РЕҐІОНАЛЬНІ ЕКОНОМІЧНІ ЕЛІТИ: ГНУЧКІСТЬ ТА ПОШУК ПРИВІЛЕЇВ

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Loyalty in Exchange for Wealth: Slobidska Ukraine Peripheral Nobility in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century

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This paper examines the economic background of the integration of Slobidska Ukraine Cossack officers into the Russian imperial nobility in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. From the very beginning, they enjoyed self-government and equal economic liberties within the so-called "Cherkassky custom." The settlers acquired plots in accordance with the right to occupy land freely, while tax-exempt alcohol production and trade proved to be a most lucrative enterprise. In the mid-1760s, the imperial government destroyed the Cossack autonomy of Slobidska Ukraine and set in motion a profound social transformation. In contrast to the former rank-and-file Cossacks who sunk to the status of peasants under poll taxation, the officers preserved their economic privileges and obtained their lands legally. The local landowning elite was finally ennobled (1786-1796) and thus remained loyal to the state.

Key words*: Slobidska Ukraine, the Russian empire, the Cossack officers, the "Cherkassky custom", incorporation.*

Introduction

The mid-seventeenth-century Ukrainian war of liberation against the authorities of the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth redesigned the political map of Central and Eastern Europe. Resulting from the war, an early-modern Ukrainian state, also known as the Cossack Host or Hetmanate, emerged on the Dnieper banks.[1]

[1] Here, I follow the conception of early-modern Ukrainian state (*Rann'omodernoii Ukraiins'koii Derzhavy*) elaborated by Viktor Brekhunenko in his recent monograph *Skhidna Brama Yevropy: Kozac'ka Ukraiina v XVII–XVIII Stolittiakh* (Kyiv: Tempora, 2014).

These profound social transformations gave rise to a new elite of Ukrainian Cossack officers (*starshyna*). They originated primarily from the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility of previous epochs, and the officers constituted *a new gentry* (per Zenon E. Kohut), with a distinct noble outlook.[2]

In its first decades, the Hetmanate suffered from inner instability and continuous foreign invasions. Because of the harsh circumstances, Ukrainians migrated eastwards and settled on the southwestern frontier of the Tsardom of Moscow. Here, they united into the Slobidska Ukraine Cossack regiments under the control of Moscow. There were five units named after the central towns – Ostrohozk, Kharkiv, Okhtyrka, Sumy, and Izium. The Slobidska Ukraine Cossack *starshyna*, who commanded the regiments, were closely related to the officers in the Hetmanate and shared the same values.[3]

However, the existence of local autonomies like the Cossack Host or the Slobidska Ukraine Cossack regiments contradicted the centralizing policy introduced by Empress Catherine II. Consequently, the regiments were abolished in 1764–65 and the Hetmanate was soon destroyed. The question arises: Through what means did the Russian government try to secure the loyalty of the Ukrainian elite?

My answer is: wealth. In the late eighteenth century, political power was taken away from the *starshyna*, and instead their economic position was strengthened considerably. Moreover, the Ukrainian peripheral landowning elite was incorporated into the imperial upper estate, which ensured them a privileged status with exclusive rights.

The Cherkassky Custom

From the very beginning, the nature of the Ukrainian Cossackdom was egalitarian in its essence. In the Hetmanate, rank-and-file Cossacks were considered equal to the *starshyna*, although the latter dominated the political sphere. The Code Laws of 1743 (*Prava, po kotorym suditsia malorossiiskii narod* 'Laws by which the Little Russian people are judged') provided both groups with the same noble personal and corporative rights, such as the possession and free disposition of lands, possession of mills and farms, as well as protection from

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2 George Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Mass, 1978); Zenon E. Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Zenon E. Kohut, *Korinnia Identychnosti. Studii z Rann'omodernoii i Modernoii Istorii Ukraiiny* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2004); Volodymyr Kryvosheia, *Kozac'ka Elita Het'manshchyny* (Kyiv: IPND im. I. F. Kurasa, 2004); Oleh Odnorozhenko, *Ukraiins'ka Rus'ka Elita Seredn'ovichcha i Rann'oho Modernu: Struktura ta Vlada* (Kyiv: Tempora, 2011).

3 Viktor Yurkevych, *Emigraciia na Shid i Zaliudnennia Slobozhanshchy v chasy Bohdana Khmelnytskoho* (Kyiv: Drukarnia UAN, 1932); Dmytro Bahalii, *Istoria Slobids'koii Ukraiiny* (Kharkiv: KhHI "NUA", 1996); Volodymyr Masliychuk, *Provinciia na Perekhresti Kul'tur. Doslidzhenn'a z Istorii Slobids'koii Ukraiiny XVII–XIX st.* (Kharkiv: Kharkivskii Pryvatnyi Muzei Miskoi Sadyby, 2007).

being arrested without judgement, and differentiated them clearly from the peasantry.[4]

The local rights in Slobidska Ukraine derived from the tsarist charters (*zhalovalnye gramoty*) of 1659–1717. Empress Elizabeth issued the last charter on November 22, 1743.[5] The tsars bestowed the privileges to the Slobidska Ukraine Cossacks and officers under the condition of compulsory military service.[6] Thus, the charters served as a foundation for local autonomy, originally defined as the "Cherkassky Custom" (*Cherkasskaia obyknost*). The Cossack rule embodied the principal political preference, while the right to free land occupation and tax-exempt crafts represented the fundamental economic liberties within the Cherkassky custom.

