

The source study has been carried out in terms of reflecting changes in the everyday life of the Swedes during the World War II. The diary's peculiarity is that the author's entries are accompanied by clippings from the official daily and weekly press, as well as fragments of personal letters of citizens that became known to the author during her work in the Correspondence Verification Department of the National Security Service. By the choice of the estimates and the information selected for recording, one can trace both the personal civic position of the author and public opinion about the war in general. The records of an ordinary housewife make it possible to trace the dynamics of the moods of Swedish citizens, their attitude to power, to the country's neutrality policy, to the culprits of the world war – Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia, whom the author defines as equal threats to peace. At the same time, the notes allow us to talk about the dominance of fear of the Soviet occupation and the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks. A.Lindgren thinks a lot about the causes, course, results and consequences of the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-1940.

Diary entries show how the material conditions of work and life, recreation and leisure of the country as a whole and the Lindgren family notably changed. She writes that her family's condition has improved, but she has compassion for war victims, crippled Germans and Finns, Americans and British, survivors of the Siege of Leningrad and residents of the occupied Europe. During the war, the world is not limited to the author, but, on the contrary, it expands, empathy is not confined to the family circle, as she reconsiders her own views. A.Lindgren does not identify the state ideology and politics of the warring parties with the public mood in them. According to the text of the diary, one can trace the personal evolution of the author from an ordinary layman to a responsible citizen, the strengthening of democratic positions and humanistic ideals in her worldview.

Key words: everyday routine, everyday life, ego-documents, diary, war diary, family, anti-war sentiments, neutrality, Swedish society.

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Ukrainian idea of Ihor Hubarzhovskyi

Abstract. The article is highlighted the views of a talented linguist, church figure, publicist, poet, prose writer I. Hubarzhovsky (1905-1970) on the principles of the revival and development of the Ukrainian state. The main milestones of the life of I. Hubarzhovsky are revealed, in particular, some aspects of his activity in emigration in Great Britain and the USA. It was emphasized that Hubarzhovsky remained true to the idea of an independent Ukrainian state throughout his life. In his writings, which are inherent in the national-patriotic orientation, he touched on pressing issues of socio-political issues, thinking them on the basis of Christian ethics. I. Hubarzhovsky expressed his views on the revival and development of the Ukrainian state in the articles in various emigrant publications, mainly published in 1957-1968 not claiming to be an exhaustive program of state formation. In it are highlighted the understanding of I. Hubarzhovsky's democratic principles of the

political structure of the Ukrainian state, application of the principles of social justice in it are highlighted. Also the views of I. Hubarzhevsky are shown on socio-cultural aspects of the Ukrainian idea, leading in which he saw the development of spirituality, education and upbringing. The conclusions noted that the ideal of I. Hubarzhevsky was a democratic state with a developed civil society. The author considered the principle of catholicity an important basis of state formation, called for national and ideological unity of the Ukrainian nation, which can be achieved only in conditions of free social development of the population of different Ukraine's parts. I. Hubarzhevsky stressed the importance of ensuring social justice, religious tolerance, creating a modern education system in the Ukrainian state. I. Hubarzhevsky's views are based on the combination of traditional Ukrainian spirituality with the modern political and economic achievements of Western countries. Nowadays, some ideas of I. Hubarzhevsky may be considered conservative, but many of them remain relevant.

Key words: I. Hubarzhevsky, Ukrainian emigration, Ukrainian idea, statehood, Christianity.

In Ukraine, the intellectual heritage of emigration is gradually being returned, one of whose founders was I. Hubarzhevsky (1905-1970). The person of this talented scientist-linguist, church figure, publicist, poet and prose writer, practically was not studied in modern national historiography. Only several authors considered his works [1; 8; 10]. I. Hubarzhevsky's works relate to the topical issues of socio-political problems, understood on the principles of Christian ethics. They are characteristic of national-patriotic orientation. The purpose of the article is to highlight the views of I. Hubarzhevsky on the fundamentals of the revival and development of the Ukrainian state.

