a certain indifference of the Cossacks to religion and saw only the clergy as knowledgeable. He maintained: "As for devotions, I have not observed frequent public attendance; they frequent taverns more than churches, making it apparent that the maxims of Romulus are valued here more than those of Numa. They show constancy in maintaining the errors of their schism but are unable to identify them and live mostly according to the faith of their fathers; only their priests know the basic distinctions."<sup>55</sup> Thus, he saw the Cossacks as adepts of Rome's warlike founder and military leader, and not his pious successor Numa Popilius. While he was willing to admit a certain level of learning of the monks in Ukraine, he looked condescendingly on the culture and language of the land. Indeed, his attribution of its Slavonic scriptures to a text associated with Saint Jerome may be seen as part of his view of the superiority of the Western Church.<sup>56</sup> He discussed the religious issues in the revolt from a Catholic point of view, especially those emerging in the heat of the revolt, but the

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54 "But concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son and not from the Father, as the Latins believe, they disagree with us, although they cannot say how the schism originated. These errors have already been condemned. The deduction seems clear that the Son did not share the original inspiration with the Father, and since there was a moment's interval between them, there was consequently a difference in degree. But now I understand that when the most recent effort was made by Urban VIII and Władysław IV, the king of Poland, to reunite the churches separated from the Latin church, it was determined that it was all the same whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father by way of the Son, or from the Father and the Son; hence it was acknowledged that the Three Persons were alike in degree, in not having been created, in eternity and equality." (Relazione, 15-16)

55 Ibid., 15.

56 "They have no letters other than vernacular Ruthenian, and few are those who even dedicate themselves to them. Their ritual language is Slavic, into which they have translated the Holy Scripture of Saint Jerome, and they also read the doctrines of the Holy Fathers translated into that language. It is said that their vernacular differs from Slavic as Italian does from Latin. Earlier, only the nobles studied it; hence only a few priests understand it. Nevertheless, some monks, especially those attending the metropolitan, are not ignorant of it. One finds some men of letters who devote all their study to confirming their errors." (Ibid., 12-13)

Catholic priest did not wish to see these as excluding cooperation with the Cossacks.<sup>57</sup>

Paul had set out with his father to find material support for the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire. He had found that the Orthodox world could now look to a new Orthodox power that had triumphed over the Latin foe. He could also seek to raise his own spirit and the spirit of his flock by seeing in Ukraine a model Orthodox society. These were the aspects of Ukrainian society that Paul emphasized in what is the most comprehensive account of the religious and culture life in mid-seventeenth century Ukraine. In marvelling at what the revolt had wrought and the birth of a new Orthodox power, Paul always put the respect shown to his father the patriarch to the fore in making his judgements.

Paul described a society with a high degree of religious practice and learning. Indeed, he found the rigors of the practice, especially the standing in churches during lengthy services, taxing.<sup>58</sup> In describing the population, he maintained: "We observed in them all a perfect spirit of religion, and abstinence and humility, to the utmost."<sup>59</sup> Paul's account has served as the source for discussions on the high literacy rate in Ukraine, including of women and girls.<sup>60</sup> He maintained that since the liberation of the land by Khmel'nyts'kyi, literacy had increased among the populace. Since Paul undertook his trip four to six years after Vimina, there may

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57 "Many deny Purgatory, while others profess it, not by means of fire, but as punishment of the senses by other means –an opinion that should not be condemned. They deny particular judgment of the soul, maintaining that there will be neither reward nor punishment until the day of the Last Judgment. For they say that if the body itself has had a part in merit or guilt, having become as it has [after death] foul and insensitive matter, it ought to be denied reward or exempted from punishment, while the soul, because of the consent lent to the flesh, should alone enjoy the glory or suffer the punishment. And there are those who declare that it is necessary to rebaptize the Latins, even though they say that they have not been remiss in substance or form. Recently such confusion has been practiced in the revolts of the Cossacks, who have brought to their baptismal fonts those Catholics who have wished to espouse the error of the Cossack schism. There are even those who believe that transubstantiation does not take place with unleavened bread; hence they call the Latins unleavened heretics" (Ibid., 15-16).

58 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 186; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 391.

59 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 186; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 391.

