

**SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSION CONCERNING THE EVOLUTIONAL AND SYNERGETIC  
PARADIGM OF ETHNOPSYCHOLOGICAL AND HISTORIOSOPHICAL  
REPRESENTATION OF COSSACKS MENTAL FEATURES**

*Ethnopsychological, historiosophical and historiographical comprehension of the phenomenon of the Ukrainian Cossacks, its unique way of everyday life, character, worldview, self-identification showed a significant interest of scientists in this topic. It is revealed a certain quantitative and qualitative predominance of works of historical character, unevenness of scientific interests of this problem by psychologists and sociologists. The emphasis is placed on the fact, that the issues of mentality can't be considered narrowed due to their multidimensional and versatile nature, but require the use of an interdisciplinary approach in selecting research methods.*

*The article proves, that the combination of incompatible made Cossacks and their mentality, lifestyle, way of managing, craft, industry, religion, close connection with nature a unique phenomenon. The culture of Cossack grain growing, crafts, the high level of military art, deep faith in combination with pre-Christian rites, egalitarianism, the rule of customary law, the formation of the idea of democracy were the key postulates, on which the life of Zaporozhka Sich was built. That is why the Cossacks became a phenomenon firmly rooted in the archetype of Ukrainians as an example of victory, courage, struggle and had an impact on future generations.*

*Reproducing the components of the mentality of the Ukrainian Cossacks – ideological foundations, attitude to religion, moral and ethical principles and legal consciousness, the investigators have proved that it reflected the achievements of previous epochs. These archetypes of strong courageous warriors-knights, rebels absorbed in themselves the European influence of the school. Over the centuries appeared a kind of intertwining human virtues, generosity, faith in God, physical and psychological endurance. It is emphasized on the necessity of holistic perception of the figure, taking into account the positive and negative features, which allows us to understand the motivation of the actions of the Cossacks without breaking these things from the context. Taking into account the fact that the formation of the mentality of the Ukrainian people is directly related not only to the natural or inherited experience of previous generations, but also with the introduction or acquired history of their development, we can assert that the morally-ethical and ideological portrait of the Cossacks was deposited in the subconscious, creating an archetype of modern Ukrainians. The worldview, moral and ethical principles on which the life of a period of victorious national liberation struggle against enslavement was built and which cause a sense of pride form the basis of the national feeling of modern Ukrainians.*

*Mental features of the Cossacks are revealed through the important components of his philosophical and moral portrait: love to parents, mother tongue, loyalty in friendship, brotherly relations, attitude to the motherland of Ukraine; readiness to protect the weaker, younger ones, especially children; respect for the girl, woman; steady devotion to ideas, principles of folk morality, spirituality; defending the complete freedom and independence of personality, people, state; care for the development of national traditions, customs and rituals, a thrifty attitude to native nature, land; the respect of religious values, the desire to make donations for the construction of temples, educational and cultural institutions; purposeful development of their own physical and spiritual forces, the will, capabilities of their organism; ability to do everything everywhere and nobly, to discover other virtues.*

*Key words: Cossacks, mentality, philosophical and moral portrait, Christian values, Ukrainian historiography, phenomenon, ethnopsychology.*

Ukrainian historiosophy is one of the important components of the memory of our past. It includes systematized views on the autonomy and identity of the history of the Ukrainian people. Christian

historiosophy consider history as a process that goes in a certain direction as the movement towards a goal that lies beyond the actual history.

In our opinion, the historiosophical, Christian and ethnopsychological set of cognitive principles is an important factor for understanding the ideological and moral foundations of the individual, his place in society. Famous French psychologist G. Lebon, one of the founders of ethnopsychology, wrote that the greatness of peoples depends predominantly on the level of morality in their nature [7, p. 87]. Ukrainians have an important pivotal feature – freedom of spirit and responsible individualism. In addition, the positive national traits of Ukrainians are hard work, cleanliness, hospitality, high moral standards, special desire for education, sociability, correctness, commitment to the land and traditions, great ability to culture, creativity, love for children, the desire to live a spiritual life, deep respect to ancestors, courage, respect for mother-woman, chivalry, lyricism, humor, healthy optimism, eternal desire for freedom and independence, universality [9, p. 142]. These features were formed for centuries, a major contributor to their formation was made by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, including the New Sich period.

