

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND STUDY OF SOURCES

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HISTORY OF HAIDAMAKA MOVEMENT IN SCIENTIFIC WORKS OF VOLODYMYR ANTONOVYCH AND MYKOLA VASYLENKO

This article presents an analysis of the scientific works of well known Ukrainian scholars, Professors Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykola Vasylenko regarding the history of the people's liberation movement of Ukraine in the XVIII century. It analyzes the views of historians on reasons, driving forces, territorial spread and consequences of haidamaka movement. It was established that V. Antonovych indicated the general anarchy as a source of negative consequences of spontaneous movements. The article also specifies the dates of transformation of the spontaneous movements into the class struggle. The author revealed disagreement between V. Antonovych and M. Vasylenko regarding the origin of the term "haidamaka" and studied conditions that contributed to the development and spread of the liberation movement. The author gave particular attention to analysis of measures taken by Poland and Russia against haidamaka rebellion. This helped the author to reveal and research indirect connection between haidamaka movement and the Cossacks and establish the influence of Zaporizhzhia on the development of national movement. The author emphasizes the significant contribution of V. Antonovych and M. Vasylenko studies to the development of national history.

Keywords: haidamakas, Cossacks, Polish nobility, orthodoxy, Koliyivshchyna, revolt, right-bank Ukraine, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russia

At the end of the nineteenth and early beginning of the twentieth centuries, scholars at St. Volodymyr's Kyiv University carried out numerous studies of historical events that took place on Ukrainian territories.

Teaching staff of the university paid special attention to research of the history of the People's Liberation Movement (17-18 centuries). This topic can be found, in particular, in the works of Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykola Vasylenko. Their coverage of the driving forces, origins, reasons and consequences of popular revolt against oppression by the *Rzeczpospolita* (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and Russia is a significant contribution of outstanding scientists to the development of national history.

Scientific heritage of V. Antonovych always was and still remains the subject of attention of many researchers in the field of history and historiography, including D. Bahalii, I. Verba, M. Hrushevskiy, V. Korotkiy, O. Ogloblin, V. Simovych, O. Tarasenko, S. Tomashivskiy, V. Ulianovskiy, O. Yas.

Analyzing the work "Research of haidamaka movement", Vasyl Ulianovskiy pointed out that V. Antonovych considered communal ideals, veche political order, and equality to be inherent features of Ukrainian identity, and argued that "the energy of people was directed at defending this internal social and public, but not political and state system"¹. He points out that Antonovych in his studies for the first time provided materials on "significant revolts of haidamakas in 1735 and 1750", describing their spontaneity and disorganization, as well as the "weakness of the Polish authorities in attempts to oppose them".² Antonovych considered haidamaka movement to be a political, social, and religious movement,

¹ Ульяновський, В.І. (1995). *Син України (Володимир Антонович: громадянин, учений, людина)* передмова до Антонович, В. Б. *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 63.

² Ульяновський, В.І. (1995). *Син України (Володимир Антонович: громадянин, учений, людина)* передмова до Антонович, В. Б. *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 64.

which became a continuation of the “eternal struggle of two social origins”, combined with “the liberty, thirst for freedom and nutrition”¹.

Stepan Tomashivskiy, taking to account the large amount of information investigated by Antonovych, considered the monograph on haidamakas one of his best works².

Oleksii Yas in the article “Extraordinary positivist Volodymyr Antonovych”, studying the views of the prominent historian on the Cossacks and further development of the people’s movement, emphasized that emergence of haidamakas in the right-bank Ukraine was connected with the liquidation of the Cossack system, perceived as the national ideal, that “communal origin”, which restrained depressed groups of the population³.

Scientific comprehension of M. Vasylenko’s research activity can be found in studies of N. Polonska-Vasylenko, V. Yurchuk, O. Ogloblin, I. Usenko.

In particular, Vasyl Yurchuk in the article on the scientific work of M. Vasylenko indicated that this scholar in many respects “shared the views of the most prominent Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevskiy, in particular, on the originality of the history and culture of Ukrainian people”⁴.

This article analyzes the works of V. Antonovych and M. Vasylenko on the history of haidamaka movement and makes an attempt to reveal their significant contribution to the development of history as a science.

This research is relevant in view of the possibility to prioritize scientific doctrines of prominent historians on the significance of the national liberation struggle of Ukrainian people in the eighteenth century.