60 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 164. The translation in Hrushevsky that they "know how to read" appears to be the correct one (Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 382). See Kowalska, *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku*, 18.

have indeed been a change in Ukraine's religious, intellectual, and cultural life. Paul, who travelled slowly throughout Ukraine and served in numerous church services in dozens of settlements, had more opportunity to observe this aspect of Ukrainian life than Vimina did. Yet it is certain that the standards and expectations of Venice and Ottoman Syria may have differed. Still, in reading Paul's account, which Hrushevsky has called

a panegyric to a liberated people, which had put its newly won freedom and prosperity, gained at great cost, to such fine use: instead of spending time in leisure and luxury, it curbed its physical needs and devoted everything to cultural weal, as it was then understood, and to the building of new churches, the creation of icons and paintings, the cultivation of church singing, and the development of schools and education,

we must assume, without discounting his extensive evidence, that Paul was predisposed to find this model in the land and society that he praised.<sup>61</sup>

The Eastern patriarchates and the Greek clergy in particular often dreamed of liberation from the Turks and even of the great project, the restoration of the Christian Empire. One can find little of these dreams in Paul's account. Indeed, in recounting the indignities of Polish rule over Ukraine, he even proclaimed:

And why do I pronounce them accursed? Because they have shewn themselves more debased and wicked than the corrupt worshippers of idols, by their cruel conduct to Christians, thinking to abolish the very name of Orthodox. God perpetuate the Empire of the Turks for ever and ever! for they take their impost, and enter into no account of religion, be their subjects Christians or Nazarines, Jews or Samaritans: whereas these accursed Poles were not content with taxes and tithes from the brethren of Christ, though willing to serve them; but, according to the true relation we shall afterwards give of their history, they subjected them to the authority of the enemies of Christ, the tyrannical Jews [...]<sup>62</sup>

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61 Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 382.

62 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 165. "Why do I call them accursed? Because they showed themselves to be more vile and malicious than the evil pagans; they tortured Christians and plotted to destroy the very name of Orthodox. May God preserve the kingdom of the Turks for all eternity, since they take tribute and do not interfere with matters of faith. But these accursed ones were not content to take tribute and a tithe from their brothers in Christ; instead they kept them in bondage and consigned them to the rule of the enemies of Christ, the merciless Jews." (Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 377).

Far from rallying to the call of a common Christian cause against the Turks, which was essential for Vimina's project to enlist the Catholic Commonwealth and the Orthodox Cossacks against the Ottoman Empire, Paul saw the Catholics as the main enemy and the Turks as even a form of protection from them. He was, however, clearly uplifted by the appearance of a new Orthodox power and above all its immense army, which he estimated with the usual hyperbole of the age as 500,000 strong.<sup>63</sup> Vimina, who had more concrete plans for the army, had merely said that there were as many soldiers among the Cossacks as there were heads. While Paul may not have had a plan for them, he understood the army's significance for the Orthodox cause as he compared it favorably to the forces of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Orthodox vassals of the Porte to which the patriarchates traditionally appealed for support.

In describing the war, Paul turned to the images that pervaded the religious thinking of the age. For him the deaths on the Ukrainian side were those of martyrs and their enemies had committed numerous bestial acts, including cutting open the wombs of pregnant women.<sup>64</sup> One can indeed find direct parallels with the Hebrew chronicles and the Polish accounts of the period, albeit reversing perpetrators and victims. His emphasis on the position of the Jews as abnormal in a Christian society coincided with many Western Christian discussions. But Paul also brought his own world view as to who the enemies of the Ukrainians were to his account. While one cannot know what his informants told him, one suspects that his emphasis on the revolt's destruction of the Armenians, whom he places on an equal plane with the Jews and mentions almost as frequently, may come more from his antagonism toward the numerous Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire and their church's challenge to Orthodox dogma than from his informants' accounts.<sup>65</sup> In the same way, his hatred of the Jesuits, which certainly was exuded by the rebels, may also have derived from their machinations against the Orthodox in Constantinople or his attitudes toward them in Syria. His play on the similarity of their name to the

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63 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 184; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 375.

64 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 177, 183; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 378.

65 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 171, 173, 185; Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 376. On Paul's discussions of Armenians, see Halperin, *Friend and Foe*, 108-109. He points out that Paul devotes relatively little attention to Armenian merchants as playing a negative role. On the fate of Armenians during the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising, see Yaroslav Dashkevych, "Armenians in the Ukraine at the Time of Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyts'kyj (1648-1657)", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4 (1979-80): 166-188.