The national liberation war of the Ukrainian people in the middle of the XVII century, which had a significant influence on socio-cultural processes in the Ukrainian lands, also changed the mentally conscious dimensions of the contemporary society. The approval of the idea of national state-building, the formation of a new political elite, and the national self-identification in the scale of value orientations influenced both the public consciousness and the way of thinking of different strata of Ukrainian society. An important component of all these processes was the charitable work of the representatives of the Cossack elite, in particular, its hetmans, the atamans, the general and the regimental-hundred elderly.

The common understanding for contemporary Ukrainian researchers is, that charity is a voluntary unselfish donation of individuals or legal entities in the form of material, financial, organizational or other assistance. Charity is an integral part of human being, based on universal human and religious values. The moral need for help, reinforced by the postulates of the Christian faith was often the main prerequisite for the support of the needy.

The desire for justice is another important, perhaps the most important part of the life of Zaporozhian Cossacks. Let us recall deputation to the Imperial Court of 1755 and 1758 with the

participation of P. Kalnyshevsky with a request to issue letters of return to the Cossacks of the ancient rights to land ownership in the Zaporozhian region.

Understanding of their own land, Cossack liberties, as families, as houses, as a home meant for the Cossack Motherland. Where there is a home, all human ideals are there, the source of all good feelings and all the opportunities for development. Home is the place where people are the most themselves. This is the main site for Ukrainians. Zaporozhians traveled through the worlds, defended the southern frontiers from hostile raids, carried heavy burdens during the Russo-Turkish wars of 1735–1739 and 1768–1774, but only when they returned home, on January, they lived a real life. Actually, these terms «home» and «house» characterize the most organic nature of Ukrainian patriotism [9, p. 143].

At the same time, we shouldn't forget the negative national traits: mutual misunderstandings, quarrels, differences between words and deeds, frivolity, uncertainty (on the principle «somehow it will be»), secrecy («my home is sharp»), talkativeness, impulsivity etc. Under the imperial regime, the negative features have intensified: nihilism, neglect of language, adherence to bosses and foreign countries, conformism, predisposition to drunkenness, vulgarity of manners [9, p. 143].

Despite this, as P. Pogrebelnyi wrote, Ukrainians are «a unique people, maybe even the people of God are chosen...», «people of suffering» [4, p. 138].

According to a number of researchers, one of the characteristic features of the Ukrainian soul is introversion, means the focus on the inner world. That is precisely what determines the high Ukrainian individualism, which was treated differently. Who called his household, who – enriches. An example is the Zaporozhian hamlets and winterers, including the one of chief ataman P. Kalnyshevsky. The tragedy of our fate is, that this individualism hasn't grown to the state level, but remained on the domestic one.

Passivity, indecision are not genetic, non-innate features of Ukrainians, but the result of centuries of bondage. G. Vashchenko wrote at one time, that there were few people on earth, who would have had such a hard fate as Ukrainians. For centuries, they defended European culture and civilization from the bulk of wild nomads from the East in order to have their own state by their breasts. By knights fought for freedom, but for hundreds of years were in the position of colonial people, were forced to leave their native land [9, p. 148].

One of the sides of excessive Ukrainian emotionality: it's easy for us to be offended,

ignited, indignant and change our political orientation. To this should be added a tendency to clapping, waking up, slander. As an example, letters with anonymous content, written in the form of denunciation, with strokes of hostility to P. Kalnyshevsky, dated 1775 [8, p. 316]. From the text we see, that they are written by envoy, the foes in order to punish the ataman. We add, that the individual component of the values inherent in the mentality of the Ukrainian people, is known to stimulate the motivation of achievements, personal independence, autonomy, the need to rely only on their own strength, confidence [9, p. 179].

V. Yanov stressed that, basically, the reason for our failures, which stemmed from the Ukrainian unbelievable individualism, can be described as a paradox: in captivity we found ourselves overly loving freedom. In the desire for equality and fraternity, we were afraid of our own despot and weakened ourselves in the internal struggle for so long (not showing enough activity outside), aliens reigned over us [11, p. 138].

According to O. Kulchytsky, the outskirts of Ukraine, which demanded constant defense and protection, gave birth to a tyrannical, and subsequently a knightly-cossack type of person, who risked and wished to actively subjugate themselves to the noble ideals of honor, will and faith [6, p. 48–65]. However, in addition to this ideal, in such historical situations, among the constant dangers there is also a second possibility – the escape into private life, which occurred in such expressions as: «my home is sharp», «below water, quieter herbs», and so on. It is between these two opposite credo appears specifics of Ukrainian mentality. On the example of P. Kalnyshevsky, we see, on the one hand, the defense of the southern borders from external enemies, participation in the Russian-Turkish wars on the side of the first, on the other, surrendering without the battle of their freedoms General Tekeliya.

