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ANTIQUITY AS AN IDEAL AND A FACTOR IN THE FORMATION OF THE INTELLECTUAL LANDSCAPE OF UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XVIII – EARLY XIX CENTURIES

Abstract. The role and place of ancient intellectual heritage (fiction, mythology, historical works, political and philosophical treatises) in the formation of the intellectual landscape of Ukraine during the late Enlightenment are presented and analyzed. **The purpose of the work** was to find out the methods of assimilation and instrumentalization of the culture of Antiquity in the Ukrainian intellectual environment. **The research methodology** is based on intellectual history approaches aimed at identifying the mechanisms of formation and structures of the intellectual landscape of certain cultural areas. **The presentation of the main material** is aimed at the representation of the process of reception of the texts of the Antiquity era in the spiritual-cultural and social-political space of Left Bank Ukraine. Algorithms for assimilation of the ancient heritage have been identified: studying in domestic and foreign institutions, forming one's own libraries, getting acquainted with the texts of ancient authors in the original and through the work of European educators. The personnel potential of Ukrainian translators of ancient Greek and ancient Roman works was determined, the repertoire of translations of ancient authors and their thematic priorities were clarified. It is emphasized that the appeal to Antiquity was determined both by the pan-European cultural discourse of the Age of Enlightenment and by the peculiarities of the regional social and socio-economic situation. Representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual elite used the plots, images, and styles of Antiquity as a tool for developing and justifying strategies and tactics for the protection of national interests in the process of integration into imperial structures. Conclusion. Ancient heritage in the second half of the XVIII – at the beginning of the XIX century became an important cultural resource in the formation of the intellectual landscape of Left Bank Ukraine. This was due to the prevailing cultural discourse of the Enlightenment, the available personnel potential, and the social and aesthetic demand of the ancient heritage. Her patriotic pathos was actively used to defend the special status of the Motherland as part of the empire, to create a national elite socio-cultural space. Classical heritage has become an effective means of status positioning and an instrument of career strategies of the educated classes. Crisis of the Enlightenment Paradigm at the Edge of the XVIII–XIX centuries created the conditions for rethinking Antiquity in the categories of

modern times («Aeneid» by I. Kotlyarevskyi). Its use as an important factor in the intellectual landscape ended at the time of the birth of the modern Ukrainian ethnic project.

Keywords: intellectual history, historiography, the Ukrainian elite, the history of Ukraine in the XVIII–XIX centuries, Antiquity, the Age of Enlightenment, national identity, a pre-modern nation.

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АНТИЧНІСТЬ ЯК ІДЕАЛ І ФАКТОР ФОРМУВАННЯ ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛЬНОГО ЛАНДШАФТУ УКРАЇНИ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XVIII – ПОЧАТКУ XIX СТОЛІТТЯ

Анотація. Представлені й проаналізовані роль і місце античної інтелектуальної спадщини (художня література, міфологія, історичні твори, політичні та філософські трактати) у становленні інтелектуального ландшафту України часів пізнього Просвітництва. **Метою роботи** стало з'ясування способів засвоєння та інструменталізації культури Античності в українському інтелектуальному середовищі. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на підходи інтелектуальної історії, націлені на виявлення механізмів формування та структур інтелектуального ландшафту певних культурних ареалів. **Виклад основного матеріалу** націлений на репрезентацію процесу рецепції текстів доби Античності в духовно-культурному та суспільно-політичному просторі Лівобережної України. Виявлено алгоритми засвоєння античної спадщини: навчання у вітчизняних та іноземних закладах, формування власних бібліотек, ознайомлення з текстами античних авторів в оригіналі та через творчість європейських просвітників. Визначено кадровий потенціал українських перекладачів давньогрецьких та давньоримських творів, з'ясовано репертуар перекладів античних авторів та їхні тематичні пріоритети. Наголошено, що звернення до Античності обумовлено як загальноєвропейським культурним дискурсом доби Просвітництва, так і особливостями регіональної суспільної та соціально-економічної ситуації. Представники української інтелектуальної еліти використовували сюжети, образи, стилістику Античності як інструмент для вироблення й обґрунтування стратегії і тактики захисту національних інтересів у процесі інтеграції до імперських структур. **Висновок.** Антична спадщина в другій половині XVIII – на початку XIX ст. стала важливим культурним ресурсом у формуванні інтелектуального ландшафту Лівобережної України. Це було обумовлено панівним культурним дискурсом Просвітництва, наявним кадровим потенціалом, суспільною та естетичною затребуваністю античної спадщини. Її патріотичний пафос активно використовувався для відстоювання особливого статусу Батьківщини у складі імперії, створення національного елітного соціокультурного простору. Класична спадщина стала ефективним засобом статусного позиціонування та інструментом кар'єрних стратегій освічених верств. Криза просвітницької парадигми на межі XVIII–XIX ст. створила умови для переосмислення Античності в категоріях модерного часу («Енеїда» І. Котляревського). Її використання як важливого чинника інтелектуального ландшафту завершилося в добу зародження українського модерного етнічного проекту.