Yazidis, the syncretic sect among the Kurds abominated by Christians and Muslims alike, surely sought to sway his potential reader far from Ukraine.<sup>66</sup>

## DEPICTIONS OF THE HETMAN

Both authors met with the fabled leader of the revolt Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, the man about whom all Europe and the Near East sought information and whom subsequent generations have found so enigmatic. The discussions of Khmel'nyts'kyi have always been grounded in an author's position on the revolt and the effect desired on the readers.<sup>67</sup> From the Hebrew chronicles' epithet "May his name be blotted out" to the Polish broadsides depicting him as a crocodile, his enemies sought to demonize him. In the same way his followers and successors sought to glorify him from the time he entered Kyiv on Christmas 1648 to the acclamations that he was "well-named Bohdan, given by God, to free the Ruthenian nation from the Polish servitude."<sup>68</sup>

The antagonistic goals and the conventions of the age must make us wary about all depictions of the hetman. In early eighteenth-century Ukraine, the Cossack officers and clergy knew of Bohdan from Hryhorii Hrabianka's history composed over half a century after the revolt, which circulated in numerous manuscripts.

A man worthy of the name hetman: boldly he was ready to take on any misfortunes, even more diligent was he amidst these very misfortunes; whereby no toils tired his body, and his good spirit could not be subdued by adversaries. He endured cold and heat equally. He ate and drank what nature demanded and was not overcome by sleep at night or during the day. When he lacked time due to affairs and military matters, he rested only a little, and then not

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66 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1:205. Belfour translates the term as "priests of the Devil" a play on the term "devil worshippers" often ascribed to the Yazidis (Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 376). Largely based on the work of Robert M. Haddad, *Syrian Christians in Muslim Society: An Interpretation* (Princeton, 1970), Charles Halperin paints a picture of "cooperation, if not respect" of Syrian Orthodox (Melkites) with other Christian groups, including Armenians and Italian Jesuits. This opens up the possibility that Paul came to his antagonism as a result of his travels and contacts (especially of the Jesuits) and now sought to propagate these views. I nevertheless believe he came to Ukraine with these antagonisms and now could take delight that these religious antagonists were now defeated,

67 See Frank E. Sysyn, "The Changing Image of the Hetman", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 46, 4 (1998): 531–545.

68 *Ibid.*, 532.

on expensive beds, but on such beddings as a military man ought. Even amid the military din, he slept calmly, in no way concerned. His dress did not stand out at all against the others, only the gear and his horses were somewhat better. He was often seen covered with a military cloak, as he rested among the guards. He went first into battle and was the last to leave it.

Some of those readers, graduates of the Kyiv Academy and other higher schools of the Hetmanate, may have recognized that Khmel'nyts'kyi was being appropriately glorified in the manner and almost the exact words that Livy praised Hannibal, albeit with the negative passages removed, but it took modern scholars over 150 years from the time the work was published in full in the 1840s to make that connection.<sup>69</sup>

Vimina's depiction of the Cossack hetman, so important as that of an emissary who met with him, can also in some ways be seen in the tradition of depicting great military commanders stretching back to Livy.

As for his origin, he descends from a noble father who was banished and deprived of his title of nobility. He is of taller than average height, with a large frame and a sturdy constitution.

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69 See Marko Antonovych, "Kharakterystyka B. Khmel'nyts'koho u Hrabianky i Liviiia (Zamitka)", *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk* 32 (1995): 165-166. These passages are from Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 21.4. See *Books 21-25: The Second Punic War*, trans. Alfred John Church and William Hackson Brodribb (London, 1883): 4-5.

"There was no one whom Hasdrubal preferred to put in command, whenever courage and persistency were specially needed, no officer under whom the soldiers were more confident and more daring. Bold in the extreme in incurring peril, he was perfectly cool in its presence. No toil could weary his body or conquer his spirit. Heat and cold he bore with equal endurance; the cravings of nature, not the pleasure of the palate, determined the measure of his food and drink. His waking and sleeping hours were not regulated by day and night. Such time as business left him, he gave to repose; but it was not on a soft couch or in the stillness that he sought it. Many a man often saw him wrapped in his military cloak, lying on the ground amid the sentries and pickets. His dress was not one whit superior to that of his comrades, but his accoutrements and horses were conspicuously splendid. Among the cavalry or the infantry he was by far the first soldier; the first in battle, the last to leave it when once begun."