Religious factor also played an important role in the characterization of the Cossack elder, including P. Kalnyshevsky. The kish ataman appears before us deeply and consciously believers, in life is guided by the postulates of Christian morality.

In contemporary terms, according to scientists, there was just the only way to protect themselves from moral decline and maintain the strength of patriotic beliefs, like the ancestors to rely on God and seek him hope and comfort.

An important component of the philosophical and moral portrait of the Cossack elders was charity. It means compassion, heartfeltness, compassion, love in action, willingness to do

good to everyone, soft heartedness. Charity is a property, a feature of the benefactor. Philanthropist is about a person, who prone to charity, ready to do good to others, to help the poor, needy. One of the greatest benefactors of the Cossack era was P. Kalnyshevsky. As O. Apanovich notes, «in the history of the Zaporozhian Sich, nobody could equalize with this (the construction of temples – V. K.) with Petro Kalnyshevsky, who, with a sincere soul, with knowledge of the case, not sparing a huge amount of money, devoted himself to the construction and decoration of the temples» [2, p. 267]. He built over 30 Orthodox churches by his own expense: the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in the Mezhygirsky Monastery near Kiev (1768), the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Romny (1770), the Trinity Church in the village Pustoviytivka (1773), temples in Lohvytsia (1763–1764) and Petrykivtsi (1769–1775) [5, p. 30–31]. Kish financed the construction of the Trinity Cathedral in Samara (now Novomoskovsk) and Poorillia (Mohyliv, Baybakivka, Lychkivka, Gupalivka, etc.), and sent presents for the Temple of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, during his tenure as chief ataman [5, p. 4].

Ukrainian religiosity is more prone to self-immolation, high emotionality. An impulse to the spiritual peaks of truth, goodness, and beauty is a sign of true spirituality. This concept implies the presence of such personality traits, which testify to high universal morality, the breadth of spiritually rich interests.

Calling themselves the knights of Orthodoxy, the Cossacks considered as a great honor to suffer for their faith in the fight against the enemy, so they courageously took upon themselves the martyrdom cross.

Since the main purpose of their life in Zaporozhzhia was the establishment of the Orthodox faith, they, having settled in a new place, immediately sought a picturesque place for the construction of the church. In Sich, it was accepted, especially among elders and kurin atamans, daily presence in the church on matrimonial, liturgy and supper. Any violation of the canons of the Orthodox Church by the Cossacks was strongly rejected.

The location of Ukraine at the crossroads of historical roads, the buffer zone made the Ukrainian ethnos vulnerable, turning them into an object of hostility between the conquerors of the East and the West, the South and the North. And this was precisely what contributed to the emergence of the psychology of the Cossacks and

Ukrainians in general of such a tendency as to postpone the solution of the most important issues to the decision of the highest, existential instance, God's intercession.

The historical reality of the existence of the Ukrainian people as a colonial ethnos also predetermined the fact that in Ukraine, the church as a social institution, the brotherhood of believers played an important role in national self-determination [9, p. 269]. On the dynamically-genetic side, the religious factor played a significant role in the formation of the national psyche. Ukrainian life has always been based on Christian principles, and therefore the Church and religion played an important role here. A visiting of the church, celebrating religious holidays was a national duty of a Christian. A respectful attitude towards Christian values was formed. Zaporozhka Sich was the cradle and spiritual formation of the defender of the Motherland.

Our ancestors lived in harmony with nature and felt part of it. It was during the period of the atamanization of P. Kalnyshevsky, that the number of Zaporozhian winter farmers grew as diversified farms of the farm type. In the publication «The Lord goes by a plow» [1] O. Apanovich notes that the Zaporozhian Cossacks had a mentality inherent in the Ukrainian peasantry – not only the connection with the land, but also the deep relationship with nature. The inhabitants of wintering were face to face with nature and studied the correct attitude to it. Zaporozhians felt their sons, taking advantage of the riches of nature, sought in no way to diminish them. People were face to face with nature and studied the correct attitude to it. Zaporozhians felt their sons, taking advantage of the riches of nature, sought in no way to diminish them. According to documentary Archives of Kish of Zaporozhian Sich (XVIII century), the Zaporozhian government developed a system of environmental measures, in particular, orderly and regulated land and forest management. None Cossack, who was going to set up his own winterer, did not receive permission from Kish, until he had previously given a written commitment to keep crop rotation on the field, to keep and multiply the surrounding forest. For each felling of a forest for wintering or for sale required also a special permission of Kish. It was not allowed to cut out the most precious species of trees, such as oak, lime – a honey-tree, ash – from it were made parts for the carts, as well as garden trees. It was forbidden to catch a small fish and beat a young beast.

