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Анотація. *Ковбасюк С.А. Реформація и популярная культура: реформа популярной проповеди и народных празднеств в Нидерландах XVI в.* В статье проанализированы причины, пути и методы реформы двух составляющих популярной культуры Нидерландов XVI в.: популярной проповеди и народных празднеств. Была совершена попытка проследить ход реформы от первых «проектов» гуманистов до практик реформаторов и, впоследствии, законодательного оформления реформы.

Ключевые слова: Реформація, популярная культура, Гуманизм, популярная проповедь, народные праздники.

Summary. *Kovbasiuk S. The Reform and the Popular Culture: the reform of the popular preaching and popular festivities in the 16th century Netherlands.* Transformation of social, political and religious environment taking place in 16th century in the Netherlands facilitated profound changes in the cultural paradigm established in the Dutch society. These changes were epitomized by the initiatives undertaken by the intellectual strata of the Dutch society, who aspired to «refine» the popular culture by the means of transformation or elimination of some of its components. In historiography this so called «refinement» is commonly referred to as «the Reform of Popular Culture». It originated in the works of humanists and was appended and extended in the practices and narratives created by the reformers and apologists of the Counter-Reformation. This article focuses two aspects of the Reform of Popular Culture: reforms in popular sermons and festivities. Humanists, reformers and adherents of the Counter-Reformation argued that popular preaching should be refined from exempla, tales of miracles, exuberant grimaces and body language designed mainly to provoke tears and laughter rather than to preach virtues of the Gospel in humility. In the same manner, intellectuals, reformers and even public leaders aspired to proscribe and root out excesses of public festivities and related traditions decried both by the Catholics and reformers as «pagan». However, the outcome of these endeavours had become noticeable in the Netherlands and the other European countries only in the age of Enlightenment and «Repression of the Popular Culture».

Key words: the Reform, popular culture, Humanism, popular preaching, popular festivities.

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MYKOLA KYSIL: PERSONALITY ASPECT OF THE HISTORICAL PORTRAIT OF THE HEAD OF CHERKASY COUNTY

Анотація. *Котиченко А.А. Микола Кисіль: історичний портрет черкаського старости.* Стаття присвячена біографічній довідці та частково діяльності колоритної постаті Черкаського старости та брата відомого Брацлавського воєводи Адама Киселя – Миколи, який обіймав посаду упродовж 1649–1651 рр. Біографічні відомості про шляхтича доповнені уривчастю інформацією про його посадові повноваження та діяльність. Крім того акцентовано на особистих якостях «сарматського характеру» вдачі Миколи Григоровича.

Ключові слова: староста, шляхта, Микола Кисіль, Річ Посполита, Черкаське староство.

The problem of the paper. In order to develop understanding of the diversity of human life and historical science, social historians and scientists require research on a wide range of outstanding personalities, their lives and relations. One of such aspects is a regional or local history. Regional history is a method where scientists learn about the history or some aspects of various countries or territories during the same time span and then compare the common aspects.

The topicality of the research. The lack of wise and talented statesmen always was important for modern Ukrainian state, but especially actual is for nowadays. One of such outstanding but unknown in modern Ukraine personalities is the personality of Mykola Kysil who was the head of Cherkasy county and the brother of famous Adam Kysil. The actuality of the article is also stipulated by the lack of Ukrainian regional (local) research on the Mykola Kysil. His influential posts and reputation made a unique individual who most poignantly faced the dilemma posed by relations between Poland and Ukraine.

The **purpose** of the article is to make an attempt to represent and illustrate the personality of Mykola Kysil and to reconstruct his political and diplomatic career. The original impulse of the work is

stipulated by Vyacheslav Lypynskyy who insisted on the important role of the political culture of Ruthenian nobility.

Historiography of the paper is represented by the fragmentary extracts from works of such scientists as Orest Nowytskyi, Frank Sysyn and Natalia Yakovenko [1–3]. The historians paid their attention to the Adam Kysil who was more famous than Mykola and left more evidence about his life. But we will use this works as highlighter of that epoch. Mentioned authors focused on the Kysil's biography across his public career and diplomatic activity. Evidence on Kysil's family sometimes is untruthful. For example, Soviet historiography described him as a Ukrainian magnate, symphaizer with Poland. The mentioned conception was also based on the thesis that Ukrainian and Polish scientists falsify historical facts, because they characterized Mykola Kysil as a defender of Orthodox and remained silent on his treasonous activity.

Restatement. In the seventeenth century Mykola Kysil was the only representative of the Orthodox gentry and became a senator in the Rzecz Pospolita. Religion was a significant value of that time. For Mykola it was also a personal problem of choice between Orthodox faith and Catholicism. The great mission of the Volhynian magnate was also to resolve the painful problem of religious disputes between Orthodox and Greek Catholic believers. Later, during the Cossack and peasant uprisings, he shouldered the heavier burden, negotiating between the Polish King Jan Kazimierz and Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The destinies of Ukraine and Poland, and the course of history in general, depended on the judicious steps taken by Adam Kysil and his assistant – Mykola. Soon the diplomatic mission of these Ukrainian noble titans trod a fine line between two warring sides [4].