The passage that follows immediately is removed.

"These great virtues in the man were equaled by monstrous vices, inhuman cruelty, a worse than Punic perfidy. Absolutely false and irreligious, he had no fear of God, no regard for an oath, no scruples. With this combination of virtues and vices, he served three years under the command of Hasdrubal, omitting nothing which a man who was to be a great general ought to do or see."

His speech and manner of governance indicate that he possesses mature judgment and acute intelligence; although it appears that he applies himself excessively to drink, he still does not fail to take care of business. Therefore I believe that two powers can be found in him –one active, sober, and capable in the administration of affairs, the other dormant and mired in intoxication. He behaves in an affable and down-to-earth manner with which he wins the devotion of his soldiers, while maintaining discipline by means of severe punishment. To all who enter his chamber he holds out his hand and has all sit down if they are Cossacks. In this chamber no luxuries are to be found. The walls are bare of any tapestries, the chairs unadorned. There are only some rough benches covered with leather cushions, which I believe the Romans called *subsellia*, and with the legs of which, it seems to me Plutarch writes, the Gracchi were killed when they wished to introduce the agrarian law. A curtain of damask hangs in front of his small bed, at the head of which hang a bow and a saber, the only arms that he is accustomed to bear. Neither is his table more sumptuous. Although they eat without napkins, the only silverware is spoons and goblets; the rest of the service is of tin. He has prudently decorated his house thus in order to remind himself of his status, so that his soul does not swell up with inordinate pride. Perhaps he has followed the example of Agathocles, who, being the son of a potter, but elevated to the status of royal despot, ordered that his table and sideboard be furnished with vessels of clay, whence the verses:

Ausonis fictilibus cenasse ferent agatoclea vasis,  
Atque Abachum samio saepe ornasse luto.<sup>70</sup>

While Vimina's short description was neither a panegyric nor a "borrowing" in the manner of Hrabianka, one can wonder if his education affected his depiction of Khmel'nyts'kyi as a man of simple demeanor who wins the hearts of his followers by his affable ways but rules with an iron hand. Indeed, Vimina seems to echo Livy on Hannibal when he sees two natures in the hetman, one sober and capable, the other intoxicated. His vivid portrait of Khmel'nyts'kyi with these two natures coincides with many other contemporary descriptions. But in conveying his impressions, Vimina turned to classical descriptions of the military leader as he did in describing his rooms and his manner of setting a table. His comparisons with Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse whom Macchiavelli criticized for brutality and impiety in *The Prince*, is intriguing. Still we assume Vimina turns to the well-known epigram of Ausonius primarily as a means of conveying the mode of Khmel'nyts'kyi's success in gaining the people's support to his elevation as a type

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70 A badly distorted quotation from the poet and rhetorician Decimus Ausonius Magnus (310–393). The lines, taken from the ninth in Ausonius' series of *Epigrammata*, should read: "Fama est fictilibus cenasse Agathoclea regem / atque abacum Samio saepe onerasse luto" (It is said that Agathocles, when king, dined off earthen plates / and that his sideboard often bore a load of Samian ware). Cf. *The Works of Ausonius*, ed. R. P. H. Green (Oxford, 1991), 68.

of despot and his military prowess rather than echoing the criticisms of *The Prince*. Vimina conveys his fundamentally positive assessment of the Cossack hetman and his followers to the Serenissima in providing them a type of leader and an army that could serve as an ally.

For Vimina, the product of a Western society of corporate orders and estates, his egalitarian praise of the low-born Cossacks and his own origin as a burgher did not erase the importance he attached to high birth. Therefore he immediately turned to Khmel'nyts'kyi's noble father, who had been deprived of his nobility, in explaining the reasons for the revolt. For early modern Europe the noble rebel was always more acceptable: superior noble birth and attributes could go far in explaining a rebel's success.<sup>71</sup> Vimina also tried to give us a portrait of the psychology of the man. He alludes to the personal confrontation over a woman that some subsequent historiography focused on as sparking the revolt when he mentions Khmel'nyts'kyi marrying the wife of Daniel Czapliński in a discussion of matrimony and divorce. He provides us with the appropriate Ciceronian adage (*Quales sunt in Republica principes, tales et sunt reliqui cives*) as demonstrating the effect of Khmel'nyts'kyi's example. He does this while at the same time making the stunning assertion that it was Czapliński and his patron Alexander Koniecpolski who were responsible for instigating the current disorders, shifting blame away from the Cossack hetman and making him more acceptable to those opposed to rebels against lawful authority.<sup>72</sup>

