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**BORYS HRINCHENKO'S HISTORICAL VIEWS:
THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE
OF THE XVIIth CENTURY IN THE COVERAGE OF THE INTELLECTUAL**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to reconstruct B. Hrinchenko's historical views concerning the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the mid-XVIIth century, the author's assessments of B. Khmelnytskyi's and the Hetmans of Ukraine during the 'Ruina' time (Ruin), to determine the reasons for the loss of the Ukrainian statehood and actualization of this historical experience for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement development at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, anthropic, interdisciplinarity. General historical methods of analysis and synthesis have been used,*

as well as special historical ones – historical genetic, comparative, typological. The authors adhere to the basic principles of historiographical analysis. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that a wide range of historical, historiographical and literary sources covered B. Hrinchenko's views on the history of Ukraine in the middle of the XVIIIth century (Khmelnychchyna and Ruina). **The Conclusions.** B. Hrinchenko's works on historical themes are a talented popularization of the history of Ukraine in a form accessible to the masses, without primitivization and distortion of facts. Conceptually, B. Hrinchenko relied on the longevity of the Ukrainian history according to M. Hrushevskiy. Due to elaboration of historical sources and scientific literature, which allowed him to rise to the popular science and even research level (the monograph "Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, his Life and Deeds", 1909). In addition, B. Hrinchenko focused on activity of several Hetmans: B. Khmelnytskyi, I. Vyhovskiy and P. Doroshenko. He was critical of B. Khmelnytskyi's activities and the Treaty of Pereyaslav with Moscow in 1654, considered the treaty forced, but historically tragic for the Ukrainian statehood fate. I. Vyhovskiy's and P. Doroshenko's state-building activity and geopolitical combinations were assessed by B. Hrinchenko as the experience of struggle against Moscow influences.

B. Hrinchenko's long-term, persistent work on popularization of the historical experience of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the middle of the XVIIIth century prepared, under the conditions of the public life modernization and the Ukrainian nationally conscious elite formation, a favorable ground for the further struggle for the Ukrainian statehood and its revival in 1917 – 1921.

Key words: B. Hrinchenko, the Ukrainian National Revolution of the middle of the XVIIIth century, historical views.

ІСТОРИЧНІ ПОГЛЯДИ БОРИСА ГРІНЧЕНКА: УКРАЇНЬСЬКА НАЦІОНАЛЬНА РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ СЕРЕДИНИ XVII ст. У ВИСВІТЛЕННІ ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛА

Анотація. Мета дослідження – реконструювати історичні погляди Б. Грінченка на події Української національної революції середини XVII ст., авторські оцінки діяльності Б. Хмельницького та гетьманів України часів Руїни, визначення причин втрати української державності й актуалізація ним цього історичного досвіду для розгортання українського визвольного руху наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, антропологізму, міждисциплінарності. Використано загальноісторичні методи аналізу і синтезу, а також спеціально-історичні – історико-генетичний, компаративний, типологічний. Автори дотримуються основних принципів історіографічного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на широкому колі історичних, історіографічних та літературних джерел досліджено погляди Б. Грінченка на історію України середини XVII ст. (Хмельниччина та Руїна). **Висновки.** Твори Б. Грінченка на історичну тематику є талановитою популяризацією історії України в доступній для широких мас формі, без примітивізації та спотворення фактів. Концептуально Б. Грінченко спирався на тяглість української історії за М. Грушевським. Ґрунтовне опрацювання історичних джерел та наукової літератури допомогло йому піднятися на науково-популярний і навіть дослідницький рівень (монографія "Гетьман Іван Виговський, його життя й діла", 1909). У центрі уваги Б. Грінченка опинилися постаті кількох гетьманів – Б. Хмельницького, І. Виговського та П. Дорошенка. Він критично ставився до діяльності Б. Хмельницького та Переяславського договору з Москвою 1654 р., вважав його заходом вимушеним, але в історичній перспективі трагічним для долі української державності. Державотворчу діяльність та геополітичні комбінації І. Виговського та П. Дорошенка Б. Грінченко оцінював як досвід боротьби із московськими впливами.