Ключові слова: інтелектуальна історія, історіографія, українська еліта, історія України XVIII–XIX ст., Античність, доба Просвітництва, національна ідентичність, домодерна нація.

Problem statement. The second half of the XVIII – early XIX centuries is a turning point in the history of Ukraine. It was determined not only by a visible transformation associated with a change in the metropolitan affiliation and status of Ukrainian regions, with a deep modernization of all aspects of society, but also by fundamental changes in the intellectual landscape. Under the intellectual landscape I understand a dynamic, complex system of public attitudes, cultural landmarks, the standards of mental activity, the demands of an educated public, formal and informal institutions for staff training, production and popularization of knowledge.

This period completes the epoch of the greatest regionalization of Ukrainian history, which for a long time determined the diversity of cultural practices in each of the Ukrainian regions. These practices are most fully and systematically represented in the Left-Bank

Ukraine–Hetmanate–Malorossiya. In this region by the middle of the XVIII century own state structures had developed and a mature pre-modern nation had been formed [3; 18].

It demanded its symbols. It is no coincidence that the appeal to Antiquity and its images found a lively response in the cultural practices of the absolute monarchies of Europe. That is why the intellectuals of the Left-Bank Ukraine actively used this cultural resource to substantiate and glorify their nation. Characteristically, the integration of this region into the system of the Russian Empire took place while maintaining the orientation towards the traditional western vector of intellectual training. Therefore, they copied, borrowed not so much from the metropolis as from traditional sources, from other nations. How was the development of the ancient heritage by the intellectuals of the Hetmanate and what are its features? Here are the main questions of our research.

The state of scientific development of the problem. The problems of translation and development of the heritage of Antiquity in subsequent historical and cultural epochs were not the subject of study in Ukrainian historiography. Therefore, the very formulation of such a problem is of significant interest and unconditional scientific novelty.

Presenting main material. The reception of Antiquity in Ukrainian culture has a long tradition. The aesthetic attitude to Antiquity, the conviction that the truth and beauty are in antiquity was formed by the Kyiv Academy. The study of Greek and Latin, classical texts was the basis of education here. The course teachers relied on the texts of Aristotle, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, on the creative practice of Seneca the Elder, Lukian, Pliny the Younger and other representatives of the so-called Silver Latin. Aristotle's texts contributed to the formation of scientific thinking. Students' historical ideas were based on the texts of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Titus Livius.

In the XVIII century, almost the entire elite of the Hetmanate studied at the Academy. Good knowledge of classical languages, rhetoric, and poetics gave them the opportunity to hold key positions in the Motherland. Many of its representatives also played an important role in the political and cultural life of the empire. In the second half of the XVIII century, these elite began to clearly formulate the interests of their homeland and publicly defend them.