“Research of haidamaka movement”, written in 1876, is one of the main scientific works by V. Antonovych related to the history of the right-bank Ukraine. After analyzing the consequences of Cossacks’ disappearance in the south-western territories in the early 18th century, the researcher discovered a set of reasons that led to the emergence and existence of haidamakas. He emphasized the attempts of the Polish nobility (*szlachta*) to spread their domination on the adjacent land, to destroy orthodoxy and replace it with Catholicism through the temporary implementation of the Union, as well as the complete economic conquest of peasants. In his work Antonovych showed, that Polish nobility had lack of understanding why conquered population aspired observance of civil and human rights. Haidamaka movement became the new force of the people’s reaction, which caught up the Cossack idea of liberty. Thus, according to V. Antonovych, the fundament of the people’s movement was, on the one hand, the desire of population to get rid of oppression, and on the other – the reluctance of the nobility to make concessions. Antonovych has identified anarchism as one of the consequences of “golden gentry’s liberty”, which “completely extinguished the state body of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and deprived it of the ability to act in its own interests for a carefully defined, general plan”⁵.

Considering specific features of the haidamaka movement, the scholar stressed that the movement of dissatisfied population was negatively affected by the “absence of a general origin that could restrain actual manifestations of a legitimate reaction of the suppressed strata of society, as well as personal aspirations for arbitrariness and benefits”⁶.

It should be noted that the scientist expressed his views on the negative effects of spontaneous movements, the source of which was general anarchy⁷.

V. Antonovych traced all the changes that were in the composition of haidamakas and in their aspirations from the very beginning of the first revolts of separate groups to the formation of socially homogeneous squads. However, during the whole period of existence of the movement, the historian saw two permanent components associated with popular resistance to arbitrariness of Polish nobility and an attempt to satisfy their needs.

¹ Ульяновський, В.І. (1995). *Син України (Володимир Антонович: громадянин, учений, людина)* передмова до Антонович, В. Б. *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 65.

² Томашівський, С.Т. (1906). *Володимир Антонович*. Львів, 270.

³ Ясь, О.В. (2010). Незвичайний позитивіст Володимир Антонович. *Україна крізь віки. Збірка наукових праць*. Київ, 885.

⁴ Юрчук, В.І. (1994). Академік М. П. Василенко. *Український історичний журнал*, 5, 89.

⁵ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 373.

⁶ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 374.

⁷ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 375.

He defined geography of popular upheavals, which originated in Volyn and Podillia. Individual armed revolts of people, who initially pretended to be Cossacks, quickly spread to the right-bank Ukraine and became massive¹.

Analyzing origination of the word “haidamaka”, V. Antonovych established that for the first time this term appeared in 1717 in the universal of Jan Galecki, at that time a registrar of the Ukrainian Party. This document was cited by Antonovych as evidence that haidamakas acquired features of a threatening “everyday phenomenon”, which required constant supervision for counteraction. Before 1717, according to Antonovych, the term can not be found either in the acts or in historical notes. Antonovych came to the conclusion that “haidamakas” were initially a title for robbery squads; and the use of this term as a title for peasant movement began since the events of 1734, when the elements of people and class struggle began to predominate in the rebellion².

The work studies in detail the characteristics of haidamaka movement, namely: composition of insurgent squads, their action mode, ties with inhabitants of the regions in which the actions took place, places where the squads were formed, and the measures taken by the Polish authorities and society to resist the development of this phenomenon. As Antonovych noted, “the main contingent of haidamakas consisted of peasants from the South-Western lands” and were joined by representatives of other classes and ‘abroad persons’³.

Based on the book of accounts, the author analyzed conflicts between peasants and landlords and revealed a question about participation of representatives of burghers, gentry, clergy and colonists in confrontations. It is necessary to pay attention to the terminology used in documents regarding driving forces of popular disturbances. The rebels were described by the ruling class as “*innata militia*” – congenital peasant anger. V. Antonovych concluded that nobility understood its differences with peasantry, but did not want any concessions. The historian traced the tendency of transformation of single unrests from 1714 to massive outbursts of discontent in 1742, and stated that oppressed groups of population saw haidamaka movement the only form of protest⁴.

Very interesting is the attitude towards haidamakas of population from left-bank Ukraine. Antonovych stressed that the left-bank Cossacks, Kyiv burghers, Zaporizhians and other free and economically secured residents showed solidarity with insurgent south-western population through historically formed social, civic and religious persuasion on which the Cossack struggle had been based. He has substantiated the further strengthening of local people’s participation in the uprisings by changing the nature of popular struggle, consisting in departure from looting and robbery. The author defined the nature of assistance that was made by inhabitants of left-bank cities and settlements and opposed it to Zaporizhian aspirations to “lively participate in popular disturbances”⁵.