Багаторічна, наполеглива робота Б. Грінченка з популяризації історичного досвіду Української національної революції середини XVII ст. підготувала, в умовах модернізації суспільного життя та формування української національно свідомої еліти, сприятливий ґрунт для подальшої боротьби за українську державність та її відродження в 1917 – 1921 рр.

Ключові слова: Б. Грінченко, Українська національна революція середини XVII ст., історичні погляди.

The Problem Statement. Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko (1863 – 1910) – a prominent Ukrainian public and political figure, a writer, a teacher, an ethnographer, a folklorist,

a linguist. In his creative work, pedagogical and educational work, he turned to stories from the national history repeatedly, and in the controversy over the current issues of the political and social life at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century resorted to historical parallels. Moreover, B. Hrinchenko's historical works were mainly written for the uneducated Ukrainian peasantry and, in particular, children. He tried to present factual material on the history of Ukraine, drawn from historical sources and scientific literature in a popular, accessible form. The purpose of this popularization was to instill in the Ukrainians a national consciousness, dignity, patriotism, and a sense of pride for their ancestors. This great ascetic work contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian nation from the ethnic mass of the Ukrainian people, a social organism capable of independent cultural and political life. On the other hand, the historical examples, understanding the main mistakes and geopolitical miscalculations of the national leadership as a factor in the loss of the Ukrainian statehood in the middle of the XVIIth century were for Borys Dmytrovych an important basis for the national intellectual and political elite formation of the modern era.

Hence, B. Hrinchenko's historical views reconstruction on the days of the Ukrainian National Revolution in the middle of the XVIIth century is of utmost importance both for studying the legacy of B. Hrinchenko and determining his role in the Ukrainian liberation struggle at the beginning of the XXth century.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Due to the interest in the multifaceted creative and scientific achievements, the figure of B. Hrinchenko and his role in the Ukrainian Liberation Movement led to the formation of an interdisciplinary field of research – Hrinchenko Studies in recent decades. First of all, we should mention the monographic studies written by A. Zhyvotenko-Piankiv, N. Zubkova, N. Kobyzhcha, A. Nezhyvyi and A. Pohribnyi, A. Hoptiar, V. Yaremenko, etc., devoted to the study of B. Hrinchenko's literary, cultural, educational, pedagogical activities and his contribution to certain branches of the Ukrainian humanities. However, his historical works and views did not become a separate subject of study.

The subject of our analysis was a wide range of works written by B. Hrinchenko – journalistic ones (“The Letters from the Dnieper Ukraine”, 1892 – 1893 (Hrinchenko, 1994), public education (“How the Ukrainian People Lived (A Brief History of Ukraine)”, 1906) (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 331–358)), numerous studies on the Ukrainian folklore, in which there were reflected data on prominent historical figures of the Cossack times, popular science work “Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, his Life and Deeds”, 1909 (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 424–489) and publications of the Ukrainian Radical Party, one of the founders and ideological inspirers was B. Hrinchenko (written under the pseudonym L. Yavorenko: “What do We Need?”, 1905 ([Yavorenko], 1905a) and “Why don't We still Have a Good Power?”, 1905 ([Yavorenko], 1905b)).

Furthermore, the preparatory materials for B. Hrinchenko's works on historical topics can be found in his personal fund at the Institute of Manuscripts of Vernadsky National Library Of Ukraine (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1). They are of interest for the reconstruction of the researcher's historical views and illustrate his creative laboratory, work with sources and literature. The unfinished Russian language article “Material on Ukraine's Accession to Russia...”, 1905, is of the greatest interest in elucidating the topic (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31504, 20 p.).

A separate group of sources consists of B. Hrinchenko's works of art from the Ukrainian past – the plays “Yasni Zori” (Bright Stars) (1894, 1897) (Hrinchenko, 1991, pp. 340–420), “Stepovy Hist” (Steppe Guest) (1897 – 1898) (Hrinchenko, 1991, pp. 421–458) and “Sered Buri”(In the Storm) (1897) (Hrinchenko, 1991, pp. 459–548).

It should be mentioned that scholars, mostly philologists focused on the historical and patriotic dramas written by B. Hrinchenko. In general, the works are considered in the general course of the transition stage from a populist realistic drama to the latest modern drama of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century. Consequently, the appeal to the “conditional history” is one of the leading features of the modern Ukrainian drama, when “history” is only a “background” for the plot development. The characters are placed within a certain framework of the historical epoch, but they act in accordance with the present. The main idea of such works is to evoke pride in the heroic struggle of ancestors against the national oppression (Protsiuk, 1993; Spiridonova, 2019).