Ihor Volodymyrovich Hubarzhevsky was born in Dereshiv of the Novo-Ushitsk district of the Podilsk province (now Murovanakurilovets district of the Vinnytsia region). He spent his early years in Palanka of the Haysin district (now Zaozerne Tulchyn district in Vinnytsia region), where his father served as a parish priest. In 1914-1919 he studied at the Tulchynskii Seminary. At the end of the Ukrainian Revolution I. Hubarzhevsky supported the rebel movement against Soviet power [1, p. 15]. In 1922-1927 he studied at the Kyiv Archaeological Institute at the ethnological department. In 1930 he made an exam for the historical-philological department of the Kiev Institute of Peoples Education. In 1925-1930 he was a lecturer in the Kyiv state courses of Ukrainian Studies, in 1930-1932 he was a technical worker of the Research Linguistics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and in 1932-1941 he was a researcher. He also taught Ukrainian language and literature at the Kyiv Full Secondary Railway School. In 1936-1941 – Associate Professor of the Kiev Pedagogical Institute named after M. Gorky. In 1939 he defended his Ph.D. thesis on the topic «T. Shevchenko and contemporary Ukrainian literary language» (official opponents – academician L. Bulakhovsky and Professor Y. Shevelev [6, p. 388]). He was the author of a number of scientific works [3; 4; 5], co-author of the «Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary» (Kyiv, 1937) [9].

Important and, as the result, the defining calling of I. Hubarzhevsky, which was formed under the influence of the family environment, was his faith and service to God. He authorized the local clergy to proclaim sermons in the churches of the Haysin region since 1922. At the same time he became a parishioner of the Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv, where he listened to the sermons of the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church V. Lipkivsky. The circumstances were so prevalent that in 1941, he remained with his family in the occupied German troops in Kiev. He had failed in an attempt to restore the work of the Institute of Linguistics, the linguist decided to devote himself entirely to church affairs. On December 29, 1941, he was ordained a priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, appointed rector of the Holy Trinity Church of Chopovichi and the dean of the Chopovitsky District in Zhytomyr Region, later – a dean of Korosten and Ovruch districts, on January 24, 1943 – Archpriest. From 1944 – he was on emigration in Slovakia, later – in Germany. He met the war ended in Thuringia near Erfurt, moved to the English occupation zone – to Hanover. 1945-1948 – Parish priest of the Ukrainian prisoners of war in the Heidenau camp [2, p. 190].

In the spring of 1948 he traveled to the United Kingdom, headed the General Church Administration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. He was the editor of the «Братський Листок» («Bratskij Lystok») and «Хрест і тризуб» («Khrest i tryzub»).

One of the founders of the religious organization of Ukrainian emigrants «The Brotherhood of St. Archangel Michael». Subsequently, he joined the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Sobornopravna). In 1960, he emigrated to the United States, was the deputy chairman of the Small and Great Councils of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Sobornopravna), a priest at the temple in Brooklyn. He worked at Columbia University (New York), where he taught Ukrainian language and literature, and collaborated with the Ukrainian editorial office of Radio Liberty. In New York, he created a publishing house where the magazine «Наша Батьківщина» («Nasha Batkiwschyna») [10, p. 574] was published. In the parish of St. Archangel Michael created the Ukrainian Orthodox Lecture [6, p. 83].

I. Hubarzhevsky was a talented scholar, writer and publicist. One of the most urgent topics in the environment of the Ukrainian emigre community after the Second World War was the idea of

national statehood. I. Hubarzhevsky told that the major tasks of the Ukrainian people have been identified: «1. REMOVING OUR MOTHERLAND AND 2. CONSTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT» [7, p. 121].

I. Hubarzhevsky considered the state as one of the great achievements of human culture, understood as created by man «a form of social order for the convenience of the development of organized life» [6, p. 225].

Not claiming an exhaustive program of state-building, I. Hubarzhevsky also expressed his views on the revival and development of the Ukrainian state in various articles, mainly published in 1957-1968.

This question was really important [6, p. 227], he understood that the ultimate form of government would set the nation after the overthrow of the communist government in Ukraine [7, p. 46].