The Cossack order required all commanders to be elected by the members of a regiment. Nonetheless, in Slobidska Ukraine the top-level regimental positions (colonel, regimental quartermaster, regimental senior and junior aides-de-camps, regimental judge, regimental captain, regimental senior and junior chancellor, and regimental standard-bearer) and the lower company posts (captain, company aide-de-camp, company chancellor, and company standard-bearer) began to be de facto inherited by a limited number of families. The prosperous *starshyna* dynasties held the posts from generation to generation. Combined with the practice of close intermarriage within the officers corps, this paved the way to enormous enrichment, as sources reveal, for the Kondratiev, Donets-Zakharzhevsky, Shydlovsky, Kvitka, Lesevytsky, Kovalevsky, and other local clans.[7]

Land was undoubtedly the most valuable resource.[8] The original right to free land occupation was called *zaimanshchyna*;[9] the Latin equivalent is *jus pri-*

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4 Kyrylo Vyslobokov, Yurii Shemchushenko, eds. *Prava, za Yakymy Sudyt'cia Malorossiiskyi Narod. 1743* (Kyiv: IDP im. V. M. Korec'koho, 1997).

5 Ibid., 529–533.

6 Российский государственный архив древних актов (РГАДА), ф. 16, оп. 1, д. 938, лл. 213–220. Full texts of some charters are available in: Vasilii Gurov, ed. *Sbornik Sudebnyh Reshenii, Sostiazatel'nykh Bumag, Gramot, Ukazov i Drugikh Documentov, Otnociashchihksia k Voprosu o Starozaimochnom Zemlevladenii v Mestnosti Byvshei Slobodskoi Ukrainy* (Khar'kov: Tipogr. Okruzh. Shtaba, 1884), 469–528.

7 Volodymyr Masliychuk, *Kozacka Starshyna Slobids'kykh Polkiv Druhoii Polovyny XVII–Pershoii Tretyny XVIII st.* (Kharkiv: Kharkivskyi Pryvatnyi Muzei Miskoi Sadyby, 2009); Oleksandr Alfyorov, *Starshynskyi Rid Alfyorovych: Henealohiia, Social'no-Politychne ta Maiinove Stanovyshche Slobids'koii Hilky Druhoii Polovyny XVII – Pochatku XX Stolittia* (Bila Tserkva: Vydavest' O. V. Pshonkivs'ky, 2009); Viktor Komarov, *Kondratevy. Rod Voinov i Blagotvoritelei* (Sumy: OOO "RIO AS-Media", 2005); Paramonov Andrii, *Istoriia Rodu Kvitok* (Kharkiv: Kharkivskyi Pryvatnyi Muzei Miskoi Sadyby, 2013).

8 In this respect, Ivo Banac and Paul A. Bushkovich emphasize that "the ultimate source of the wealth and power of the nobilities of Eastern Europe was ownership and control of land". See: Ivo Banac, Paul A. Bushkovitch, "The Nobility in the History of Russia and Eastern Europe," in *The Nobility in Russia and Eastern Europe*, eds. Ivo Banac, Paul A. Bushkovitch (New Heaven: Typography by Brevis Press, 1983), 2.

9 Yevhen Ovcharenko, "Zemel'na Vlasnist' u Slobids'kyi Ukraiini, Yii Pokhodzhennia i Formy," in *Zapysky Istoryko-Filolohichnoho Viddilu UAN. Praci Istorychnoii Sektsii* 11 (1927): 41–102. This research conducted by Yevhen Ovcharenko in the 1920s is still the most valuable contribution to the studies on the landownership in Slobidska Ukraine.

mi occupantis.[10] It implied the right to possess as much land as one could cultivate, without any documents, under the condition of being the first occupant in each particular case. This type of landownership, based on the customary law, became widespread both in the Hetmanate and in Slobidska Ukraine. The circumstances in Slobidska Ukraine favoured the development of the *zaimanshchyna* because spacious lands with no formal owners were easily available there. The Ukrainian settlers, individually or in groups, occupied plots and started to farm on them. Sometimes the Moscow government gave permission and indicated the size and location of the land allowed to take.[11] The most important thing is that the granted charters affirmed the Cossacks' right "to possess lands, apiaries, hayfields, and all the fields which you have taken as occupied […] according to your Cherkassky custom."[12] The Cossacks themselves referred to the *zaimanshchyna* as an indisputable authorization "to occupy plots, to have apiaries and various lands."[13]

In addition to the *zaimanshchyna*, there were two similar types of land possession on the southwestern edge of the Tsardom of Moscow, namely the *pomeste* fee and *priisk* 'found land'.[14] The so-called *pomeste* (pl. *pomesta*) referred to land possession related to obligatory state service. *Priisk* meant that an owner had found and occupied a plot himself, but later the plot would be documented as an official possession. In this respect, Volodymyr Masliychuk points out:

> Thereby, over the late 17th and early 18th centuries the Cossack *starshyna* in Slobidska Ukraine possessed individually occupied plots and shared lands with other settlers. Unlike the *pomeste*, *zaimanshchyna* was not regulated and thus was available for repossession, seizure, sale, and purchase.[15]

In Slobidska Ukraine the *old-occupied lands* (*starozaimochnye zemli*) were prevalent and formed a land fund for each regiment.[16] The allocation of these funds depended on the *starshyna* and facilitated abuse, as they frequently seized

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10 Ibid., 75.