Paul of Aleppo praises Khmel'nyts'kyi unceasingly and wholeheartedly throughout his work. His description of the patriarch's meeting with the hetman is one of the most comprehensive discussions of Khmel'nyts'kyi by an eyewitness. Paul's reference points are not to generals, but to rulers. He informs his reader: "Kings and Emperors are unequal to the contest of magnanimity with him" and later that "[h]is mode of conduct is conformable to that of the greatest of kings,

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71 The tendency to assume that a complex and successfully executed revolt must have been engineered by social betters can be seen in some of the Polish commentary on the revolt, including discussions that the clergy and bishops must have masterminded it. See Frank E. Sysyn, "Seventeenth-Century Views on the Causes of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising: An Examination of the 'Discourse about the Present Cossack-Peasant War'", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, 4 (December 1981): 430–66.

72 The General has given an example to all, so that the saying might remain true: "*Quales sunt in Republica principes tales et sunt reliqui cives*". By marrying the wife of Czapliński, a Polish noble, a favourite of Aleksander Koniecpolski, the Major Standard-Bearer of the Kingdom. The two of them are said to have been the instigators of the recent disorders. (*Quales in Republica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives. Cicero, Epistulae ad familiares*, 1.19.2).

Basil the Macedonian, according as it is described in history. Every person who sees him is in admiration of him, and says, 'Is this that Akhmil [Khmel], whose fame is spread over the whole world?' 'In the country of the Franks, as we were informed, they have composed poems in his praise and in celebration of his wars and conquests.'<sup>73</sup> The Byzantine emperor Basil and founder of the Macedonian dynasty who had been depicted by his grandson Constantine VII as an ideal ruler serves as a fitting precedent in depicting to his Orthodox Arabic flock the founder of the Cossack Hetmanate.<sup>74</sup>

Paul does not explain from which historians he took his view of Basil and whether he accepted Constantine's version of royal descent or other historians' attribution of humble origin, but if indeed the latter was the case, he had one more reason to see Basil as the model for Khmel'nyts'kyi. Certainly he describes Khmel'nyts'kyi's simplicity in dress and manner as a virtue akin to Basil's. Thereby, one sees in the frequent praise of this simplicity by Paul a means of glorifying Khmel'nyts'kyi such as when he says: "It was delightful to witness the beauty of the Khatman's [Hetman's] language, his placid demeanour, his humility and condescension, and his tears of joy", that "[t]here is no affair in which he is engaged to which he does not himself attend; and he is moderate in his eating and drinking and clothing," that

At this moment he approached from the gate of the city with a numerous troop, in the midst of whom it was impossible for any one to distinguish him, otherwise than by observing that they were all clothed in handsome garments, accoutred with valuable arms; whereas he wore mean and scanty clothing, and was provided with armour of no price.

and that, "so great is the blessing of God upon him, and so entirely overlooked is the meanness of his person."

In praising Khmel'nyts'kyi as a ruler in the tradition of Basil, Paul had obvious foils in the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, especially Vasile Lupu of Moldavia. He maintained: "Where are your eyes, ye Begs[Hospodars] of Moldavia and Wallachia? And where is now your grandeur, where your haughtiness? Each of

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73 Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 197-198. The statements that follow about Khmel'nyts'kyi are on pages 196-199 unless otherwise indicated.

74 On Basil's origin, see Norman Tobias, *Basil I Founder of the Macedonian Dynasty: A Study of the Political and Military History of the Byzantine Empire in the Ninth Century* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter, 2007), chp.1. On Constantine's portrayal of his ancestor, see the German translation of Basil's life, *Vom Bauernhof auf den Kaiserthron: Leben des Kaiseros Basileos I*, trans. and ed. Leopold Breyer, *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, ed. Johannes Koder, vol. 14 (Graz, 1981).

you is inferior in value to any Prokonikos [polkovnyk-colonel] of the Khatman's [Hetman's] suite, and in justice and moderation infinitely below him". He contrasted Khmel'nyts'kyi's qualities with the Moldavian's stern demeanor, ostentation, and arrogance and Khmel'nyts'kyi's victories with Vasile's defeats.

