

STANISLAW ORZECZOWSKI ROXOLAN AND UKRAINIAN-POLISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THEORY OF LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

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Abstract

The article analyzes the theoretical and political legacy of the great Ukrainian-Polish thinker of the late Middle Ages, Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan, as a prominent representative of «Catholic Rus'». The historical conditions of his outlook and political views are revealed, as well as personal connections with outstanding thinkers of Europe of that time. The thinker's interpretation of the issue of the need to take into account the value grounds for conducting international politics and foreign policy priorities, the problems of civilizational interaction of Christian Europe with the Muslim East are distinguished. The basics of the ideas of optimal social stratification of the Rzeczpospolita («res publica») society, which will ensure the stability of the state, are presented. The approach of the scholar to the issue of the principles of the organization of a successful state, the optimal organization of state power, fair justice, the relation between the power of the church and the king is covered.

Key words: *government, state, king, republic, law, Polish state, Rus'-Ukraine, political thought*

1. FORMATION OF POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE THINKER

The formation of a modern Europe values and principles is incomplete without an analysis of the intellectual input of the general public that have made and continue to contribute to its spiritual treasury, often against the mercantile and pragmatic aspirations of political leaders.

The appeal to history, the intellectual achievements of predecessors, provides additional arguments in favor of building a common European home for all peoples who refer themselves to the European spiritual tradition.

The history of Ukrainian-Polish relations is rich in examples of successful integration into the processes of creation of a pan-European cultural space.

For the Ukrainian intellectuals in the 15th-17th centuries, Poland acted as a «cultural transitor», linking them to pan-European processes, and for the nobility - the «Rzeczpospolita» (United Commonwealth of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or Latin – «res publica») project was a convenient tool for preserving and protecting their privileges and social interests.

The incorporation of Western Ukrainian lands into the Polish state in the 14th century was a complex and contradictory process, which was accompanied by major changes in society.

The local political elite sought rapid incorporation into the ruling class of the Polish kingdom and aimed to accede to its privileges both politically and economically. The Polish authorities were interested in ensuring the loyalty of the descendants of the local aristocracy as quickly and as firmly as possible to their new suzerain. It was done by granting government positions, related status, and material benefits to those who would be converted to the Catholic denomination.

Like every social phenomenon, Polonization and Catholicization of the Ukrainian grand people, besides the downside, had some positive consequences. Catholicism, along with Latin, opened the doors of Western European universities to young representatives of the Western Ukrainian aristocracy. Thousands and thousands of them were educated at the highest standards of the time. Ukrainian names can be found in the lists of students not only of the universities in Krakow but also in Prague, Bologna, Padua, Wittenberg, Paris and other leading universities in Europe. The flow of Ukrainian youth to the centers of education was so great that in many European cities there were even special dormitories for students «from Ruthenia».

The transition to Catholicism has also become a serious social elevator. According to I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov «At the end of the XV and the first half of the XVI century many talented, but needy small nobles and townspeople of Rus' origin in Galicia and Lithuania, in order to receive a Western humanistic education, had to convert to Catholicism and go to Italy at the expense of a bishop or a monastery. It is clear that the Orthodox clergy did not encourage visits to «inhabitants of Latium». It explains that such prominent educated representatives of Western Rus' of that period Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan, Pavlo Rusyn from Krosno and Francysk Skaryna were Catholics» [Golenishchev-Kutuzov 1963: 10].

At the same time, some of the young nobles and burgesses who converted to Catholicism and were educated in Western Europe, under the influence of the ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation, were not going to give up their national roots and thus creating the phenomenon of «Catholic Rus'».

One of the most prominent political thinkers of European scale who represents «Catholic Rus'» is Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan. (1516-1566). He was born in the village of Orzechowce in the Przemysl district of the Ruthenian Voivodeship in a family of nobles and a daughter of an Orthodox priest. He received his initial education in Przemysl, later he studied at the leading universities of that time in Europe, in Krakow, Vienna, Wittenberg, Padua, Bologna, and improved his knowledge in Rome, Venice and Leipzig. One of the mentors of a talented young man from Ukraine was the prominent German reformer Martin Luther who even hosted St. Orzechowski for the duration of his studies. He was familiar with many of his prominent contemporaries – Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Gasparo Contarini, Cardinal Commedoni and others.