Mykola Kysil was born in a family of Volhynian noblemen, who owned the village of Nyzkynychi. He was an educated man of his epoch, because he studied in the one of the most prestigious educational institutions – Zamostia Academy. The institution of higher education founded in 1595 by Jan Zamoyski, chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland that was located in Zamostia. The academy was operated by Jesuits, but initially it had a secular program of studies. Talented scholars were recruited to the school, and for many years it was the best educational institution of its kind in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Seven chairs of study were established there: civil law, Polish law, moral philosophy, physics and medicine, logic and metaphysics, mathematics, and rhetoric. Additional courses included readings from the authors of antiquity, beginner's rhetoric, syntax, grammar, and orthography. The study of Latin, Greek, and Polish was compulsory. In addition to Poles, Lithuanians, Prussians, Livonians, many Ukrainians, especially noblemen (both Catholic and Orthodox) studied at the academy and later became prominent church or cultural leaders. The famous Ukrainian graduates of the academy were Sylvestr Kosiv, Isaia Kozlovsky-Trofymovych and Kasiian Sakovych.

The academy gave Mykola prestigious education. His command of several foreign languages, good knowledge of history, and oratorical skills later helped him in his career.

Diplomatic skills and desire to serve and protect Motherland were realized in the following Mykola's steps. After completing his schooling Mykola and his brother Adam entered the military service, which lasted one decade.

As a brave officer, he fought in many battles and proved himself in the Battle of Khotyn. But the tragic death of his father changed the life of the young officer, and he returned home to his native Nyzkynychi.

Two brothers, highly educated noblemen, Adam and Mykola Kysil were representatives of the population of Volyn in the Legislative Sejms in Lutsk and Zhytomyr. In 1630 the gentry of the Volhynian province entrusted them with the protection of their interests in the General Polish Sejm.

From that moments two noble brothers became the defenders and diplomats of the Orthodoxy and Ukrainian population. They authored projects which presented to the Polish King Wladyslaw IV together with the Orthodox envoys Lavrentiy Drevynsky and Mykhailo Kropyvnytsky. They also were the representatives of the Ukrainian Uniate Church. These preferences gave the noble family of Kysil's an opportunity to represent Ukrainian nobility and to protect their interests.

Unfortunately we cannot definite some scientists who completely researched the personality of Mykola. But some fragmentary documents marked that the king Jan Kazymyr gave him a special deed or permission for Adam to present, «to give» Cherkasy county to his brother Mykola.

On the 4th of September 1649 Mykola Kysil the official head of Cherkassy county. In the special letter special qualities of Mykola were admitted. It was repeatedly noted that Mykola was «the knight of merit», «courageous», «brave and noble knight who spent his youth serving the Motherland».

It was noted that before that time the owner of Cherkasy county was Adam Kysil wrote a special letter to Johann Casimir on 19th of January 1649, where he described his brother not only as the

descendant of a famous family, but like «the man of brave deeds, virtues and merits» [1, 320–321]. This Adam's act was brightly commented by Shimon Staropolski: «Nobility of spirit outshines the nobility of origin, because the nobility should be assessed not on the basis of the glory of the ancestors, but on the basis of their own thoughts and actions» [5, 125].

Mykola Kysil supported his famous brother, helped him to negotiate with Cossacks and king. For example, in 1626 brothers Mykola and Adam took part in the battle with the Swedes, where Mykola got a severe wound in the head. Mykola also participated in suppressing of the Pavlyuk's uprising. Diplomatic functions as an ambassador Mykola played in 1638. He was also a representative on the 10th February of 1649 with brother at the presentation of the Royal trappings of power, and on February 12th, acted as a messenger, a representative of Adam in negotiations with Zachary Czetwertynski [6, 214–216]. The diplomatic mission was appreciated at its true value by Semeriy Miaskowski who knew Mykola and noted few facts about him to his diary [7, 152]. The diplomatic activity gave him the opportunity to be elected leader at the diet of Chernihiv province 1650, [1, 57].

Mykola's professional competence is beyond any doubt. Firstly because of the education that he and his brother got in Academy, which was noted by the democratic composition of students and preparation to public service. Secondly, acquaintance with Tomas Zamoyski gave him a great professional perspective to create diplomatic career [8, 299]. Adam studied at the Academy almost in the same years as the son of its owner – Tomas Zamoyski. Natalia Yakovenko admits that Adam had graduated from the Academy the before 1617, while Tomas before 1614. Probably friendship and patronage of the father Jan Zamoyski had an impact on the political career of the both brother [3].

As a special assistant Mykola Kysil helped his brother performing on 10th of March. That time he arrived at Warsaw together with Jan Smiarowski to negotiate with Cossacks. Actually, his mission during his whole life was his talent of the diplomatic finding compromises and common interests. The king and the Chancellor granted the Hetman's request that «the Commonwealth did not die through an internal war» and Mykola Kysil was sent to notify the Cossack Hetman's commitment to the Polish government [6, 220].