Antonovych, considering measures taken by the Russian authorities to prevent the interference of Zaporizhians in internal affairs, noted that from 1743 to 1755 a network of fortresses and new colonist settlements were created, in particular New Serbia⁶.

Antonovych’s research has analyzed in detail the issue of contacts between local population and rebels. According to the historian, in addition to participating in campaigns, local residents provided significant assistance because of their commitment to the rebels, which resulted the strengthening of the haidamaka movement. On the basis of acts the scientist proved the involvement of clergy in the organization of rebels⁷.

He also paid considerable attention to the study of peculiarities that were inherent and contributed to the success of haidamaka movement. In his opinion, one of the positive conditions was the rebel’s awareness of the place of action⁸. V. Antonovych considered a question on the measures taken by the nobility of Kyiv and Bratslav voivodships against insurgents. Based on records in account books, the historian identified the facts proclaimed during 1735-1750 on sejmiks. As a proof, the historian brought one of the records, which indicates the sending of a delegation to representatives of the central government

¹ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 377.

² Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 379.

³ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 380.

⁴ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 381-387.

⁵ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 388.

⁶ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 390.

⁷ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 395.

⁸ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 401.

with the requirements to provide military assistance to protect the borders of Ukrainian voivodeships, to take appropriate judicial measures and to organize the defense of the country at its own expense, etc.¹ It should be noted that V. Antonovych separately considered and analyzed each measure of the Polish nobility. Thus, in particular, as the author emphasized, according to the decrees of the Bratslav sejmik of Sept. 16 and 17, 1750, it was supposed to organize a militia and create a voivodship “landmilitia”².

Regarding special administrative measures in the fight against haidamaka movement, the researcher gave examples of such actions. Thus, in 1736 the sejmik of the Bratslav voivodship adopted a resolution to destroy the cells of haidamaka assemblies, which, it should be emphasized, had no significant effect on the development of the national movement. Another preventive measure of power was the publication of military universals calling on the landlords to carefully monitor their own peasants. Judicial activity was also strengthened by the creation of new temporary institutions. And as one of the last possibilities to calm the rebels was an appeal to Russia for help³.

The scientist also analyzed consequences of Russia’s help to Poland, because of which the nobles became more demanding and “accustomed to the idea that they should take care of security not themselves and not the Commonwealth, but that this care should exclusively be the responsibility of the Russian authorities”⁴.

V. Antonovych was the first who considered in detail two largest haidamaka uprisings of 1734 and 1750. According to the researcher, a pretext for the first uprising was strife in the power struggle between supporters of Augustus III and Stanislaw Leshchinskyi in 1733. Thus, the nobles who supported the latter tried to use peasants in the fight against the opponents. This group included large landowners of the right-bank. According to Antonovych, Russia’s intervention in the favor of August III led to false rumors among local population about possible restoration of the Cossack system and joining the Hetmanate. This was the impetus for the new uprising in 1734⁵.

Quite interesting is information given on the geography of haidamaka campaigns and their leaders. In particular, Antonovych identified places of action of Martyn Teslia, Oleksii Pysmennyi, Ivan Podoliaka squads. The historian is referring to the appeal of Kyiv nobles to the Crown Hetman for help, which testifies their impotence and fear of the people’s avengers. Antonovych, analyzing the events of the mass uprising in 1750, considered measures that helped nobility to avoid catastrophic consequences.

He found the basis of haidamaka movement, which, in his opinion, lied, on the one hand, on exclusiveness of national and religious beliefs of classes prevailing in Poland, on the other, “in the anarchy of the Commonwealth’s system”⁶.

In a result, V. Antonovych points out on the consequence of haidamaka movement, which in 1768 became Koliyivshchyna.

Definite value for the history of the liberation movement in the right-bank Ukraine has the work of M. Vasylenko “Haidamaka movement”, written in 1912. The scientist identified the definition of haidamakas as a national movement, emphasizing the transformation of certain acts of violence against nobility into true people uprisings⁷. M. Vasylenko, so as V. Antonovych, aimed to establish the origin of the term and determine the limits of its distribution. But Vasylenko also pointed out the possible Turkish and even Arabic roots of the word “*haidamaka*”. The author emphasized, that there was no connection between Cossack and haidamaka movements. He determined the territorial origin of the movement. In his opinion, emergence of a massive popular upheaval on the right-bank was caused by life conditions of the Ukrainian population under the Polish domination, when peasants were perceived “only as serfs”.

M. Vasylenko considered preconditions for emergence of haidamaka movement. In his opinion, this movement was associated with a desire of Polish nobility to attract new migrants with temporary privileges after the final return of the Right Bank under the power of Poland in 1714. At that time, the Cossacks in this territory have already “disappeared forever”⁸.