The issues of St. Orzechowski Roxolan's relationship with the intellectual elite of Europe at that time became relevant in modern Ukrainian science in connection with memorial events - the celebration of two important historical milestones: the 500th anniversary of the birth of the thinker and the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, of which the scientist was a contemporary. Although mostly, they are devoted to his religious views and facts of his biography. The most interesting, in our opinion, is the scientific exploration by D.Virskyi «Luther's Ukrainian Student: Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan» (2017), which details the scientist's biography, education and his relationship with the «father» of the Reformation.

Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan was an outstanding European scholar. His works have been repeatedly reprinted in various European capitals and were popular with contemporaries. Unfortunately, only a small part of the scholar's creative heritage has been translated and published in modern Ukrainian. Much more of his works were published and analyzed in Poland, where Orzechowski is considered to be a Polish scholar. However, despite the belonging to the Catholic denomination, he never forgot his national roots and origins.

«A prominent political writer of the XVI century Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan was a patriot of his nation and constantly emphasized that he was «Ruthenian» (Ukrainian). There is no work, not even a letter, in which he did not consider it necessary to recall his Ruthenian origin. At the same time, he treated other nations with respect and call savages, worthless, wretches those who tried to pit a Pole and a Ruthenian against each other. On every occasion he reminded the king of the deprivations of his native people, urged him to become a defender of Rus', to be sympathetic towards the Ukrainians, to listen to their requests. He defended the rich spiritual and cultural traditions of the Ukrainian people, their glorious historical past to which he constantly addressed in his works» [Ohorodnyk, Rusyn 1997: 207].

2. THE ISSUE OF CIVILIZATIONAL INTERACTION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

Among contemporaries, St. Orzechowski Roxolan's most famous and popular two speeches are called «On the Turkish Threat», in which he raised the important issue for Christian Europe at the time to curb the expansion of Muslim Turkey. The scholar, speaking about the threat that the Turkish offensive brings to European civilization, appealed to the Polish King Sigismund and proposed to create a coalition of Christian rulers who, for the sake of common cause, must act as one united force.

Both editions of this speech were very popular in Europe at that time. According to D. Nalyvaiko «... the great resonance of Orzechowski's speech was aroused in Western

Europe, where there was the concern about the Turkish conquests of the first half of the 16th century, especially on the Danube. After some time they were reprinted in Basel (1551), in Frankfurt am Main (1584), generally they were reprinted many times in Western Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century and the last Roman edition is dated 1663» [Nalyvaiko 1984: 172].

Considering the problem of the clash of Christian and Muslim civilizations, Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan raised the question of the role of the religious-value factor in interstate relations. «Do not believe in any agreement, allegiance or union with Suleiman. Because if your vision does not deceive you, you will clearly see not only the numerous deceptions, falsities and crimes of the Turkish but also sufficiently convincing evidence that Suleiman does not adhere to any agreement, no virtue does not bother him and there is nothing to keep him from war» [Orzechowski 1988a: 93]. Noting the disadvantage for Poland of the agreements concluded with Turkey, Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan advises King Sigismund to refuse to implement them. However, in order to justify the refusal, he finds the argumentation acceptable to the European tradition and norms of international law: «Not by words but by deeds we must determine the price of virtue of laws and agreements. And if certain agreements are not fulfilled, if they are not equally adhered to by both parties or if the agreement breaks at least partially by at least one of the contracting parties, the other may also fail to comply with the agreement» [Orzechowski 1988a: 102].

Failure to abide by the treaties will inevitably lead to war with the Turks. Although the king of Poland, according to the scholar, had every chance to create a powerful anti-Turkish coalition of European Christian monarchs and had to do everything possible for its formation, the main guarantee of future success in the war is the readiness of the state. «The state and the power of kings usually holds on the two greatest and most powerful benefits. One is the happiness that is given by some divine power, the other is the prudence given by nature. The latter, though inferior to the former, is, however, much greater than all the benefits to be granted to man. In fact, these two are very big and high in human life, which is why it is far less common to be given them both by God to one» [Orzechowski 1988a: 95].

3. OPTIMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY IN THE RZECZPOSPOLITA

Preparation of the state for the coming war involves bringing it in order and its best arrangement. At the same time, Stanislaw Orzechowski relies on the concept of the ideal state of the ancient Greek philosopher Plato according to which society must be divided into states, each of which performs its clearly defined function. «This arrangement should take into account the way of life; let one order be with the nobility, the other with the priests and the other with the peasants because their interests do not overlap. All classes on your behalf will have duties. But every nobleman must serve his country. Let the priest supply the warrior. May the peasant and the merchant also benefit. Let everyone support the republic at home and at war: when the nobility is at war, other classes remain at home. Some cultivate the field and others trade while others serve the God. In this division of responsibilities harmony in society is well manifested because everyone is the master of their own affairs and consequently a person's own self is the censor of own wealth» [Orzechowski 1988a: 107].

The problem of the organization of state power that would enable the best possible development of society and each of its members is one of the major in the theoretical and political heritage of St. Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan. He is devoted to most of his works, among which the centerpiece is «Instructions to the King of Poland Sigismund-Augustus» written in 1543 and modified in 1548. Most of his works are devoted to this problem, among which the central place is the «Instructions for the King of Poland Sigismund-Augustus» written in 1543 and completed in 1548.

In this work, scholar raises the issues of the essence and purpose of royal power and state, the organization of state life, the rights and responsibilities of government and citizens.

Referring to Sigismund-August, Stanislaw Orzechowski states that the main prerequisite for prosperity of the state and its residents is the confidence of the citizens that at the top of the governmental pyramid is a person who fully possesses the qualities, which are necessary for the ruler, and the first among them is wisdom. Following Plato, the scholar believes that it is the wise philosophers who can properly control such a complex organism as the state. If the king does not meet this ideal, then the state and its citizens will face a variety of problems. «Do you know who you are? The King. Therefore, you are the ruler and I am subject, and therefore you are wiser than I am. If you are wise, then I am free, rich and happy. Well, if you are not wise? Then I'm a slave, a hobbler, an exile... As a result, you can already see, probably, how confident I am that your conscience begs for you to be able to study. Only in this way will you save me, who is in danger, motherland, rights and freedom...» [Orzechowski 1988b: 116-117].

Noting that government is one of the hardest pursuits in the world, Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan does not reduce the wisdom of a ruler to a certain amount of knowledge. Wisdom is a combination of mind and moral virtues which in turn arise as a result of the enlightenment of the monarch. Following Socrates, a scholar considers that one who possesses true knowledge cannot act against morality. «Above all, know that not every person is capable of being in power, but only the one who by nature desires truth and justice. But this is not enough. It is necessary to be inflamed by the science that will make this person both true and just. A person who neglects science will give nothing worthy of praise» [Orzechowski 1988b: 117].

4. FORMATION OF THE RULING ELITE

However, no matter how wise a monarch is, he will not be able to control such a complicated mechanism as the state. Therefore, according to the scholar, as well as the wisdom of the king, no less important for the prosperity of society is the question of whom he can rely on in his activities. The king's entourage must come from the finest people of the state. The king's entourage must come from the finest people of the state. At the same time, representatives of the generic aristocracy are the best because, according to Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan, the heirs of ancient families are responsible not only to the king and own conscience, but also to the memory of the ancestors, maintaining the honor of the family. But aristocratic origin alone does not give a person the right to hold responsible public positions on which the fate of its citizens depends. This right must be deserved by real affairs in which the essence of a human is shown. Therefore, the thinker does not deny the possibility of holding senior management positions in the state to those who don't have glorious ancestors,

but in the name of the motherland has earned this right by own life and achievements.

Addressing the King, Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan essentially creates a list of qualities that any contender should have for the inclusion in the political elite of the state: «Be sympathetic to good men who care about the state, pay more attention to their request than at the request of those who seek positions with a bad intention. In addition, when the people, who are prone to drunkenness, emasculated and depraved, begin to demand honors from you, tell them frankly that you give public positions only to men who are honest, noble and reserved: those who can speak the truth, act courageously and who are not groveling toadies, not emasculated or drunk. Moreover, the people of another kind are not worthy of honor, but of punishment» [Orzechowski 1988b: 136].