Nowadays, the Ukrainian historiography has considerable experience in reconstructing the historical views of writers, both prominent national figures (T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, Lesya Ukrainka) and writers of “the secondary plan” (Gonchar, 2018).

The purpose of the research is to reconstruct B. Hrinchenko's historical views concerning the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the mid-XVIIIth century, the author's assessments of B. Khmelnytskyi's and the Hetmans of Ukraine during the ‘Ruina’ period (Ruin), to determine the reasons for the loss of the Ukrainian statehood and actualization of this historical experience for the Ukrainian Liberation Movement development at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century.

The Main Material Statement. Hetman Ivan Mazepa was the first historical figure, B. Hrinchenko got interested in. He wanted to write a publication about him, but abandoned the idea when he learned that the topic had been taken by a renowned public figure, historian and publicist F. M. Umanets, with whom they collaborated in Chernihiv Hubernia (Province) Zemstvo and Chernihiv Scientific Archival Commission, had much in common concerning the views on the Ukrainian history and the Ukrainian national affairs. Moreover, F. Umanets used a wide range of sources, including private collections of Doroshenko, Markovych, etc.; the texts of the original historical documents were included into the appendices to the monograph (see Umanets F.M. Hetman Mazepa. St. Petersburg, 1897). The author tried to give a positive assessment of I. Mazepa as a person and a statesman. The above-mentioned monograph became to a certain extent a methodological and ideological reference point for B. Hrinchenko in his further work on the historical plots on the history of The Hetman Ukraine.

Later on, B. Hrinchenko managed to amass his own collection of the original historical documents of the Cossack times, mostly legal and private. In addition, he also made copies of important Hetman's Universals and other documents. These materials are now stored in his personal fund in the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Arts of Ukraine (Kyiv) (TsDAMLUMU, f. 15, d. 1).

Furthermore, the Hrinchenko family book collection has got a wide range of historical literature, which contained more than six thousand volumes. These are the publications of sources, scientific literature and periodicals, popular science works on the national history. Nowadays, the collection is scattered, the main part can be found in Vernadsky National Library Of Ukraine (Kataloh fondiv. Bibliotechni kolektsii. Vyp. 1: B. D. Hrinchenko, 1998).

Hence, B. Hrinchenko turned to his younger friend, at that time a figure of Kyiv “Prosvita” D. I. Doroshenko, as a historian-specialist, for consultation and review, selection of historical and literary materials, illustrations to his works on the history of the Cossack times (Andryeyev & Andryeyeva, 2020, p. 89).

B. Hrinchenko considered the period of the Ukrainian National Revolution in the middle of the XVIIIth century (Khmelnychchyna and Ruina) as one of the key periods of the Ukrainian

history, and called the events from the beginning of the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi to the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654 a “tremendous revolution” (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31504, p. 1).

B. Hrinchenko wrote the following words on the pretext of Khmelnychchyna: “Our Ukraine was a magnificent land, and it was a paradise for the ‘pany’, and hell for the working Ukrainian people. But the people could not endure such a disaster forever” (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 344). Hence, the reasons for the difficult situation in Ukraine were attributed to the fact that Ukraine was the part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Hence, in his opinion, the process of enslavement of the Ukrainian peasantry, the oppression by the Polish ‘pany’ (land owners) and the Jewish tenants, the policy of Polonization and Catholicization led to a revolutionary explosion (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 338–339).

The plot in the drama “Stepovyi Hist” unfolds at the initial stage of the Khmelnytskyi uprising. The author portrayed the hopes of the peasant, the Cossack strata and part of the nobility for the social, national and religious liberation, and, at the same time, depicted the split in the Ukrainian society.

B. Hrinchenko characterized the figure of B. Khmelnytskyi, a prominent Ukrainian statesman and leader of the revolutionary events of 1648 – 1657, as an extraordinary personality, an educated, intelligent, cunning statesman, diplomat and military leader, a Cossack warrior with a difficult fate, who took part in military campaigns, sea voyages repeatedly, was subjected to the Turkish captivity and the Polish imprisonment (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 345–346).