Further Mykola's diplomatic steps were associated with the mission of Kysil and Zaczvilhovsky and official journey to Chyhyryn. The king entrusted Mykola to negotiate with Cossaks. Mykola Kysil also has special mission to ascertain the intentions of Bohdan Khmelnytsky on war with the Commonwealth [6, 236, 284, 286].

The fatal mistake of great the diplomat was his own death. When Mykola with his assistants returned home after the negotiations they ferried across the river and fell into the snare [6, 308]. In a few days the dead body of Mykola rose to the surface of the water, but nobody could not to pick up him. Flocks of hungry dogs or wolfs roaming in search of food ate the body of Mykola. According to another version Mykola was killed during the siege of Vinnytsia [9].

Emelian Dwernicki noted that Adam Kysil made a testament. According to Adam's will both brothers Adam and Mykola had to be buried in the same coffin. The special phrase was written on the plate «here two brother – one Adam from Brusyliv, the head of Kyiv county, the second – Mykola from Brusyliv, the head of Cherkasy county [10].

The death of Mykola was a great loss for Adam. After hearing about the tragic death of his brother, Adam Kysil wrote a letter to B. Khmelnytsky, but the Ukrainian Hetman did not answer, only passed a few words: «the governor gave me the commission and the truce but sent his brother with Kalinowsky and Lanckoronsky to fight with me. That is why we killed your brother...» [3]

The tragic loss and death of the brother Adam Kysil shared with Maximilian Brzozowski, his close friend. In a letter to Maxmilian Adam wrote «My only dear brother. Rather than I should lay in tomb because he was a blooming rose in my house, and I am already a thorn, he has laid down his life like his grandfather, the father of his great-grandfather, his two uncles, two cousins... But impious and jealous people in the Fatherland, who slandered, faith and glory of my house, are no less the cause that, of his own accord, my dearest brother was shamed at that place by their aspersions and sought death and sealed his fate with profusely flowing blood... He died, like a noble knight [2, 191].

We must note that Cossacks had respect for Mykola and often described him as their defender. Despite the multiple-valued opinions, we did not find evidence of ignorance of Mykola Kysil. Many people often offered to him as «glorious man, righteous, respectful» [4, 352, 354]. Obviously it was rather difficult to gain credibility and respect of the Royal government and the Hetman. However it allows calling two brothers the masters of compromises.

Unfortunately, we have to admit the lack of biographical information about Mykola's policy in Cherkasy county and his relations with local society. But the problem of plenary powers of Mykola Kysil as a head of Cherkasy county is rather important. The same mystery is the private space of life nobleman. Ukrainian historian Irina Voronchuk investigates the problem of statistic data of Volhynian noble families suggests that Mykola Kysil was married with some Helena Salenga.

It is also known that the couple had two children [11, 506]. Their uncle, Adam mentioned that Helena Kysil who was the daughter of the famous Mykola. She was also the wife of nobleman Stempkovsky who was the head of Volodymyr. There is no information about Mykola's son [3].

Conclusion. We tried to make an attempt to reconstruct the historical portrait of Mykola Kysil who was the head of Cherkasy county. The doctrine of Sarmatism that was popular idea of early modern epoch created the ideal citizen, who formed a noble ideology and strict moral with ethical code of honor. Whole these components formed the Sarmatian portrait, where the main character was entered nobleman, defender «noble son of the Motherland», a political figure, orator, who courageously defended the rights of the gentry and nation of the Commonwealth with the complete responsibility.

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Аннотація. *Котиченко А.А. Николай Кисель исторический портрет Черкасского старосты.* В статье совершена попытка обратиться к историческому портрету старосты Черкасского Николая Киселя. Биографические данные дополнены информацией о профессиональной деятельности Николая Григорьевича. Акцентированы также личностные качества характера старосты Черкасского, что главным образом обеспечивали ведение успешной дипломатической политики.

Ключевые слова: *шляхта, Речь Посполитая, Николай Кисель, Черкасское староство.*

Summary. *Kotichenko A. Mykola Kysil: personality aspect of the historical portrait of the head of Cherkasy county.* The article is devoted to Mykola Kysil who was the outstanding person of his epoch. The author paid her attention to the common character of Mykola, his personal and professional qualities and views. The author makes an attempt to systemize the achievements of the foreign and national historiography on the given problem. At the same time the author admits that not whole the aspects of the problem had got proper attention in historical writing. It pointed out that professional skills and successful diplomatic activity helped Mykola to build his career and to serve Motherland. The famous diplomat was often called as a master of compromises and negotiations. The author underlines the perspective directions of the further studying problem. Unfortunately the figure of Mykola Kysil, the head of Cherkasy county was forgotten. Nowadays his policy and activity can be a marker of the activity of the statesman. The personality of famous nobleman is a perspective direction of further studying the problem of local nobility.

Key words: *schlachta, Mykola Kysil, Cherkasy county, Adam Kysil.*