The worst option for the subjects will be if the king surrounds himself not with decent citizens, but with groveling toadies. They, by flattering the king, will not admit to him advisers and will promote the usurpation of all power by the king and turn him into a tyrant. «If you take care of everything in the country, you will not be a king, but an unhappy subject. Whoever is a good husband and loves his country, let him warn the king against such actions, because such his acts are contrary to law and are unlawful. The toady won't tell this king. And for the advisers, he will make a rather famous rope of tyrants – a sentence about the insult of the majesty. But reassure the king that justice is upheld, because the king must not be subject to such a right. And he who abstains from this commits a crime against the majesty of the king» [Orzechowski 1988b: 120].

Such a bold statement against the possibility of infinity of royal power is largely explained by the very nature of the organization of state power in the Polish state, which is evident from its very name – Rzeczpospolita that is «the cause of the nation», or Latin – «res publica». The power of the Polish king was limited to the Seim which represented the interests of the nobility and the clergy and to the Senate, consisting of representatives of the aristocracy. «All secular power is first and foremost divided into the King and the Senate, and these two guards (both, I say!) are awarded» [Orzechowski 1988b: 117].

5. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSFUL STATE ORGANIZATION.

According to St. Orzechowski Roxolan, the King must first and foremost have a duty to protect the interests of his state and his subjects. He is a kind of guardian of the kingdom. This determines his place of residence - the border of the state from where there is the greatest military threat and ways to gain the favor of subjects. After all, a monarch who can provide the conditions for the peaceful existence of citizens will undoubtedly obtain their authority and commitment. In addition, without the commitment of subordinates, no king can, according to the scholar, consider his power protected from the intrigues of adversaries.

«You already know who to live with and where. Now - since your whole life is neither single nor private, but shared and public, you need to take the utmost care in order to attract the affection of those people among whom you rule. It is the sole protection of kings. The power of the king is weak and uncertain without the favor of his subjects» [Orzechowski 1988b: 117].

The question posed by St. Orzechowski Roxolan about the need for the monarch to gain the favor of his subjects leads him to the need to solve the issue «Who is more powerful in the state: the law or the king?» The answer to this question, according to the scientist, distinguishes the enlightened monarchy from tyranny.

Referring to Sigismund Augustus, the thinker states that the law «... is itself the ruler of a free state, but silent, blind and deaf. By means of it, one person is chosen, whom we call the king. This person is the mouth, eyes and ears of the law. If the law could listen and talk, no one would elect a king; for the law teaches itself what to do. And because it cannot do all this, it chooses a mediator – a king» [Orzechowski 1988b: 124]. However, the function of the king in relation to the law, as noted by St. Orzechowski Roxolan, is not limited to its interpretation. The king is a defender of the law in a state that allows society to escape tyranny. In addition, the power of tyrants, says the scholar, has never been long.

The free state (as the ideal of a state organization), according to the thinker, must be based on a fair trial, based on the right based on morality. Law in the state, which are legal norms that ensure fairness, should be a necessary factor of a state organization and, together with ethics, be the foundation of the state.

Addressing the question of the role of law in the organization of relations between citizens of the state led St. Orzechowski Roxolan to the need to raise the question of natural law. He even wrote a work on this subject – «De jure naturae et gentium» («On Natural Law»), which, unfortunately, has not been preserved to this day, but thanks to quoting in the writings of other scholars and other works of the thinker, its basic ideas can be judged. According to I. Ohorodnyk and M. Rusyn «In his opinion, natural law is higher than human laws, which can be changed if necessary. To live in harmony with the laws of nature is to care for peace and tranquility in the state. He regarded natural law as the basis of natural law, refraining from encroaching on someone else's property, because then the state will appear cunning, betrayal, robbery, strife, violence against the weaker. He believed that the soul of the state is justice, which is that everyone is given what he owes: peace, freedom, the ability to fulfill his role and purpose with truth and faith. The absence or conscious violation of the above was assessed by Orzechowski as evidence of savagery, barbarism, despotism which are contrary to natural law» [Ohorodnyk, Rusyn 1997: 207].

Observance of natural law, in accordance with the concept of St. Orzechowski Roxolan, is the basis for the standard development of society, providing conditions for a decent life of its members. However, the realization of this ideal is not possible without observing the principle of the common good, that is, the good of the people who expressed themselves in patriotism, in service to the state and in the subordination of the personal interests of citizens to the idea of the boon to society.