In fact, B. Hrinchenko covered the history of the Khmelnychchyna based on M. Hrushevskiy’s ideas (see Hrushevskiy M. S. *Essay on the History of the Ukrainian People*. St. Petersburg, 1904) and provided short but vivid sketches on the events of that time.

Hence, B. Hrinchenko depicted B. Khmelnytskyi’s escape from the Polish prison to the Zaporozhian Sich, the transition of the Cossacks to his side, the alliance with the Crimean Khan, the campaign in Ukraine, the support from the urban Cossacks and the masses, the battle of the Zovti Vody River, near Korsun, Pyliavtsiamy, Zboriv and Zbarazh. The author did not hide the cruelty in the confrontation between the rivals (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 345).

In particular, B. Hrinchenko paid special attention to the battle of Zborov separately. According to B. Hrinchenko, B. Khmelnytskyi’s victory over the Polish army was inevitable, but the Crimean khan’s actions did not allow “such conditions to get what he wanted” Hetman. The content of the Treaty of Zboriv (1649) between Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi and King John (Jan) II Casimir, which legalized the Cossack self-government within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Zaporizhzhya Army or the Hetmanate), was briefly presented in an accessible but qualified form. However, B. Hrinchenko considered quite rightly that the above-mentioned agreement could not satisfy either the Ukrainians or the Poles, which led to further escalation of the conflict (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 345).

In addition, B. Hrinchenko focused on the Pereyaslav Rada and its significance for Ukraine. In his works, he tried to convey to readers the fact that B. Khmelnytskyi entered into an alliance with Muscovite Russia compulsorily and without much desire, because he was prompted by the circumstances of that time and the difficult situation of the Ukrainian state. B. Hrinchenko covered in great detail the conditions “under which Ukraine had to live with Moscow”, which, in our opinion, was caused by the author’s attempt to show the treacherous, insidious policy of the northern neighbour, who broke all his promises and obligations to Ukraine.

Hence, according to the author’s interpretation, Ukraine under the protection of the Russian Tsar should be completely independent with all its liberties and rights, neither the Tsar nor his authorities could interfere in the Ukrainian affairs, the Hetman retained the right to maintain diplomatic relations with other states and receive their embassies, the Hetman had to pay tribute

to the Tsar, but collected it himself without Moscow interference, and the Tsar undertook to defend Ukraine with his army (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 346). It should be emphasized that B. Hrinchenko in this context relied on V. Serheyevych's authoritative opinion, the Russian historian of law, and interpreted the treaty as a personal union (see V. I. Sergeevich. Lectures and research on the ancient history of Russian law. St.-Petersburg, 1903).

According to B. Hrinchenko, the consequences of the alliance with Moscow were negative for Ukraine. Thus, B. Hrinchenko, while elaborating the above-mentioned thesis, in the spirit of M. Kostomarov (see N. I. Kostomarov. Two Russian nationalities. St.-Petersburg, 1861), resorted to a comparison of Ukraine and Muscovite Russia. To B. Hrinchenko's mind, Ukraine was characterized by democracy in all spheres of life, and Moscow tradition was characterized by despotism, neglect of freedom and individual rights. Describing the realities of the time, he put emphasis on the fact that in Ukraine the people were free, the officials were elected, the country was ruled by an elected Hetman, and the Zaporozhian Sich was "completely free". Moreover, Moscow system was quite different as the population was enslaved and "the chiefs-pany offended the people seriously", there was no election, "the Tsar ruled everyone" and "the poor Muscovites lived under their masters even worse than in Poland under the Polish rule" (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 347).

The author also drew attention to the discrepancies between the Ukrainian and Moscow Orthodoxy, compared the state of education and printing in Ukraine and Muscovite Russia. As a result, B. Hrinchenko making an infer on his comparative analysis, stated that the Ukrainian culture fell into complete disharmony with the established traditions of the new "ally" (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 348). The negative complementarity of the two cultures and states, could not but lead to growing contradictions, increasing tensions and the emergence of confrontation between Ukraine and the Tsardom of Moscow.