Now Vasili Beg [Hospodar Vasile] of Moldavia was perfect in the majesty of his stature, and in fierce command of his countenance, and was renowned throughout the universe for his wealth and treasures; and yet all this availed him nothing; but in his first battle, and in his second and third, and many times more, he was defeated, and put to flight.

The two men also differed in the degree of respect they had shown the patriarch, a crucial determinant for Paul's evaluation of a ruler. "In respect to his manner of sitting at table, let it be observed, that he placed himself in a lower seat, and our Lord the Patriarch in the seat of eminence, according to the reverence due to him in every assembly." "He was not like the Begs[Hospodars] of Moldavia and Wallachia, who seated themselves in the centre, and placed the Head of the Clergy below them."<sup>75</sup> Vasile had clearly not demonstrated the respect that Khmel'nyts'kyi had shown the patriarch and the humility that Khmel'nyts'kyi accorded the churchman weighed greatly in Paul's praise of him.

Paul continued the tradition that had begun during Patriarch Paisios's visit at the end of 1648-49 of comparing the hetman to Moses liberating his people from a bondage worse than the Egyptian, that of the Poles.

Truly God is with thee; and it is He who has raised thee to deliver his peculiar people from their bondage to the nations; as Moses formerly delivered the Israelites from the servitude of Pharaoh, whom, with his followers, he overwhelmed in the Red Sea: but thou hast destroyed them, the filthy Poles, with thy depopulating sword - glory to God, who has done in thee all these great works!

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75 "As soon as he beheld our Lord the Patriarch at a distance, he alighted from his horse, with all his attendants; and came and knelt down, and kissed the hem of the Patriarch's train, a first and a second time; then the cross, and his right-hand. And our Lord the Patriarch kissed the Khatman's [Hetman's] forehead." "Then they brought upon the table some bowls of spirits, which they drank out of noggins; and the liquor was hot: but for Akhmil [Khmel] they set a silver cup of a particular kind of spirit. Having first made the Patriarch drink, the Khatman [Hetman] was the second to drink himself; and then he sent down the cup to each of us, for we were standing before him. How admirable this humility of a soul, which may the Almighty preserve still long on earth!" Paul, *The Trave of Macarius*, I: 199, 198, 199.

In resorting to the comparison with Moses, so commonly used for Byzantine and other rulers, Paul elevated the person of Khmel'nyts'kyi to royal heights.<sup>76</sup> He praised his having been chosen by his fellows when he said; "This Akhmil [Khmel] is an old man, of those who have been most prospered by the blessing of God: in possession of every quality to be a leader – and of the most important of all, secrecy – he is spontaneously chosen of his fellow-men." Yet it was God's elevation of him as a Moses to his people that had raised him to the level of Emperor Basil.

In elevating his subject in his Syrian Christian readers' eyes, Paul both interpreted and approved of the very different society and mores of the Ukrainian borderland. For his Orthodox flock, he described beardless and mustachioed Cossacks who did not fulfill usual Orthodox prescriptions to be bearded. He did so by maintaining that their very name *Cazak* contained this meaning, a curious etymology for a Turkic word usually thought to mean free man or nomad.<sup>77</sup> That poems were written to Khmel'nyts'kyi in the lands of the Franks was seen as a positive, just as Paul of Aleppo praised the realistic icons of Ukraine and the Western-influenced choral singing.<sup>78</sup> In part, the alms-seeking churchman was impressed with the state of Orthodoxy he found in Ukraine, where the revolt had made the church dominant and the wealth of a society was directed toward the Orthodox culture. In part, his life under Muslim rule and wandering among various northern lands made him more flexible than, for example, were his coreligionists in the Tsardom of Muscovy. In part, he may have been open to the accomplishments of the West, just as his coreligionists in Crete long under Venetian rule had been in evolving new schools of painting. While he condemned the Latins and the Poles, he willingly accepted many of their influences on the Orthodox Ukrainians. What is clear is his joy in finding a new Orthodox power that might serve as a support and inspiration for the beleaguered Orthodox Christians of the Middle East. He chose to paint that polity and its leader in the brightest of hues.