In articles he presented his understanding of the ideal the Ukrainian state system. «I do not know what Ukraine will be in future, but I want to imagine it in my dreams ... My dreams are directed to the future. In my future, because it is the future of my people, who still had no time to grow old», the author proclaimed [6, p. 218-219]. I. Hubarzhevsky was convinced that emigration, as the most famous part of the Ukrainian nation [6, p. 285], should «make bricks for ... a structure, a strong and morally clean structure of our statehood. All our forces: the church, parties, public and scientific organizations – all the intellectual power of our nation – must think about it, discuss these questions by directed the edge of them in the future, rather than stumbling in a mire of emigration quarrels and intrigue of modern, and not explaining wounds of the past» [6, p. 226-227].

Characterizing the world development after the Second World War, I. Hubarzhevsky was convinced that «the birth of a new era. The old, the last era of colonialism, which was built on the concentration of private (in the West) and the state (in the USSR) capital of the metropolis, decomposes in the eyes ... ». He described these examples as «the enormity of India, Indochina, Morocco, resistance to Soviet imperialism in Hungary, Poland, East Germany, etc.» [7, p. 282].

He was convinced that «there can't and WILL NOT exist two worlds: the Eastern – Bolshevik and Western – Democratic, and what can, AND WILL exist, only ONE world, or Bolshevik, or democratic ... ». Considered the idea declared by the leadership of the USSR of coexistence of the two worlds as a tactical, as a «transitional». «The Western World, as claimed by I. Hubarzhevsky, has the opportunity to put into practice the ideological base of Christianity, Christian foundations in their directness and proximity in the struggle against the Bolshevik ideology. ... » [6, p. 348].

I. Hubarzhevsky considered Christianity as the most perfect and most comprehensive ideology of humanity [7, p. 111], in particular, the Ukrainian nation [6, p. 209]. It is not by chance that he distinguished among the shrines of the Ukrainian nation: Orthodox faith, trident, yellow-blue flag and Ukrainian language [7, p.175-177]. It is worth noting that, considering the Orthodoxy as a certain core of Ukrainian mentality and culture, I. Hubarzhevsky shared the history of Ukraine on the pre-Christian and Christian day [6, p. 289, 89]. In the latter he saw three epochs: the princely, Hetman and the period of national revival, part of which considered his present [6, p. 317].

For Ukraine, I. Hubarzhevsky has chosen a democratic political system. The author relied on the traditional definition of «democracy» as a form of «government, for which power belongs to the people». Criticized the soviet ideologues – popular democracy, soviet democracy, bourgeois democracy [6, p. 216-217].

I. Hubarzhevsky advocated for «the creative and business democracy». In his understanding, he is accompanied by the implementation of democratic values in the political life of society, observance of national discipline, respect for the freedom of citizens thought, democratic consciousness [6, p. 218].

«It doesn't matter how that state would be called – it is important that it would be a Ukrainian independent state. It does not matter what the title of the President of our State would be: a president, a hetman or some other. It is important that the President of the State would be elected by the people and be freed from the duty of the people in the event of a final need» [7, p. 206]. According to I. Hubarzhevsky, the head of the Ukrainian state should have broad powers, elected by popular vote, as his deputy. If the head of state is not at the same time a prime minister, he will appoint a prime minister. The latter picks up the cabinet and submits it for approval by the head of state. During certain political unrest, the head of state has the right to declare a special state and concentrate all power exclusively in his hands [6, p. 221]. In general, it reminds a presidential model in the United States.

The parliament must elect the whole people equal, direct and secret vote of the whole population, regardless of the property, the qualifications of voters and deputies [6, p. 227]. The author touched on the activities of political parties in the context of criticizing their functioning in emigration. He believed that the parties needed to unite according to the classic parliamentary model – center, right and left. The existence of an excessive number of political parties indicates the incompleteness of the political structure of the nation [6, p. 265]. To his mind, the main obstacle to the ineffectiveness of

emigrant political parties is their unacceptable hostile mutual attitude. And the task is «that these parties be in the problem of a successful, creative coexistence of national interests», the dedication of their creative forces to the all-Ukrainian sea of spirituality [6, p. 265-266].