B. Hrinchenko expressed himself more radically concerning B. Khmelnytskyi's policy as a "narrow panskyi", "dual" in the unfinished work, which was called "Danylo Nechay" (1885) (Hrinchenko, 2017, pp. 348–359). Due to the social orientation, the Hetman was forced to make concessions to the Poles in the most important moments of the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle. B. Hrinchenko accused the Hetman, who twice "holding Poland" "in his hands" (namely after the death of King Wladyslaw and the victory at Zboriv) did not take advantage of these historical chances. Moreover, B. Hrinchenko contrasted B. Khmelnytskyi with Danylo Nechay, the "representative of the masses", who died in 1651 tragically.

B. Hrinchenko accused B. Khmelnytskyi of adhering to the Moscow state for several times (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 121).

It should be emphasized that B. Hrinchenko also focused on the figures of two Hetmans of Ukraine – Ivan Vyhovskyi (adhered to the pro-Polish orientation) and Petro Doroshenko (entered into the alliance with Turkey), who, according to B. Hrinchenko, were the most consistent in trying to preserve the Ukrainian state during the 'Ruina' period.

Due to the significance of the Treaty of Hadiach in 1658, which "made some corrections" in Pereyaslav articles by B. Khmelnytskyi and "separated" Ukraine from the Moscow state, B. Hrinchenko was interested in the figure of Vyhovskyi. As a result, B. Hrinchenko dedicated his thorough work to Vyhovskyi "Ivan Vyhovskyi. His Life and Deeds", which was first published in Kyiv in 1909. At the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries the figure of the Hetman was insufficiently studied in Ukrainian historiography and little known among the wider circles of the Ukrainian society. However, among the Ukrainian intellectual elite, the above-mentioned figure was considered one of the most interesting and attractive figures in the Ukrainian history.

Hetman's biography, like previous works, is a popularization of historical knowledge about Ukraine. But there was a drastic difference, for instance, the scientific apparatus, a wide range of used sources and literature, including the latest scientific and archeographic publications, carefully and critically processed by the author, showed that he rose to a new level in his historical studies. B. Hrinchenko managed to summarize the research of representatives of the Ukrainian, the Polish and the Russian historiography, for example, Y. Antonyi, V. Antonovych, O. Vostokov, V. Herasymchuk, M. Hrushevskiyi, D. Korenets, M. Kostomarov, V. Lypynskiyi, F. Ravita-Havronskiyi, S. Solovyov, O. Fotynskiyi and the others. Moreover, the author used the Cossack chronicles as the sources actively (Samovydet, G. Grabianka and S. Wielyczko), "Acts relating to the history of Southern and Western Russia" (vol. IV, V, VII, XI, XV), "Monuments Issued by the Temporary Commission for the Analysis of Ancient Acts" (Kyiv, vol. I-IV), "Archives of South-western Russia" (ch. III, vol. VI), "Collection of Chronicles Relating to the History of Southern and Western Russia" (1888), "South Russian Chronicles, Discovered and Published by N. Belozerskyi" (vol. I), etc. (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 489).

However, taking into consideration the preparatory materials for the topic, testified that the study consisted of a much wider range of sources and literature, a chronology of events was compiled, there were collected biographical data of the Cossack officers, etc.: "Extracts about the Figures of the XVIIth Century. [Vyhovskiyi, Dzhulai, Loboda, Chaadayev, Bezpalnyi and the others]" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31 452, 185 p.), "Materials for the Work on Vyhovskiyi" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1 c. 31 557, 142 p.) and the others.

In addition, in many respects, B. Hrinchenko's vision concerning Hetman's activity was based on M. Kostomarov's estimations (see Kostomarov N. *The Hetmanship of Vyhovskiyi*. St.-Petersburg, 1872), whose works he referred to in the text plentifully.

Modern researchers regard the work written by B. Hrinchenko as the populist national period in the study of the issue (along with the works written by V. Herasymchuk, M. Hrushevskiyi, M. Stadnyk), when the formation of the national scientific vision of I. Vyhovskiyi era took place (Kazmyrchuk & Kazmyrchuk, 2019, pp. 62-64, 66).