11 Ovcharenko remarked that in Slobidska Ukraine "*primi occupatio* in its pure form" had sometimes transformed into occupation on a permission of the tsarist government: Ibid. The corresponding mentions in the primary sources: *Materialy dlia Istorii Kolonizacii i Byta Stepnoi Okrainy Moskovskoho Gosudarstva (Kharkovskoi i Otchasti Kurskoi i Voronezhskoi gubetnii)*, Dmitrii Bahalii, ed. (Kharkov: Tipografiia K. P. Schastni, 1886), vol. 1, 152; *Matelialy dlia Istorii g. Khar'kova v XVII veke*, Dmitrii Bahalii, ed. (Kharkov: Tipografiia K. N. Gagarina, 1905), 33.

12 Vasilii Gurov, ed. *Sbornik Sudebnyh Reshenij, Sostiazatel'nyh Bumag, Gramot, Ukazov i Drugih Documentov, Otnociashchihsia k Voprosu o Starozaimochnom Zemlevladenii v Mestnosri Byvshej Slobodskoj Ukrainy*, 480–481.

13 Ibid., 526.

14 Yevhen Ovcharenko, "Zemel'na Vlasnist' u Slobids'kyi Ukraiini, Yii Pokhodzhennia i Formy," 56.

15 Volodymyr Masliychuk, *Kozacka Starshyna Slobids'kykh Polkiv Druhoii Polovyny XVII – Pershoii Tretyny XVIII st.*, 131.

16 Yevhen Ovcharenko, "Zemel'na Vlasnist' u Slobids'kyi Ukraiini, Yii Pokhodzhennia i Formy,", 66–67.

Cossack lands by force or acquired them for a pittance. For instance, the Krasovsky *starshyna* family monopolized the purchase of plots in the Sumy area for fifty years (1728–78), as attested by one hundred and twenty bills of sale in their family archive.[17] Another example comes from the Okhtyrka regiment, which was commanded consecutively by the Lesevytsky *starshyna* family throughout the 1720s–1750s. As a result, in the late eighteenth century their estate covered the area of around 9,500 hectares,[18] with eleven villages and around 2,500 tenants (*poddanye*).[19]

It is worth noting that the most prudent officers made efforts to legalize their factual possessions from the start. They asked the tsars for personalized charters (*votchinnye gramoty*), and usually obtained them.[20] The Sumy colonel Herasym Kondratiev and his three sons received a charter from Tsar Fedor Alekseyevich in 1678 that approved "*pomesta*, patrimonies […] and all [the lands] which he, the colonel, with his children […] has occupied in the wild fields," with all the buildings and purchased plots.[21] Yevhen Ovcharenko noted that "apparently we are dealing here with a sort of distrust that the *starshyna* had regarding lengthy possession based only on the right to free land occupation."[22] In any case, personalized charters were rather exceptional.

In 1734, the imperial Russian authorities made an attempt to establish control over land sales in Slobidska Ukraine.[23] As a result, land tenure agencies (*kreposnyie kontory*) were set up at the regimental offices. In formal terms, all land purchases (previous and future) had to be certified there. However, agency archives testify that locals did not follow these strict requirements and registered their land transactions only from time to time.[24]

Both the *starshyna* and rank-and-file Cossacks obtained significant profit from tax-exempt trades, which included alcohol production (*vynokurinnia*) and retail

[17] For details see my article: Svitlana Potapenko, "Famil'nyi Archiv Krasovs'kykh: Sproba Rekonstruktsii (Za Materialamy Instytutu Rukopysu Natsional'noii Bilbioteky Ukraiiny im. V. I. Vernads'koho)," *Ukraiins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyii Shchorichnyk*, 18 (2014): 24–46.

[18] The sources measure land in the original units of *desiatyny* and *kvadratnye sazhni*. I translate these numbers into hectares at 1 *desiatyna* (2,400 sq. *sazhni*) equal to 1.0925 ha.

[19] Andrei Paramonov, Volodymyr Masliychuk, eds, *Perepis' Akhtyrskoho Slobodskogo Kazachèg Polka* (Khar'kov: Khar'kovskii Privatnyi Muzei Gorodskoi Usad'by, 2010), 65, 67, 69, 72, 75–84, 153, 289–294, 314–323, 412–417, 448, 450–462, 519–522, 641. *Poddannye* was a common name for the peasantry. They remained personally free and paid a rent to their landlords, the Cossack officers, until 1783. That year, Catherine II forbade *poddannye* to leave the places they were living on and to move to another master. However, the question needs a fresh view and deeper source examination.

[20] Filaret, "Uezdy Akhtyrskii i Bogodukhovski, Sumskii i Lebedinskii", in Filaret, *Istoriko-Statistivheskoe Opisanie Khar'kovskoi Gubernii* (Moskva, 1857), otd. III, 181–82, 322, 401.

[21] Ibid., 321–322.

[22] Yevhen Ovcharenko, "Zemel'na Vlasnist' u Slobids'kyi Ukraiini, Yii Pokhodzhennia i Formy," 88.

[23] *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Saint Petersburg, 1830), vol. 9, 386–387.