I. Hubarzhevsky also noted that the state would have «a regular army recruited by annual prizes» [6, p. 222].

One of the important principles of state-building the author considered the principle of collegiality. He called for the national-ideological unity of the Ukrainian nation, which can only be achieved in conditions of free social development of the population of different parts of Ukraine [6, p. 290].

Reflecting on the structure and functioning of the future Ukrainian state, I. Hubarzhevsky tried to prevent certain defects inherent in Western democracies [7, p. 150].

According to I. Hubarzhevsky, the future Ukrainian state will ensure freedom of conscience, beliefs, words, actions. He noted that freedom of conscience also means freedom of religious and religious beliefs. At the same time, he did not put them above the freedom of society. Citizens should not use freedom to the detriment of the state; destroy material values, in particular historical, scientific or artistic values [6, p. 222]. In such cases, the state has the right and «must firmly restrict the abnormal manifestations of «freedom» of such individual actors or groups as those who recklessly use «freedom», deny the freedom of development and strengthening of man and all people» [6, p. 221].

I. Hubarzhevsky presented his understanding of the economic and social functions of the state. He criticized «not only the Bolshevik leaders, but also those magnets and circles of the «free» world that do not allow this world to truly develop freely in the direction of liberation from the siege and slave economic dependence of billions, from the power of capital» [7, p. 138].

He criticized the economic system in Western countries and in the Soviet Union, which was considered to be not socialist but state capitalism: «Modern Bolshevism has grown from materialism, and modern capitalism has grown from materialism – they are relatives and have common features: cruelty, lust, animal husbandry. They were matter and only for matter they worship and recognize. They are fighting for the material treasures of the world, for the body of the world» [7, p. 127, 150].

Without perceiving the so-called socialist system, I. Hubarzhevsky in the Ukrainian state considered it necessary to create a socially oriented economy, which would harmonize the interests of different segments of society and consolidate it. He argued that national independence could not be complete without introducing into the life «practice of the gospel principles of social order» [6, p. 8]. Thanks to them «for example, the misuse of illegal assets, the exploitation of the working people by the unemployed ... » [7, p. 55-56].

The basic scale of «paid employees and workers for the representation of the economic commission at the minister of labor and with the participation of the interested ministries» will be approved by the parliament and approved by the head of state, «after which it becomes a law that can be changed only in the same order, taking into account the interests of workers, entrepreneurs and the state» [6, p. 221]. The state was given the role of price regulator in the market, procurement prices in the industry and agriculture. At the same time, he considered the existence of various forms of ownership in industry and agriculture (state, cooperative, private). Restricted land ownership by one person to 10 hectares. In his opinion, the network's transportation, in particular, the railways should belong to the state. Medical institutions and medical services were to be controlled by the state especially with regard to the determination of remuneration. All state expenditures should be covered by state taxes established on a progressive scale, based on the taxable property status. For the elderly and the poor, medical care and medicine should be free of charge [6, p. 222]. All the disabled state was supposed to help [7, p. 55-56].

I. Hubarzhevsky considered one of the most important factors in the implementation of the Ukrainian idea of spiritual life, education, upbringing, advancement of technology, science and art [6, p. 286]. Leading in this area was the development of spirituality, education, and upbringing.

I. Hubarzhevsky considered the spirituality of her citizens as one of the most important factors of a strong state. He emphasized that the church is not only temples and ordinances, but the world's outlook of the nation, based on faith in firm moral laws given by God and therefore sacred. The strong states can be built only on such bases. «Morality is a universal category, but it is perceived through an individual, a community, a psychological and national integrity. And in consequence, this world-religious value becomes ... the value of a national, national outlook», the author noted [6, p. 220].

To his mind, «the Orthodox-national worldview is best preserved in the spirit elite of our peasantry: exceptional honesty, sustainability, aggressiveness, modesty, truthfulness, courage, solidarity, balance, delicacy, devotion and power of faith – this is its signs» [6, p. 382].