The accounts of Alberto Vimina and Paul of Aleppo do indeed provide invaluable information on Ukraine at the time of the revolt and the court of Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. Anyone who has read Vimina's description of the hetman's table will be well prepared for Paul's account:

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76 On the epithet "New Moses" of the Byzantine emperors and "Second Moses" for St. Volodymyr of Kyiv, see Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West*, 192.

77 "All of them wore, as they are accustomed, their chins shaven: and the meaning of the word *Cazak*, or *Cossack*, is this, viz. "beard-shorn", but nourishing the whiskers."

78 On singing, see Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, book 2, part 1: 390; on painting, see Paul, *The Travel of Macarius*, 1: 201.

Then they brought upon the table some bowls of spirits, which they drank out of noggins; and the liquor was hot: but for Akhmil [Khmel] they set a silver cup of a particular kind of spirit. Having first made the Patriarch drink, the Khatman [Hetman] was the second to drink himself; and then he sent down the cup to each of us, for we were standing before him. How admirable this humility of a soul, which may the Almighty preserve still long on earth! He had no cup-bearers, nor any officers to cover up and guard the vessels of his meat or drink, as is the fashion of Princes, and even of subordinate Governors. Next they served up earthenware dishes of salt-fish boiled, and other eatables, in a plain way. There were no silver plates, nor forks, nor spoons, nor any thing of the kind: and yet every one of the servants of his servants had numerous chests full of bowls and cups and spoons of silver and gold, with other treasure, gained from the Poles; which none of them desired or cared for here, being out on a military expedition: but when they are at home, in their own native places, it is a different thing.

Indeed, the two constitute the major sources that we have on that table, and they in many ways corroborate each other. One may also say that one finds similar correspondence on the simplicity of Khmel'nyts'kyi's dress and the approachable nature of his person.

Yet however important the comparative evidence we draw from the two travelers, we must always take care to filter in the models by which they formed their narratives and the goals which they sought to obtain through their texts. Frequently, these are easily discerned such as when Vimina ever anxious to provide context through classical allusions turns to Ausonius to give context to Khmel'nyts'kyi's table.<sup>79</sup> For Vimina the models of understanding were based in the Classical world, the teachings of Catholic dogmatics, and the diplomacy of Venice, just as Paul's world was shaped by Orthodoxy, the Byzantine past, the humiliation of the Antiochian present, and the Ottoman structures (so that hospodars are explained as Begs). Frequently, their comments reflect the cultural world views to which they belonged. Vimina, the product of the world of humanist learning and *questione della lingua*, tells us that the Ruthenian vernacular differs from Slavonic as Italian differs from Latin, while the Orthodox cleric, a product of Eastern Christian thought, informs us that the Serbs, Bulgarians, Cossacks, and Muscovites shared one Rus' language, which was clearly the liturgical Slavonic. Fortunately we have both foreign and domestic sources, above all the voluminous primarily Polish correspondence, that discuss politics, personalities, and plans in a way so largely lacking for sources of Muscovy in the same period. Therefore a

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79 Yet even here one must take care to see if the mention of Agactocles was meant to resonate with his audience when he was describing a general who had reached despotic powers.

comparison of the travelers' accounts with other sources may frequently expose our travelers' goals and distortions. When Paul describes Khmel'nyts'kyi as abstemious in drink, we may assume that this quality had to apply to his ideal ruler and that Vimina and many other contemporary sources are a more reliable source on Khmel'nyts'kyi's drinking habits.<sup>80</sup> What we must recognize, however, is that the sober Khmel'nyts'kyi and Paul's representation are as important a field for study as our attempts to penetrate what they depicted.

A Western Christian clergyman and an Eastern Christian clergyman travelled at about the same time from the old civilizations of the Mediterranean to the north. They visited the once great city of Kyiv that had been part of the greater Mediterranean world around the year 1000. Their goal was the new polity created by the Cossacks whom they sought to integrate into their plans for their respective southern worlds. Their differing cultures of West and East, albeit stemming from the same roots and frequently interacting, shaped the way they portrayed what they saw. Their accounts are not only of great value for understanding what they perceived. They also tell us much about the observers and their worlds.

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80 Paul, *The Travels of Macarius*, I: 199.