[24] Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ (ЦДІАК України), ф. 1725, оп. 1, спр. 833, 977, 1003–1009, 1017–1021.

sales (*shynkuvannia*),[25] milling, and saltpeter and potash production.[26] The very first references, dated to the mid-seventeenth century, describe water mills and distilleries built by the colonizers on newly occupied sites.[27] The tsars repeatedly confirmed the right "to engage in handicrafts in the towns, to possess mills, fisheries, and various lands, to operate *shynky* [taverns] exempt from tax, and to produce alcohol with tax exemption according to their Cherkasy custom […] and our previous granted charters."[28]

In the course of time, businesses expanded. The above-mentioned Lesevytskys had two distilleries and three water mills on their estate.[29] The census of the Kharkiv regiment (1732) lists local owners of mills and *shynky*. Colonel Hryhorii Kvitka and his relatives owned five water mills and five *shynky*, and other Kharkiv *starshyna* had a total of eleven mills and ten *shynky*. Additionally, two mills and one *shynok* were held by rank-and-file Cossacks, while five mills and five *shynky* belonged to the clergy.[30] Some mills in the Kharkiv region were still operating in the first decades of the ninetheenth century.[31]

The mills and *shynky* were operated by hired workers (a *melnyk* and a *shynkar*, respectively). Usually, they lived nearby and worked at the enterprise as a family. Some sources mention a female *shynkarka* or female workers at the taverns, usually single or widowed.[32] But some of the *starshyna* used subordinate rank-and-file

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[25] In early modern Ukraine, "wine" (*vyno*) was a common name for various kinds of alcoholic drinks produced domestically from fermented grain. Typically, *horilka* ("corn wine") had 25–30 per cent alcohol, while *med* (mead) and *pyvo* (beer) were weaker. These drinks contained many harmful impurities because of poor distillation. A *shynok* was a tavern where a barkeep (*shynkar*) sold *vyno* to visitors. See: Andrii Paramonov, Rostyslav Rybal'chenko, *Khutory, Mlyny, Vitriaky, Shynky Slobozhanshchyny* (Kharkiv: Kharkivskii Pryvatnyi Muzei Miskoi Sadyby, Kyiv: VD "Stylos", 2007), 69–102; Olena Pyvovarenko, *Rozvytok Vynokurinnia ta Shynkuvannia na Livoberezhnii Ukraiini u Druhii Polovyni XVII–XVIII st.: Avtoreferat Dysertatsii na Zdobuttia Naukovoho Stupenia Kandydata Istorychnykh Nauk za Special'nistiu 07.00.01 – Istoriia Ukraiiny* (Kyiv, 2007).

[26] On saltpeter production see: ЦДІАК України, ф. 1725, оп. 1, спр. 124, 26 арк.; 1009, арк. 1; 1021, арк. 13-14; 1037, арк. 1-2, 4, 6 зв.

[27] Anton Sliusarskii, *Socyal'no-Ekonomicheskoe Raznitie Slobozhanshchyny XVII–XVIII vv.* (Khar'kov: Khar'kovskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1964), 77–78.

[28] Ilia Kvitka, *Zapiski o Slobodskikh Polkah s Nachala ikh Poseleniia do 1766 g.* (Khar'kov: Tipograph. Okruzh. Shtaba, 1883), 10.

[29] ЦДІАК України, ф. 1801, оп. 1, спр. 2, арк. 29–29 зв.; Andrei Paramonov, Volodymyr Masliychuk, eds, *Perepis' Akhtyrskoho Slobodskogo Kazach'ego Polka*, 77, 80–81, 84, 153, 293.

[30] ЦДІАК України, ф. 1725, оп. 1, спр. 22, арк. 96 зв.–99, 102 зв., 103 зв., 110 зв.–111зв., 166 зв.–167, 181–181 зв., 243, 270 зв., 715 зв., 717, 718, 729, 819 зв., 1253 зв., 1357 зв. та інш.

[31] Pavel Sumarkov, *Dosugi Krymskogo Sud'i ili Vtoroe Puteshestvie v Tavridu Pavla Sumarkova* (Saint Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Tipografiia, 1803), chast' 1, 49.

[32] ЦДІАК України, ф. 1725, оп. 1, спр. 22, арк. 98 зв.; Andrei Paramonov, Volodymyr Masliychuk, eds, *Perepis' Akhtyrskoho Slobodskogo Kazach'ego Polka*, 65–66. An interesting fact: in Southern Spain in the eighteenth century, widows worked in taverns as well (the Spanish equivalent to a *shynkarka* is a *tabernero*). I took this information from the presentation by Raquel Tovar Pulido on "Family and Widows in Southern Spain in the Eighteenth Century" given at the Twelfth European Social Science History Conference (Belfast, April 5, 2018). Today, historiography has acknowledged widows to have been active participants in economic and social life in those times; see: Beatrice Moring and Richard Wall, *Widows in European Economy and Society, 1600-1920* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

Cossacks as unpaid workers at their estates, or simply seized their possessions by force. A Cossack's daughter, Fedora Lukianenko, suffered a typical incident in the Kharkiv regiment. In 1746 she accused the Shydlovsky family of seizing a plot that had been occupied by her grandfather "in the bygone years […] according to the ancient Cossack custom." In addition to the land, the Shydlovskys also took ownership of her distillery, mill, and garden.[33] In 1761, the Ostrohozk regimental quartermaster Ivan Holub seized a distillery and a house from the Ostrohozk Cossack Vasyl Kozachkov. The victim estimated his losses at 244 rubles, 50 kopeks.[34] In addition, a 1762 report from the same regiment notes cases when local *starshyna* allegedly purchased Cossack lands and possessions. According to the source, Holub purchased five mills, aide-de-camp Ivan Savelev bought two mills, company captains Ivan Lysanevych and Petro Holodolynsky bought two mills each, and company captains Andrian Podkolzyn, Khoma Ostafev, and Semen Tushkanovsky bought three mills each.[35]