I. Hubarzhevsky considered the struggle «to save the Ukrainian nation from the elements of everyday materialism with the threat of transformation of our people into a formless laborer's body that could become a burdensome ballast in the competitions of the Ukrainian people for the spiritual, political and economic independence of Ukraine» [6, p. 14].

In his opinion, the spiritual basis of the true culture of the Ukrainian nation was pure morality and inviolable faith as a pledge of the future of Ukraine. The spiritual life of society represented as certain levels, according to the model of geological layers. The most important basic level is religion, followed by morals, culture, education, civilization [6, p. 248].

He understood civilization as the fruit of «trees» growing on the branches of education: «This is the achievements of learning, it is the fruit of the development of science and technology, it is, finally, the ability of man to behave in a community» [6, p. 248]. Instead, culture was defined as «the fruit of morals and faith», a factor «organically internal life of man, and not artificial-external». He was convinced that «a cultural man is purified by morality and is enlightened by faith. Built on this basis, the education and civilization of man gives wonderful examples of the best people of society, and without this base – education and civilization – rotten and poisonous. ... », kills the spirituality of mankind. «Morals and beliefs are very different outside, but have their core. Moral is the spiritual meaning and beauty of good, and faith is the desire of man to go beyond the limits of his spiritual separation and the aimlessness of his existence in a wide world of world unity and purposefulness, concentrated in the highest Spiritual Being» [6, p. 249].

Formation of these values is impossible without the participation of the church, whose mission is «to open up people's eyes to the true value and beauty of life and to heal the human souls from the decline» [7, p. 200].

I. Hubarzhevsky argued that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church «from the point of view of political ... is the foundation of the state, and the state can't be healthy and normal when this spiritual foundation is not formally or in fact prepared» [7, p. 331]. I. Hubarzhevsky repeatedly stressed the need to overcome the split of Ukrainian Orthodoxy on the principles of the ideology of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1921 and the universal canonical basis [6, p. 61].

I. Hubarzhevsky rejected the subordination of the Church to the State or States to the Church. In his opinion, «the state must rely, in its activities, on the Church, which covers the number of its members ... not less than 60 percent of its faithful. If this percentage is smaller, then the church with more faithfulness compared to other religious denominations will acquire the right to equal it. The church, on which the state will rely, is a clear matter, a national-state Church, which, in matters of ideological-educational, works in contact with the state authorities, strengthening with it the historical national Ukrainian ideology and educating the next generations in it. There is no doubt that in Ukraine this will be the Orthodox Church. Her contact with the state authorities does not imply subordination to the state authorities, nor does it mean subordination to any ecclesiastical authority outside Ukraine. ... » [6, p. 223].

The teaching of religion in schools was dependent on the religious affiliation of the students.

The author paid much attention to the development of education. One of the signs of a democratic state, he called the accessibility of all citizens to education: «A school should not be a privilege for certain persons» on social, property, national or racial grounds. «Every person ... in the future Ukraine ... has the right to study alongside with indigenous Ukrainians and free of charge or for the same minimum wage set for all» [6, p. 221].

He was convinced that in the future Ukraine the school will be built on the domestic spiritual ground of high morals. The role of the education of youth will be very important in the spirit of national-Christian traditions of the family as a basis of social life, the Church and school [6, p. 193-194, 198, 201, 224]. One of the important tasks was the revival of a school in the future of Ukraine. The developed school will actively participate in the development of spiritual and material culture, will promote the strengthening of the individual, family, community, state. Thus, the problem of education I. Hubarzhevsky saw in the education of «a morally healthy generation – a pledge of strength and durability of our state and nation» [6, p. 224].

I. Hubarzhevsky believed that the school of all levels of teaching should be carried out in Ukrainian. From the point of view of efficiency and «the system of teaching, the Ukrainian school should stand at the level of the advanced schools of the world ... In the middle school there should be a gymnasium that would provide a good basis for general education with the exact, as well as from the humanities, without the benefit of one group over the other» [6, p. 223].