¹ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 410.

² Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 415-416.

³ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 430-432.

⁴ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 435.

⁵ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 441-442.

⁶ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 455-456.

⁷ Василенко, М.П. (2006). *Вибрані твори у трьох томах. Т. 1*. Київ: «Юридична думка», 457.

⁸ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 457.

As a result, later the nobility showed autocracy, striving for complete enslavement of population¹.

Vasylenko identified Volyn and Podillia as the areas of primary outbursts of popular discontent in the early eighteenth century. As for the final date of formation of haidamaka movement as a national movement, he thought it was the second quarter of the eighteenth century. It was emphasized that reasons of the peasants' attacks were tribal, religious and economic by nature. The scholar separately considered class attachment of rebels, noting that because of the temptation of enrichment due to robbery, in addition to simple people, they were joined by landowners, nobles, townsmen and even small gentry.

Referring to Antonovych, Vasylenko revealed the role of Zaporizhzhia in the haidamaka movement, through which the latter acquired features of "a permanent, organized war with Polish nobility"².

Vasylenko proved that even the clergy of the right-bank Ukraine saw in haidamaka movement "a force for the protection of Orthodoxy"³, as in the Cossacks before this. He came to the conclusion that haidamaka movement was a form of struggle against Catholicism and unionism.

The researcher, pointing out the sporadic nature of small events, analyzed the three most massive revolts in 1734, 1750 and 1768 that were suppressed with the help of Russia.

Unlike Antonovych, Vasylenko paid more attention to the consequences of haidamaka movement, in particular, pointed to the Koliyivshchyna. He identified the main reason of events in 1768, which, in his opinion, was strengthening of social and religious oppression. M. Vasylenko outlined the territorial boundaries of the uprising and pointed out its main leaders – Zalizniak, Nezhivyi, Shvachka and Bondarenko.

M. Vasylenko questioned the studies of other historians, in particular of Y. Shulgin, and emphasized that each of the rebel squads acted on its own plan⁴.

The scientist showed the support of haidamaka movement by Cossacks on the example of Ivan Gonta's and Zalizniak's squads.

1768 was defined by M. Vasylenko as the date of disappearance of haidamaka movement. Referring to Antonovych, he found a connection between the disappearance of haidamakas and the changes in living conditions in the right-bank Ukraine⁵.

It should be noted that in both works, we may trace similarity of views of the historians on the causes, origins and consequences of the people's liberation movement, which was haidamaka movement in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

According to the scholars, the inconsistency in actions of the leaders, their desire to act independently or the lack of understanding of the need to join forces in their joint struggle for the liberation of enslaved population in the right-bank, led to negative results.

Scientists have discovered the nature of reasons that made peasants to defend themselves. Both historians came to the conclusion that it were national (tribal according to Vasylenko), religious and economic grounds that had outbreaks of popular dissatisfaction. It is important to note Vasylenko's conclusion that the haidamaka movement was a form of struggle against Catholicism and unionism.

We should pay attention to the authors' attempts to discover the origin of the term "haidamaka". Vasylenko deeply studied the roots of the word, while Antonovych referred to the first documentary evidence regarding its use.

Historians have discovered that there is no direct connection between the Cossacks and haidamakas, since at the time of the very first disobedience by the peasantry the Cossacks as an organization ceased to exist. But both historians unquestioningly recognized the influence of the Cossacks on the further development of the people's movement.

Recognition of haidamakas as followers of the Cossacks in one of the main directions – in their struggle for Orthodoxy is very important.

As for the consequences of haidamaka movement, Vasylenko provided a broader description of Koliyivshchyna of 1768, defining it as the last flash of haidamakas, which ceased to exist that year. Antonovych, in his turn, called Koliyivshchyna only the result of haidamaka movement.

¹ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 459.

² Василенко, М.П. (2006). *Вибрані твори у трьох томах. Т. 1*. Київ: «Юридична думка», 458.

³ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 458.

⁴ Антонович, В.Б. (1995). *Моя сповідь: Вибрані історичні та публіцистичні твори*. Київ: «Либідь», 459.

⁵ Василенко, М.П. (2006). *Вибрані твори у трьох томах. Т. 1*. Київ: «Юридична думка», 459-360.

Thus, the research of university historians V. Antonovych and M. Vasylenko are of great importance for the knowledge of the history of the corresponding liberal movements, one of which was haidamaka movement. Their scientific investigations on socio-economic conditions of that time, origin, reasons, forces, and consequences of the movement and its connection to such outstanding phenomenon as the Cossacks contributed to the development of the historical school of the university and national science in general.

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