Hryhorii Poletyka (1725–1784) can be considered an intellectual leader, herald and designer of the pre-modern Ukrainian nation during this period. This “public intellectual” needs no introduction. He is quite firmly entrenched in historiography. His role in the social life of the Hetmanate, in the work of the Legislative Commission, in the development of the book culture of the empire was also noted [4; 5; 10; 11]. Therefore, I will not enter into a discussion now and will focus only on a few points. They are important not only for clarifying the ideological positions of Poletyka, but also for understanding the intellectual situation in Ukraine.

After studying at the Kyiv Academy, Poletyka lived for 27 years in St. Petersburg, served as a translator at the Academy of Sciences, the Synod, as a chief inspector for the educational part of the Naval Cadet Corps and controlled the work of the printing house of this corps. Let me note that Antiquity became a source of creative impulses for Poletyka for the rest of his life. His worldview as an educator and translator was formed not as a result of the «interpretation» of the professors of the Kyiv Academy, but as a result of reading authentic Greek and Latin texts. The choice of authors and subjects for translations allows us to present the foundations of Poletyka's worldview. He referred to Plato, Cicero, Sophocles, Diogenes Laertius, Arrian, Politian, Simplicius of Cilicia and others. He chose Aristotle, Xenophon, Kevitus of Thebes, and Epictetus for translations.

The first published translations of Poletyka were the works of Aristotle [1]. Significantly, the second book of «Politics» and the chapters from the second book of «Rhetoric» turned out to be in the centre of attention. These works were about various types of republics, forms of government in them, the views of the ancients on them – Plato, Faley of Chalcedon, about the customs of people of different ages and social status. Thus, he seemed to formulate the problem of the connection between virtue and wealth. Poletyka addressed the Stoics because they were «the best example of generosity, justice, modesty and other virtues that make a person great» [8]. Poletyka borrowed a systematic view from Aristotle.

The «method» that Poletyka used when translating into Russian was «to stick to the Greek original and in dark and ambiguous places to choose the opinion that is more likely and reasonable» [8]. As can be seen from the «Preface» to the second book of Aristotle «On a Civil Institution», he sought to «cleans» the philosopher from scholastic layers and, at the same time, «not to mix anything superfluous from himself» [1, p. 485]. He believed that «it is necessary to make an effort both about words and thoughts more than about words» [8].

Understanding of the close interconnection and interdependence of the word, knowledge and morality, which is characteristic of the rhetorical type of culture, is manifested in «dedications», «forewords to readers». Pursuing educational tasks, Poletyka was convinced that the translations of ancient authors not only contributed to the spread of science and knowledge, enriched and «brought languages into beauty», but also improved morals, «prevented rudeness and ignorance» [8].

Therefore, communication with ancient authors, which «tames morals, enlightens the mind and heart of people ... makes it human», is necessary for everyone. Moreover, it is necessary for the «powers that be». About this, with reference to Sophocles, Poletyka wrote, dedicating the translations of Xenophon to Catherine II [7].

Certainly, Hryhorii Andriyovych was familiar with French Enlightenment thought, but it did not become a structure-forming factor in his worldview. And in this regard, he is a typical representative of that part of society that was educated in theological academies which gave classical and scholastic training. Therefore, if one can talk about Hryhorii Poletyka as a typical representative of the Enlightenment of the XVIII century, then not in a strictly terminological sense. Through his work as a writer, a translator, and a teacher, he objectively contributed to the spread of education. He is more of a humanist, living in the Age of Enlightenment.

But on the example of Hryhorii Poletyka, one can be convinced that the appeal to Antiquity among his generation begins to play not only a service and didactic role, but also fulfill an important social task of legitimizing the struggle for national identity within the framework of imperial structures. It was precisely in classical antiquity that Poletyka sought arguments in favour of his own ideal of the Motherland and society, which should be built on republican principles and consist of independent and decent citizens.