Information about exact profits from the handicrafts comes mainly from the late eighteenth century. In 1767, a former fellow-of-the-banner of the Ostrohozk regiment, Yukhym Lokhvytsky, had to deliver to Moscow of "one thousand buckets at a price of ten kopeks per bucket."[36] The amount he expected to earn reached 1,000 rubles, an immense sum in that time. For instance, a big stone-built house in a regimental town could be purchased for 100 rubles, a charger for 18 rubles, and a sack of wheat flour for 40 kopeks.[37] There is one more piece of evidence from the 1780s: at their estate Dvorychnyi Kut, near Kharkiv, the Abaza family possessed a distillery, a water mill, and a *shynok* that yielded "more than two thousands rubles per year."[38] This sum exceeded even the imperial governor's annual salary of 1,800 rubles.[39]

Reforms, Loyalty, and Wealth

In the late 1750s, the Russian government blamed the *starshyna* for the continuous impoverishment of the Slobidska Ukraine Cossacks. Such abuse by the *starshyna* gave the imperial capital a formal reason to abolish the regiments.[40] The main consequence was implemented in 1765 when the Slobidska Ukraine Cossack regiments were reorganized into five hussar units and the Slobids-

[33] ЦДІАК України, ф. 1725, оп. 1, спр. 193, арк. 2.
[34] Ibid., ф. 1782, оп. 1, спр, 20, 5 арк.
[35] Ibid., ф. 1817, оп.1, спр. 18, арк. 53–55.
[36] Ibid., ф. 1807, оп. 1, спр. 368, арк. 1.
[37] Ibid., ф. 1801, оп. 1, спр. 82, арк. 5; ф. 1584, оп. 2, спр. 35, арк. 123; ф. 1710, оп. 2, спр. 1296, арк. 3.
[38] Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки України ім. В. І. Вернадського, ф. XII, спр. 702, арк. 180.
[39] *Stat Khar'kovskoi Gubernii, Sostoiashchei iz Piatnadtsati Uiezdov, a Imenno: Khar'kovskogo, Chuguevskogo, Volchanskogo, Zolochevskogo, Valkovskogo, Akhtyrskogo, Krasnokutskogo, Bogoduhovskogo, Sumskogo, Miropol'skogo, Belopol'skogo, Lebedinskogo, Nedrigailovskogo, Khotmyshskogo i Iziumskogo*.
[40] *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 16, 1003–1007.

ka Ukraine gubernia was established on the former regimental territory.[41] The newly appointed imperial governor of Slobidska Ukraine gubernia Yevdokim Shcherbinin (1728–83) implemented the reforms. In this posting, he strove to demonstrate full devotion to Empress Catherine II and her ideas of the "common good."[42]

Nonetheless, Shcherbinin had to deal with the former Cossack officers. They were free either to continue military service in the hussar regiments or completely resign. The younger generation mostly chose the former option, while the older *starshyna* inclined towards the latter. In fact, both were advantageous because they offered the rank of commissioned officer of the Imperial Russian Army. In accordance with the *Table of Ranks* (1722), such standing ensured a hereditary noble status. In 1766, Shcherbinin sent a proposal to the empress, asking her to approve the retirement of 41 officers with promotion; the response was affirmative.[43] Civil service in the local gubernia and provincial offices also provided the opportunity to join the ranks of the nobility. Some former *starshyna* quickly attained high civil positions.[44] On the contrary, the rank-and-file Cossacks were renamed "the common military men" (*voiskovye obyvateli*) and subjected to a poll taxation (*podushnyi oklad*).[45]

The legalization of the factual land possessions in the region disturbed the local elite and the imperial centre most of all. The "Instruction to the Slobidska Ukraine gubernia governor" (July 6, 1765) stated:

> As there are no limits for land possession in the Slobidska Ukraine regiments, limit it by law so that everyone knows their plot or the occupied land, returns excesses, and manages their possessions according to proper *kreposti* [documents on land possession] […] That is why […] a special department of estates [*votchynnykh del*] should be established there [to operate] until all the plots are considered according to the *kreposti*, are confirmed according to the laws in force, and are recorded in registers [*piscovye knigi*].[46]

The Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv preserves the documentary collection of the Slobidska Ukraine department of estates. The files of the collection reveal how legalizations took place. Applicants were required to fill in

41 Ibid., vol. 17, 74–75, 77, 133–36, 181–89, 194–95.

42 That time political agenda of Catherine II was inspired by the ideas of the Enlightened Absolutism. The conceptions of utility and common good played the central role. See: Isabel de Madariaga, "Catherine the Great," in *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Hamish M. Scott (Hong Kong: Macmillan Education LTD, 1990), 289–311; Simon Dixon, *Catherine the Great* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 113–41.

43 ЦДІАК України, ф. 1807, оп. 1, спр. 130, арк. 1–2.

44 See my broader study on the civil service of the former Officers, "Kanceliars'ki Ustanovy Slobids'koi Ukrainy Druhoi Polovyny 60-kh rr. XVIII st.: Osoblyvosti Funkcionuvannia ta Personal'nyi Sklad Sluzhbovciv," *Naukovi Zapysky* 18 (2009): 5–22.

45 *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 17, 181.