The school can't «be bound by church-clerical boundaries», should have the freedom of scientific research, but be out of politics [6, p. 220].

Emphasizing the role of the intelligentsia in the educational process, I. Hubarzhevsky was convinced that it should be brought up on the principles of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, become «a sensitive caring gardener ... of pure and noble development ... of the people.» Ukraine intelligence should be healthy, friendly, energetic, focused on the general high purpose [7, p. 150].

I. Hubarzhevsky imagined the Ukrainian ideal as a Ukrainian independent democratic state with a developed civil society, a socially oriented economy, a significant state regulation, a religiously tolerant, and a modern education system. The views of I. Hubarzhevsky are based on the combination of traditional Ukrainian spirituality and modern political and economic achievements of the West. In our

time, the ideas of I. Hubarzhevsky can be considered conservative. At the same time, he, as many his contemporaries, didn't file a mechanism for implementing his Ukrainian ideal. The works of I. Hubarzhevsky remain an important source for studying the socio-political views of Ukrainian emigration, and many of his ideas remain relevant in today's Ukraine.

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Анотація. У статті висвітлено погляди талановитого вченого-лінгвіста, церковного діяча, публіциста, поета, прозаїка І. Губаржевського (1905-1970) щодо засад відродження і розбудови української держави. Його ідеалом була демократична держава з розвиненим громадянським суспільством, заснована на принципах соціальної справедливості, релігійно толерантна, з модерною системою освіти. Погляди І. Губаржевського базуються на поєднанні традиційної української духовності з модерними політичними та економічними

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досягненнями країн Заходу. У наш час окремі ідеї І. Губаржевського можуть вважатися консервативними, але чимало з них зберігають актуальність.

Ключові слова: І. Губаржевський, українська еміграція, українська ідея, державність, християнство.

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Аннотация. В статье освещено взгляды талантливого ученого-лингвиста, церковного деятеля, публициста, поэта, прозаика И. Губаржевского (1905-1970) относительно основ возрождения и строительства украинского государства. Его идеалом было демократическое государство с развитым гражданским обществом, основанное на принципах социальной справедливости, религиозно толерантное, с современной системой образования. Взгляды И. Губаржевского базируются на совмещении традиционной украинской духовности с современными политическими и экономическими достижениями стран Запада. В наше время отдельные идеи И. Губаржевского могут считаться консервативными, но многие из них сохраняют актуальность.

Ключевые слова: И. Губаржевский, украинская эмиграция, украинская идея, государственность, христианство.

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**Походження та діяльність Богдана Хмельницького до 1648 року
в трактуванні російських істориків**

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано сучасну російську історіографію щодо походження та діяльності Богдана Хмельницького до 1648 року. Наголошено, що російські традиціоналісти тяжіють до возвеличення Б. Хмельницького, який, на їхню думку, реалізував глобальну історичну місію планетарного масштабу – «підвів Україну під «високу царську руку». Водночас модернізатори шукають у походженні, вихованні, соціальному середовищі та рисах характеру Б. Хмельницького опертя для позбавлення фатуму промосковських орієнтацій пояснень його політичних концепцій.

Ключові слова: російська історіографія, традиціоналісти, модернізатори, гетьман, образ Богдана Хмельницького, Національно-визвольна війна.

Сучасні російські історіографічні образи гетьмана – традиціоналістський та модернізаторський (дуже відмінні, як побачимо нижче, за своїм наповненням) – базуються на принципово схожих тлумаченнях періоду життя Б. Хмельницького до української Національно-визвольної війни. Це добре показує, наскільки велику роль відіграє в російській історіографії концептуальна оболонка під час інтерпретації підставового матеріалу.

Метою статті є характеристика версій соціального походження та діяльності Богдана Хмельницького в сучасній російській історичній науці.

Подібно до українських істориків і на відміну від польської історіографії російські дослідники одностайні у визнанні шляхетського походження Б. Хмельницького. У Росії однозначно виводять гетьмана з православного шляхетського роду і ніяк не коментують