Antiquity is in many respects represented as a support for local cultural, political and social practices. Even Natalia Yakovenko noted that all the Cossack chronicles, which served as a support for the legitimization of the Hetmanate as a state body, were modelled on Roman historical texts. First of all, Titus Livius [2, p. 51–53]. It is about the complete stylistic and ideological dependence of the Cossack chroniclers on the historiography of the heyday of the Roman Empire. Antiquity was the flesh and blood of the intellectual landscape of the mature project of the Ukrainian pre-modern nation. This is evidenced by the repertoire of books and manuscripts of local intellectuals, which certainly included translations of ancient authors. They were used in poetic, scientific, journalistic texts. When it comes to printed materials, it is enough to refer to the 5-volume catalogue of printed books of the XVIII century and to other bibliographic publications [14].

I should note that the active instrumentalization of Antiquity ends in the era of the late Enlightenment [13]. Intellectual and historiographic inertia did not exclude the use of the heritage of Antiquity by the next generation of Ukrainian figures. One of its prominent representatives was the Son of Hryhorii Poletyka – Vasyl (1765–1845) [6]. On August 2, 1801, he delivered a speech at a meeting of the nobility [9]. In order to excite patriotic feelings, Vasyl unfolded a series of names that were somewhat unexpected for us – Cato, Khmelnytskyi, Nalyvaiko, Sahaidachnyi, the Gracchi brothers, Pompeius, Titus, and Marcus Aurelius. The combination of the names of the heroes of Antiquity with the names of the heroes of national history was a tribute to tradition. But if the tradition adopted an appeal to Antiquity to indicate examples, then Vasyl Poletyka made it clear that «... to encourage us to love our motherland most of all», we should first of all turn to examples from the history of our people. Since this people gave the great Khmelnytskyi, Sahaidachnyi, and Nalyvaiko. Vasyl wrote: «Having considered the history of their lives and their patriotic deeds, we will

learn from them better than from strangers to love and defend the homeland». Unlike his father, Vasyl does not even have a hint of a critical attitude towards the named heroes. On the contrary, they are endowed with only complementary features and acquire the character of national symbols.

Translation activity played an exclusive role in the creative development of antiquity on the local intellectual ground. In the middle of the XVII century, the accession of the Cossack lands to the Muscovy, which at that time was gradually on the way to westernization, did not prevent deep integration into the western cultural space.

The ecclesiastical and secular elite of the Hetmanate, with its experience of mastering classical and modern Western languages, proved to be deeply in demand in the administrative structures of the Russian Empire. This opened wide career opportunities for them. Positions in administrative institutions and educational institutions of the imperial capitals were obtained largely as a result of good command of foreign languages and translation skills.

The translation activity of the elite of Ukraine became an important indicator of the active study of ancient intellectual heritage and the demand for it in educated circles. It was implemented as a private or collective initiative mainly in the capitals of the empire. The high social status of translation activity was clearly evidenced by its powerful support from the higher authorities. Thus, on the initiative and financial support of Catherine II, a special society «Association of those who are working on translation of foreign books» was created to mobilize translation personnel. Its goal was to encourage the educated public to select, translate and distribute the best examples of world literature. The association existed from 1768 to 1783. Its members were about 20 natives of Left Bank Ukraine (Hetmanate / Malorosiia). The vast majority of them served in administrative positions and in educational institutions of St. Petersburg. Among them are Hamaleia, Braiko, Ivan Bohdanovych, Piter Bohdanovych, Desnytskyi, Kozelskyi, Kozytskyi, Ruban, Rumovskyi, Yanovskyi, Ivan Tumanskyi, Fedor Tumanskyi, Sankovskyi, Trokhymovskyi, Terekhovskiy and others. The repertoire of works translated by them consisted mainly of French and German literature, focused on the adaptation and recoding of the antique heritage in accordance with the tastes and ideas of the Enlightenment, as well as translations directly of antique authors. The vast publication of translations (the association published 112 books in 173 volumes) formed the reading repertoire of a wide educated public, its cultural tastes and spiritual orientations. The total calculations of the contribution of Ukrainian translators (26 editions) testify to their significant role in the activity of the association [12].