46 Ibid., 184.

a petition and hand it together with the copies of documents proving their land ownership (mainly bills of sale as well as granted charters and testaments) to the department. Then the department ordered a corresponding provincial office to find out whether applicants had an unquestionable right to possess the land and whether there were contenders. The provincial office redirected the orders to subordinate commissar's offices. In turn, the commissar's offices sent someone of the retired officers who lived nearby, or a special member of a board, to clarify all the circumstances *in situ*—by asking neighbours, relatives, and former owners of the purchased plots. If there were no contenders or current property disputes, the land was surveyed, including *old-occupied* plots, detailed descriptions were provided, and finally, two copies of the *allotment books* (*otkaznye knigi*) were created. For *old-occupied* possessions in particular, a condition of undisputed delineation with neighbours, known as *amicable separation* (*poliubovnyi razvod),* was required.[47]

The case of Kornylii Kobeliatsky in Okhtyrka district exemplifies the legalization. In May 1767, Kobeliatsky asked the department of estates to allot the "purchased and occupied" lands inherited from his father, captain Ivan. The captain had purchased the plots in 1699–1735 and was gifted another piece of land by Peter I, with a personalized charter. The investigation conducted by the Okhtyrka provincial office approved the lands being in fair and undisputable possession; thus, they were allotted to Kobeliatsky in 1772.[48]

Then, the *General Land Survey* (*Generalnoe mezhevanie*) of the 1770s–80s finally demarcated the lands of the nobility and non-nobility in the region.[49] In contrast to the previous unsuccessful attempts to administer land ownership in the empire, the large-scale land survey undertaken by Catherine II achieved its goal. The reason was that this time, the government refused to verify land property rights and simply took actual, undisputed possession as a legal basis for delineation. The condition of *amicable separation* became compulsory again.[50] The Manifesto of September 19, 1765, proclaimed the survey.[51] In 1769, a local land-survey agency was established in Slobidska Ukraine.[52]

The records of the survey are available in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow. Along with the extensive map collection, the assemblage of the

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47 With a few exceptions, 707 files of the collection deal with the Officers. See for instance: ЦДІАК України, ф. 785, оп. 1, спр. 2, 94 арк.; спр. 7, 29 арк.; спр. 77, 266 арк.; спр. 84, 7 арк.; спр. 158, 15 арк.; оп. 2, спр. 5, 15 арк.; спр. 13, 21 арк.; спр. 24, 6 арк.; спр. 37, 47 арк. та інш.

48 Ibid., оп. 1, спр. 106, 113 арк.

49 Meanwhile, the *General Land Survey* accomplished the important diplomatic task of declaring and proving Russian hegemony in Eastern Europe: Steven Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 35.

50 Leonid Milov, *Issledovanie ob "Ekonomicheskikh Primechaniiakh" k General'nomu Mezhevaniiu (k Istorii Russkoho Krest'ianstva i Sel'skoho Khoziaistva Vtoroi Poloviny XVIII v.).* (Moskva: MGU, 1965), 16–17.

51 *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 17, 329–339.

52 Aleksei Golubinskii, *Gramotnost' Krest'ianstva Yevropeiskoi Rosii po Materialam Polevykh Zapisok General'noho Mezhevaniia. Dissertatsyia na Soiskaniie Uch'onoi Stiepieni Kandidata Istoricheskikh Nauk po Spetsyal'nosti 07.00.02 – Otechestvennaia Istoriia* (Moskva, 2011), 58.

so-called "Economic Notes" (*Ekonomicheskie primechaniia*) is of special importance. Each book of the "Economic Notes" covers a single district, for instance, "Description of Ostrohozk Town and Its District with All Possessions Located There—Who Owns Them, How Many Men and Women Reside There, and What is the Measure of the Land, with Economic Notes."[53] This source reports on 116 individual private holdings, including "estate farms" (*khutory*), "settlements" (*slobody*), and "wasteland" (*pustosh*) owned by the *starshyna* families. The areas they possessed ranged from roughly 50 hectares to 1,500 hectares and more. The Teviashovs and the Kukolevskys were the richest in the district, possessing almost 12,000 and 13,000 hectares, respectively.[54] However, a certain amount of land remained in common ownership by several officers and even former Cossacks, which makes calculations in each particular case rather difficult.[55]

The key point about the Grand Land Survey is that it did not impose a separate delineation of the lands possessed by the *common military people*. Essentially, former rank-and-file Cossacks did not obtain their lands in private ownership. Instead, these lands were considered state property and for this reason were attached to a particular Cossack community as a whole.[56] After the liberal reforms of Alexander II, this resulted in hundreds of legal disputes over *old-occupied* (*starozaimochnye*) lands, when the Cossack descendants struggled to acquire private ownership over their lands.[57]

A similar situation arose in relation to the handicrafts. In 1764, the empress declared that "this Slobidska Ukraine gubernia is to remain with the previously confirmed and still valid privileges and [with the] granted charters, without the slightest violation."[58] In reality, the reforms favoured the *starshyna*'s entrepreneurship, which flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries on the grounds of tax exemption.[59] In contrast to the officers, the rank-and-file Cossacks had to paid an increased poll tax (95 kopeks a year) to be able to continue to produce alcohol.[60]

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53 РГАДА, ф. 1355, оп. 1, д. 316, 83 лл.

54 Ibid., лл. 11, 14–14 об., 29 об.

55 Ibid., д. 663, лл. 5–5 ob.; д. 1951, л. 2; д. 1935, л. 3. Apparently, these were the plots that the settlers occupied in-group.