The author singled out twelve chapters in the work on I. Vyhovskiyi, which covered certain stages of his biography: I. General Secretary; II. Elected Hetman; III. The Fight Breaks Out; IV. The War with Pushkar and the Moscow Ambassadors; V. Between Moscow and Poland; VI. Hadiach Treaty; VII. Before the War; VIII. At the Polish Sejm; IX. The War; X. The End of the Hetmanate; XI. Last Years; XII. The Death.

According to B. Hrinchenko, I. Vyhovskiyi was a prominent military leader, politician and statesman, the successor of B. Khmelnytskyi's policy, who fought for its independence under difficult, unfavorable for Ukraine historical circumstances. First of all, B. Hrinchenko was interested in the Hetman's activities on the agreement between the Hetmanate and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on Ukraine's membership as the "Grand Duchy of Moscow" – the third equal Republic in alliance with Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Owing to I. Vyhovskiyi's desire to liberate his homeland from Moscow power, the researcher was attracted to him obviously and was prompted to study and popularize the life and work of the Hetman.

The author dwelled in detail on I. Vyhovskiyi's oscillations between Muscovite and Poland, the Treaty of Hadiach, and the Battle of Konotop, which revealed the Hetman's remarkable military talent. Moreover, B. Hrinchenko strongly believed that the Ukrainian leader initially adhered to the agreement with Moscow, but later leaned towards an alliance with Poland, because "from Poland, he hoped to receive more rights for Ukraine than from Moscow" (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 455).

B. Hrinchenko, while covering the Treaty of Hadiach and giving it a historical assessment, leaned towards its positive, in the case of implementation, significance. In addition to it, a special role was assigned to General Secretary Yuriy Nemyrych by the researcher, who, in his opinion, reoriented the Hetman to an alliance with Warsaw, and was one of the concept's creators of the "Grand Duchy of Moscow" and the main author of the Treaty of Hadiach (Hrinchenko, 2014, pp. 460–461). However, B. Hrinchenko believed that the transformations envisaged by the treaty remained only on paper, as the Sejm in Warsaw ratified it in a much reduced form, and Poland was unprepared to give Ukraine the status of an equal partner and the Commonwealth co-ruler (albeit with limited rights). In addition, according to the researcher, the successful implementation of the Treaty of Hadiach was hampered by the lack of understanding of I. Vyhovskyi's plans and his project "Grand Duchy of Moscow" by the majority of the Ukrainian people, especially ordinary Cossacks, who did not want the return of the Polish pany and the Cossacks starshyny become shliakhtha (Hrinchenko, 2014, p. 476).

It should be highlighted that we keep to the point that B. Hrinchenko's views on I. Vyhovskyi's activities and the Treaty of Hadiach significance were conditioned by his then political convictions, the desire to gain autonomy and independence for Ukraine. The author, like the majority of the Ukrainian historians of the time, sought answers to the questions of the present in the past. As a result, the most attention was paid to the figure of I. Vyhovskyi in B. Hrinchenko's historical studies.

In spite of its research nature, B. Hrinchenko's work on I. Vyhovskyi was written in an accessible form, in good Ukrainian, which made it possible to present an interesting biography of the Hetman against the background of events in Ukraine in the mid-XVIIIth century and to convey the latest achievements of the Ukrainian historical science to the mass Ukrainian reader.

Instead, Doroshenko's alliance with Turkey aimed to "separate" Ukraine from the Polish state. B. Hrinchenko's attention to the person and activity of P. Doroshenko once again demonstrated that in the past of Ukraine he was interested in the experience of liberation from a foreign rule. Consequently, B. Hrinchenko amassed rich historical and folklore material, researched how Hetman's image was engraved in folk art. The researcher's conclusions were tested in speeches and discussions at meetings of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kyiv on November 15 and December 23, 1907. Moreover, he dated back to the folk song about Doroshenko and Sahaidachnyi during P. Doroshenko's Hetmanship, and the character "Sahaidachnyi", according to the author, was a contemporary of the Hetman, possibly a descendant of P. Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi (Hrinchenko, 1908a; Hrinchenko, 1908b).

It should be mentioned that the preparatory materials for the above-mentioned studies could be found in the author's personal archive: "Song of Doroshenko and Sahaidachnyi [text of the song and its description, with corrections and additions, 1907]" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, p. 31394–31395, 60 p.) and "Folk Poetry about Doroshenko and other Materials about him" (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31507, 26 p.).