It is important to emphasize that one of the three leaders and founders of the society was Hryhorii Kozytskyi (1724–1775), who played a decisive role in determining the repertoire, financial affairs, and organizing the translation work. All translations of «Association...» can be divided into 2 groups: 1) translations of ancient authors; 2) translations of modern authors, primarily French representatives of the Enlightenment. The contribution of Ukrainian intellectuals was quite significant in both of them. The famous writer and poet Vasyl Ruban presented translations of Homer «The Batrachomyomachia or Battle of the Frogs and Mice» (St. Petersburg, 1772) and a biography of Ovid with selected excerpts from his works (St. Petersburg, 1774). Kozytskyi translated and published Ovid's «Metamorphoses» (St. Petersburg, 1772).

The translation of Virgil's «Aeneid» by Vasyl Sankovskyi is worth paying special attention. It was first printed in Moscow in 1769, but was quickly sold out. Therefore, in 1775 in St. Petersburg, Ruban prepared the second edition with his own foreword. This work is of particular importance for Ivan Kotliarevskiy's later interpretations. They became a key text for modern Ukrainian literature.

In addition to translations of antique authors, Ukrainian authors actively turned to the works of French and German writers who adapted ancient texts to the social demands of their time. Therefore, we can talk about the secondary use and promotion of ancient intellectual heritage. The most vivid example of this can be considered the work of Ivan Tumanskyi, who during 1769 and 1770 published two large thematic volumes of selected articles from the French «Encyclopedia». The first volume was the works of the French philosopher

Louis de Jaucourt, devoted to the typology of state government, and the second related to the history and geography of the Peloponnese.

Besides the «Association», the centres of translations of ancient authors became the Marine and Land noble corps. Their publishing projects were closely related to the activities of outstanding intellectuals of their time, Hryhorii Poletyka and Semen Hamaliia. In addition to textbooks and clerical documentation, the printing houses of those institutions also published translated literature.

The private initiative became an important strategy for the translation and mastering of antique literature. The literature of antiquity inspired one of the leading intellectuals of the end of the XVIII century, Fedir Tumanskyi. Among his four translated editions, two belong to ancient authors. In 1791, the translations of Cato's «On Virtue» and Palaephatos's «On Unbelievable Tales» were published as separate books. Ancient Roman and Greek authors in Tumanskyi's translations also appeared on the pages of his magazines. Thus, in the magazine «The Mirror of the World» (1786–1787) their texts were actively used in the philosophical articles «On Happiness», «On Pleasure», «On Conscience», «On Philanthropy». Translations from Ovid, Lucan, and Horace were also printed here. Thorough knowledge of ancient literature became one of the ideological sources of formation of Tumanskyi's public position. He advocated the political and social reformation of the empire, taking into account the specifics of his homeland [16; 17].

The ancient heritage was actively used in the original literature as well. The images of ancient history and mythology, paraphrases from the texts of ancient authors are an essential feature of the poetry of the second half of the XVIII century. Its origins go back to the times of baroque literature of the late XVII and early XVIII centuries. They were especially evident in the eulogies addressed to hetman Ivan Mazepa. The use of literary techniques that referred the reader to the content and style of classical ancient Roman and ancient Greek poetry is not only a tribute to the literary discourses of the epoch, but also a proven career strategy. This is especially characteristic of the poetic genre of the ode, which was often used for flattering appeals to influential people (see odes by V. Ruban, I. Bohdanovych, F. Tumanskyi).

The 1798 publication «Aeneid» of I. Kotliarevskyi, to whom the vivid Ukrainization of Virgil's poetry belongs, became a kind of rubicon for the reception of the ancient heritage in the domestic intellectual space and translation tradition. Since then, appeals to antiquity in literary works, journalism, and scientific texts have given way to appeals to Ukrainian folklore, language, and poetry. The comparison of folk songs with Homer's poetry in Chepa's correspondence with Antonovskiy in the 1810s, the military achievements of the Cossacks led by B. Khmelnytskyi and the Labours of Hercules in Kharkiv journals of the 1820s is indicative in this regard [15; 17]. Classical literature itself, having lost its social pathos in the times of Ukrainian Romanticism, took an honorable place as an antique product of world culture in scientific works and didactic practices.