56 Volodymyr Sklokin, *Viiskovi Obyvateli Slobids'koii Ukraiiny: Integraciia do Impers'koho Suspil'stva (1765–1798). Dysertatsiia na Zdobuttia Naukovoho Stupenia Kandydata Istorychnykh Nauk za Special'nistiu 07.00.01 – Istoriia Ukraiiny* (Kharkiv, 2009), 106–19.

57 Vasilii Gurov, ed. *Sbornik Sudebnyh Reshenij, Sostiazatel'nyh Bumag, Gramot, Ukazov i Drugih Documentov, Otnociashchihsia k Voprosu o Starozaimochnom Zemlevladenii v Mestnosri Byvshej Slobodskoj Ukrainy*.

58 *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 16, 1004.

59 ЦДІАК України, ф. 1709, оп. 2, спр. 169, 121 арк.; спр. 567, 16 арк.; спр. 1309, 4 арк.; спр. 1520, 18 арк.; ф. 1710, оп. 2, спр. 1346, 21 арк.; спр. 2293, 20 арк та інш.

60 *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 17, 181; Volodymyr Sklokin, *Viiskovi Obyvateli Slobids'koii Ukraiiny: Integraciia do Impers'koho Suspil'stva (1765–1798). Dysertatsiia na Zdobuttia Naukovoho Stupenia Kandydata Istorychnykh Nauk za Special'nistiu 07.00.01 – Istoriia Ukraiiny*, 87.

An autobiography titled "Description of the Life, Deeds, Misfortunes, and Various Adventures that is a *Godsporik* or Pilgrimage in This Life" (*Opisanie zhyzni, del, bedstvii i raznykh prikliuchenii, to iest' Godsporik ili stranstvie v zhyzni sei*) by Ivan and Petro Ostrozko-Lokhvytsky illustrates the situation. The Ostrozko-Lokhvytskys were a *starshyna* family from the Ostrohozk regiment. They were not very wealthy, although Ivan's father served as a captain in the town of Slonivka. As a youth, Ivan (1750–1825) had to "perform menial work such as delivering hay, straw, and firewood, or flour from the mill."[61] Poverty forced him to interrupt his studies at Kharkiv College, where he spent the years 1759–63 and was a capable student. After his father's death in 1771, the family suffered from "extreme privations and small debts." Relatives gave some support, and Ivan married a girl from a neighbouring village. The marriage appeared to be happy and rewarding, as the couple lived together "forty years, two months, and ten days without jealousies, squabbles, or disagreements—in love, peace, and quiet," and had ten children, one of whom was Petro (1787–1846?), the co-author and continuator of the family's autobiography.[62]

With the assistance of his father-in-law, Ivan became engaged in alcohol production and trade. He built two distilleries on his own and rented three others from former Cossacks. In 1786, he entered into a four-year contract to deliver 550 buckets of "wine" at a price of 60 kopeks per bucket to the town of Novyi Oskol.[63] Due to the poor harvest the following year, the cost of a bucket of "wine" increased sharply to 2 rubles and 40 kopeks, something which had "never happened at this place."[64] Later, the crops became even more expensive, which caused Ivan a considerable loss in his business.[65] Yet in 1788 the difficulties passed, and he was able to price a bucket at 1 ruble and 60–80 kopeks, which ensured a daily income of 2 rubles.[66] Ostrozko-Lokhvytsky was so satisfied that he bought a fur coat for 40 rubles and an English watch for 50 rubles.[67] Later on, he built a new, spacious house with a separate kitchen, a bathhouse, and a stable in the yard, and rebuilt one of his *shynky*.[68]

However, in accordance with the Manifesto by Alexander I, which was promulgated on September 29, 1810, a tax of 60 kopeks per bucket was introduced on alcohol production in the region.[69] Seven years later the "Decree on Imposing an

[61] F'odor Nikolaichyk, "Zapiski Novooskol'skoho Dvorianina I. O. Ostrozhsko-Lokhvitskoho (s Dobavlieniem Zametok Syna Yeho Petra Ivanovicha)," *Kievskaia Starina*, 2 (1886), 361.

[62] Ibid., 11, 496.

[63] F'odor Nikolaichyk, "Zapiski Novooskol'skoho Dvorianina I. O. Ostrozhsko-Lokhvitskoho (s Dobavlieniem Zametok Syna Yeho Petra Ivanovicha)," 2, 366; 3, 729, 731, 734, 748.

[64] Ibid., 3, 744.

[65] Ibid., 748–749.

[66] Ibid., 753.

[67] Ibid., 757–758. In 1790–91, in Saint-Petersburg a smoking pipe inlaid with silver cost 19 rubles, a printed Bible 9 rubles and two icons in silver settings 35 rubles (Ibid., 5, 140–41; 10, 331). In 1808, a Gospel decorated with copper, silver, gold and gems cost 50 rubles (Ibid., 11, 480).

[68] Ibid., 10, 336, 354; 11, 472, 478.

[69] *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 31, 365.