According to the memoirs of M. M. Hrinchenko's wife (pseudo – M. Zahirnia), he collected folklore until his last breath for the work dedicated to Kobzar Dumas about I. Mazepa and P. Doroshenko (Zahirnia, 1999, pp. 100–101).

Therefore, there were several attempts made by B. Hrinchenko to comprehend the historical role of P. Doroshenko in artistic form as well. Hopes for the unification of Ukraine under the mace of Doroshenko and liberation from foreign invaders were the historical context in the plays "Yasni Zori" (the action took place in the Turkish Azov in the 1670s) and "Sered Buri" (events in Kalnik in the autumn of 1671).

One of the main characters of “Yasni Zori”, a young Cossack Dmytro, tells old Panas the latest information about the division of Ukraine, the presence of two Hetmans: “on our side, here” – Petro Doroshenko, “on the other side, there” – Dem’yan Mnohohrshnyi (the Sinner). Moreover, the “side” has no correlation with Right-Bank Ukraine and Left-Bank Ukraine or the location of Azov; Hetman Doroshenko was clearly affiliated with the notions of “our” and “here”. Dmytro concludes the following: “There is no order, because there is no head...” and clearly regrets the weak prospects for the unification of the state headed by Doroshenko (MI NLUV, 1991, p. 342).

B. Hrinchenko wrote a play on five acts “Petro Doroshenko”, where the theme of the moral and historical choice of the Hetman about the loyalty of the course to the Alliance with Turkey was a common issue through the plot – “Materials for the Drama “Petro Doroshenko” [1907?]” (MI NLUV, f. I, d. 1, c. 31489, 22 p.). The drama was not completed, in particular, due to a lack of historical sources.

It should be mentioned that there was a great public demand for these topics in the Ukrainian society, which was evidenced by the favorable attitude of the public, including Kyiv public, to the release of the play on five acts by L. M. Starytska-Chernyakhivska (see Starytska-Chernyakhivska L. M. Hetman Doroshenko. Lviv, 1911).

To our mind, B. Hrinchenko summed up efficiently the historical experience of the Ukrainian statehood in the middle of the XVIIIth century. B. Hrinchenko in a letter to V. Hnatiuk issued on October 8, 1901 wrote the following: “Our grief is that we still did everything for tomorrow. And we are lucky to achieve something only for those who always do today ... Our second grief is that we are always united with someone, and a friend sat on our necks for help. It is sufficient to mention at least the combination of Khmelnytskyi and his successors with the Turkic-Tatars. Our third calamity is that we were never able to unite with ourselves: it is enough to remember the story of Pushkar and Vyhovskyi, the story that still happens to us in all variations, because we still eat ourselves worse than all our enemies” (Hrinchenko, 2020, p. 255).

The Conclusions. Thus, the educational and artistic works written by B. Hrinchenko are a talented popularization of the history of Ukraine and the historical experience of the Ukrainian National Revolution of the middle of the XVIIIth century, compiled in the form accessible to the masses. At the same time, the author managed to do it without primitivizing and distorting the facts. Conceptually, B. Hrinchenko relied on the longevity of the Ukrainian history according to M. Hrushevskyi, used historical argumentation to justify Ukraine’s right to independence. Such long-term, persistent work aimed at educating patriotism and national consciousness and prepared a favorable ground for the further struggle for the Ukrainian statehood and its revival in 1917 – 1921.

At the same time, B. Hrinchenko’s work on I. Vyhovskyi was his first attempt to go beyond the genre of popularization and rise to the level of popular science and even research. M. Hrushevskyi said that he had come to politics through history, and B. Hrinchenko, we think, could say that he came to history through socio-political activity. With the needs for education, he began to study scientific works on history seriously and finally came close to independent research in the field of the Ukrainian history.

We believe that B. Hrinchenko’s historical views need further study, which will reconstruct his argumentation of the historical rights of the Ukrainian people, debatable issues of historical relations with other nations, current political sympathies (for democratic historical forms of government and social rights), the importance of works on historical topics in cultural, educational and pedagogical activities. It will also allow to clarify the political views of B. Hrinchenko, to understand exactly what he wanted to see in the Ukrainian state and society.

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