If the interests of the individual dominate the national interests, then the state will not exist for more or less a long time: «“My” and “yours” are two sources of any disagreement in society. Because of them appear disputes and lawsuits, which are the origin of hatred. The hatred then comes from rebellion and after the rebellion comes the inevitable end to the state» [Orzechowski 1988b: 127].

According to V. Litvinov «Hobbes and Locke stated that the boon to society is the supreme law and the purpose of the state power. However, similar ideas are found in their predecessors, in particular St. Orzechowski, who, contrary to the teachings of Thomas and Augustine (according to whom the state is an instrument for the realization of the moral and religious goals of the individual), wrote that the purpose

of the state is to guarantee the rights and benefits of each individual, to whom the state has a number of responsibilities. But citizens, according to the thinker, have even more obligations to the state: his activity should be directed first and foremost to the interests of the state and society» [Litvinov 1988: 241].

Considering the issues of natural law, the restriction of the royal power by law, the mutual obligations of the citizen and the state, the underlying principles of the contractual concept of the state St. Orzechowski Roxolan approached these issues contrary to the ruling ideas of the time. He is one of the first European scholars to begin liberating political science from theology. He could not ignore the issue of the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical power.

Speaking to Sigismund Augustus, he noted that the king should distinguish between his personal and public life. In his personal life, as a Christian, he had to obey the spiritual precepts of his priest and in his public life all Polish clergy must do the will of their monarch in the interests of the whole nation and the state. This position of the scholar originated from his understanding of the state and the division of responsibilities in it.

CONCLUSION

Stanislaw Orzechowski Roxolan is an outstanding representative of the political thought of the Renaissance on a European scale. His views on the issue of the essence and origin of the state, the principles of the organization of power, have become a certain stage in the development of political thought and have cultivated in his ideological successors. «Orzechowski in this matter was the forerunner of such bourgeois thinkers as H. Grotius, T. Hobbes, J. Bodin and others. In Ukraine and Russia, the same ideas were later developed by polemicists, activists of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, in particular F. Prokopovych, whose library has St. Orzechowski's historical work "Chronicle"» [Litvinov 1988: 244].

Assessing the role and importance of St. Orzechowski Roxolan in the development of European culture, D. Nalyvaiko notes: «Among the writers of the Slavic Renaissance, Stanislaw Orzechowski was the most famous in Western Europe in the 16th century. Numerous reissues of his Latin works in various countries of Europe, and their translations into other languages confirm this statement. However Orikhovsky in the XVI-XVII centuries had a high literary reputation in Ukraine and Belarus: moreover, his work had a significant impact on the development of literature, especially polemical. He was referred to by Christophor Philaleth in his "Apocrisis" and quoted several times by Zachary Kopistensky in "Palinode"» [Nalyvaiko 1984: 184].

Unfortunately, much of the work of St. Orzechowski Roxolan is inaccessible to the general public of Ukrainian readers, as most of them, written in Latin and partly in Polish, have not yet been translated or reprinted in Ukraine. However, despite the language of his writings, the scholar has always remained as a patriot of his nation. In many of his journalistic works, he advocated the interests of Rus', the Ukrainian people.

At the same time, St. Orzechowski Roxolan tried to combine the allegiance to his nationality and the idea of common good and service to the common state. He was one of the first representatives of the Ukrainian nobility to say of himself as a «Ukrainian (Ruthenian), a citizen of the Polish state». The combination of ethnic and

political patriotism allowed the scholar to find a compromise between the loyalty to his people and the desire to live in a powerful state of that time in Europe. The figure of St. Orzechowski Roxolan is significant for understanding the involvement of the Ukrainian spiritual elite in the processes of contemporary European theoretical and political discourse based on the symbiosis of the traditions of Ukrainian and Polish political thinking in the late Middle Ages. He is a striking representative of «Catholic Rus'», a phenomenon that needs a further scientific study. The integration processes taking place in Europe after the end of World War II have a long prehistory. And the intellectual heritage of Central and Eastern Europe, its contribution to the development of modern European civilization, must be appraised and appreciated accordingly.

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