Alcohol Excise in the 29 All-Russian Gubernias" allowed alcohol production, but a given amount of the produced "wine" (at least 2,000 buckets) had to be provided to the state.[70] Then, as of 1819, state-run *pothouses* were introduced in Slobidska Ukraine. These innovations disappointed Ivan Ostrozko-Lokhvytsky because they cut a significant portion of his income.[71]

His son Petro ran the estate from the 1820s to the 1840s. His entries in the chronicle are more general and concise. In 1839 he sadly noted that at midnight, October 28, the bathhouse in his yard burned down, and his house and the newly-built mill also caught on fire. All his goods and chattels – horses, livestock, clothes, furniture, dinnerware, carriages, silver, icons, pictures, and mirrors – were destroyed in the fire, and he suffered a damage of 10,000 rubles.[72]

Conclusions

About the integration of the Cossack *starshyna* of the Hetmanate into the Russian nobility, the historian Dmytro Miller made an ironic remark that "for the majority, the freedom of alcohol production was more important than political freedom."[73] One could easily conclude the same with regard to the *starshyna* in Slobidska Ukraine. Economic preferences played a decisive role when it came to the crucial reforms of the 1760s. The *starshyna* did not resist but rather cared only about their own interests. Two decades later, Catherine II promulgated the Charter of the Nobility (*Zhaloval'naia gramota dvorianstvu*), and in 1786–96 the first Book of the Nobility was compiled in Slobidska Ukraine. Almost half of the noble families included in the Book were from the local Cossack elite (at least 632 out of 1,272).[74] Therefore, the former *starshyna* obtained privileged status with exclusive rights to possess lands and serfs, as well as being exempted from the compulsory state service, personal taxation, and corporal punishment. They finally had their noble status recognized and their loyalty rewarded.

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70 Ibid., vol. 34, 134–72; vol. 35, 290–291, 331–332.

71 F'odor Nikolaichyk, "Zapiski Novooskol'skoho Dvorianina I. O. Ostrozhsko-Lokhvitskoho (s Dobavlieniem Zametok Syna Yeho Petra Ivanovicha)," 12, 629–630.

72 Ibid., 652. This list shows how the way the lifestyle of the family changed within half a century.

73 Dmitrii Miller, "Ocherki iz Yuridicheskoho Byta Staroi Malorossii: Prevrashcheniie Kozatskoii Starshyny v Dvorianstvo," *Kievskaia Starina*, 2 (1897), 198.

74 For details see my article, "Cossack Officials in Sloboda Ukraine: from Local Elite to Imperial Nobility?," in *Dimensions of Modernity. The Enlightenment and its Contested Legacies,* eds. Pawel Marczewski, Stefan Eich (Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conferences), 34 (2015) http://www.iwm.at/publications/5-junior-visiting-fellows-conferences/vol-xxxiv/cossack-officials-in-sloboda-ukraine/ Seen 06.02.2018.

Світлана ПОТАПЕНКО

Лояльність в обмін на заможність: периферійне дворянство Слобідської України наприкінці XVIII – початку XIX ст.

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У статті зосереджено увагу на економічних підставах інкорпорації козацької верхівки Слобідських полків до дворянства Російської імперії наприкінці XVIII – початку XIX ст. Зауважено, що притаманна козацькій спільноті егалітарність неухильно втрачалася зі створенням у середині XVII ст. ранньомодерної Української держави – Гетьманщини. Процеси соціяльного розшарування так само охопили Слобідські козацькі полки, утворені українськими переселенцями на південно-західному фронтирі Московської держави. Тут формальна рівність козаків і старшини ґрунтувалася на царських жалувальних грамотах 1659–1717 рр. і 1743 р. Ці грамоти визнавали за переселенцями самоврядність у межах козацького устрою та низку економічних свобод, що разом формувало їхню «черкасскую обыкность». Досить скоро полкові й сотенні уряди зосередилися в руках обмеженої групи старшинських родин, які від покоління до покоління обіймали ці посади і отримували пов'язані з ними вигоди. Найцінніщим ресурсом була земля, яку і старшини, і козаки набували на праві займанщини. Таке володіння не вимагало документальних підстав, тому дехто зі старшин намагався підтвердити його царськими вотчинними грамотами. Найприбутковішими промислами були винокуріння і шинкування, що разом із млинарством, виробництвом поташу та селітри не оподатковувалися і приносили величезні прибутки.

У другій половині XVIII ст. зловживання з боку старшин дали формальний привід російському уряду, покликаючись на зубожіння козаків, ліквідувати автономію Слобідської України. Козацькі полки було переформовано на гусарські, запроваджено губернський адміністративний устрій і сформовано відповідні органи місцевої влади на чолі з губернатором Євдокимом Щербініним. Старшинам було надано можливість вийти у відставку, служити в реґулярних полках або в новостворених цивільних установах. У кожному випадку перед ними з'являлася перспектива набуття спадкового дворянського статусу згідно з «Табелем про ранги». Для врегулювання питання землевласности було створено Вотчинний департамент Слобідсько-Української губернської канцелярії, де фактичні володіння офіційно закріплювали за власниками. Під час Генерального

межування 1770–80-х рр. старшинські земельні надбання було остаточно леґалізовано як спадкову приватну власність. На відміну від колишніх козаків, старшини й надалі займалися промислами на безподатковій основі й примножували власні статки. Із оприлюдненням 1785 р. «Жалувальної грамоти дворянству» і подальшим укладанням Родовідних книг колишню козацьку верхівку Слобідських полків було інкорпоровано до дворянства Російської імперії. Отже, економічні привілеї відіграли вирішальну роль у питанні лояльности місцевої еліти до політики метрополії.

Ключові слова: *Слобідська Україна, Російська імперія, козацька старшина, "черкасская обыкность", інкорпорація*

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