Conclusions. Therefore, in the second half of the XVIII – at the beginning of the XIX century, the intensive translation activity of the intellectuals of Left Bank Ukraine / Malorosiia was determined not only by the cultural discourse of the Enlightenment. It was actively instrumentalized in order to solve the urgent tasks of the regional Ukrainian elite, which was concerned with the choice of strategies regarding the ways of integration into the imperial space. Despite the fact that lively discussions took place on this issue, the patriotic pathos of ancient literature was actively used by all discussants to defend the special status of Motherland as a part of the empire, the creation of a specific national elite socio-cultural space. The popularity of the images and styles of the classical heritage was also an effective means of status positioning and a tool of career strategies of the educated classes. At the same time, the crisis of the Enlightenment cultural paradigm at the turn of the XVIII–XIX centuries created the conditions for the reinterpretation of ancient literature in the categories of modern times, when the Ukrainian Cossacks in I. Kotliarevskyi's «Aeneid» appeared for the first and last time as ancient heroes.

This tendency of «farewell» to Antiquity as an important factor in the intellectual landscape ends in the era of the emergence of the Ukrainian modern ethnic project (in the

1830–1840s). It is noteworthy that the images, symbols and ideals of Antiquity are no longer «in demand» among the ideologists of the modern Ukrainian project. We will not find references to the heroes and texts of Antiquity in the works of Kostomarov, Markevych, Kulish, in the poetry of Shevchenko. They are inspired by local folk art, samples of folk speech, mode of life, and traditions. The own becomes the ideal. And Antiquity returns to its original didactic and aesthetic role.

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ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ РИНКУ ТРАКТОРІВ У ЗВ'ЯЗКУ З ЇХ ІМПОРТНИМИ ПОСТАВКАМИ НА ТЕРЕНИ УКРАЇНИ НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТОРІЧЧЯ

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Анотація. На основі аналізу історичних матеріалів, архівних джерел та публікацій у періодичній пресі досліджено особливості становлення та функціонування ринку сільськогосподарських тракторів на теренах Російської імперії і України на початку ХХ століття (1908–1917 рр.). Зокрема, проаналізовано загальноісторичний контекст, в умовах якого здійснювався імпорту тракторів та їх розповсюдження. З'ясовано перелік основних компаній-виробників, які поставляли тракторну техніку на терени України та марки найпопулярніших тракторів. В результаті дослідження з'ясовано, що царський уряд проводив ліберальну політику щодо імпорту тракторної техніки та інших складних сільськогосподарських машин. Проте він не мав чіткої політики щодо функціонування і розвитку цього ринку. Як наслідок на теренах Російської імперії і України ринок тракторів формувався стихійно, здебільшого під впливом пропозицій на тракторну техніку, які надходила від її виробників, і попиту з боку великих землевласників та селянських господарств. Велику роль в популяризації та поширенні тракторів відіграло Бюро із сільськогосподарської механіки, що діяло при вченому комітеті міністерства землеробства Росії, Київське товариство західних земств з продажу сільськогосподарських машин і знарядь, Харківське товариство сільського господарства та деякі інші організації. Важливе значення мала і Всеросійська фабрично-заводська, торгово-промислова, сільськогосподарська і науково-художня виставка, що проходила в Києві влітку 1913 р. З'ясовано, що конкуренція між основними виробниками тракторної техніки сприяла збільшенню попиту на неї, хоча через високу вартість для більшості сільських господарів вона залишалась недоступною. Водночас збільшення кількості іноземних тракторів дало поштовх для розвитку власного тракторобудування, яке отримало державну підтримку вже за радянських часів. У роботі застосовано загальнонаукові методи дослідження.

Ключові слова: історія, машинобудування, трактори, тракторизація, імпорту, тракторобудування.