In the Cossack schools of the Zaporozhka Sich, were assimilated the Cossack code of conduct, the

norms of Christian and folk morals, was cultivated the national spirit of Ukrainians, and were formed the features of the national character. The Cossack educational system contributed to the formation of patriotism through the assimilation of the norms of morality, the Cossack brotherhood and friendship, chivalry and courage.

A characteristic feature of Ukrainian psychology is high humanism, noble knighthood. Throughout the struggle for national and social liberation over centuries, Ukrainians have never used their forces to enslave other nations, never destroy the alien culture, they have no aggressive great-power instincts [9, p. 344]. We must always be proud of this.

The plundering of our lands by «conquerors-patrons» contributed to the consolidation of the ideals of faith in justice, wisdom, freedom, spirituality, humanity, hospitality.

One day came to the eye the text of the letter from Empress Catherine II to Prince O. Vyazemsky with a peculiar set of instructions regarding his future activities as general prosecutor [3, c. 248]. It proposed to put out forever the word «Hetman» from our memory. It also forbade us the terms «Kish ataman», «Zaporozhian Cossack». This letter answers the question: Why was the Zaporozhka Sich destroyed? Why was sent Kish ataman P. Kalnyshevsky to Solovky to the «stone bag»?

The Tsar's government tried constantly to carry out an imperceptibly binding of the Cossack elder to the imperial bureaucracy and its individual «processing», to attach to Moscow's orders. This was accomplished by the abolition of the regimental-hundred-year system and the introduction of serfdom in Ukraine in 1783. It ended with the elimination of regimental-centesimal system and the introduction of serfdom in Ukraine in 1783.

We remembered the words of I. Sokulsky, that the first elementary condition for the existence of an individual «is the right to be a Ukrainian (with all the consequent consequences). On his own experience, he became convinced that, for a Ukrainian, is he at least three times a Marxist, there is no place other than a prison and a psychiatric ward» [10, p. 710].

The worldview and moral portrait of a Ukrainian is associated with the image of a Cossack as a courageous knight and a freedom fighter. Thanks to the Cossacks there were unwritten laws of the code of knightly honor, which provided: love for parents, mother tongue, loyalty in friendship, brotherly relations, attitude to the motherland of Ukraine; readiness to protect the weaker, younger ones, especially children;



noble attitude towards the girl, woman; steady devotion to ideas, principles of folk morality, spirituality; defending the complete freedom and independence of personality, people, state; care for the development of national traditions, customs and rituals, a thrifty attitude to native nature, land; the desire to make donations for the construction of temples, educational and cultural institutions; purposeful development of their own physical and spiritual forces, the will, capabilities of their organism; ability to do everything everywhere and nobly, to discover other virtues.

The system of education and upbringing in Zaporizka Sich schools (Cossack, Sich, regimental, palanquist, parish and other schools) provided for the formation, in addition to the qualities of knightly honor, of a certain system of valor and victory, namely: readiness to fight to perish for freedom, honor and glory of Ukraine; neglect of danger when it comes to misfortune

of relatives, friends and brothers; hatred of enemies, the desire to liberate their native land from strangers' conquerors; the ability to defend their native language, culture, the right to be the master on their own land; heroism, asceticism in work and in the battle for the sake of freedom and independence of Ukraine.

Thus, the Cossacks became a phenomenon that was firmly rooted in the archetype of Ukrainians as an example of victory, courage, struggle and had an impact on future generations. The above-mentioned historiosophical, ethnosociological reflections on our historical past make us think again, look at ourselves from the side, overcome the complex of inferiority, so that our own mistakes and imperfections didn't turn into the mistakes and imperfections of our children, our descendants, so that today we don't live in unconsciousness so that our reality has become oblivion [9, p. 11].

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(Переяслав-Хмельницький)

#### НАУКОВИЙ ДИСКУРС ЩОДО ЕВОЛЮЦІЙНО-СЕНЕРГЕТИЧНОЇ ПАРАДИГМИ ЕТНОПСИХОЛОГІЧНОЇ ТА ІСТОРІОСОФСЬКОЇ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦІЇ МЕНТАЛЬНИХ РИС КОЗАЦТВА

*Етнопсихологічне, історіософське та історіографічне осмислення феноменальності українського козацтва, його унікального способу життя, побуту, характеру, світосприйняття, самоідентифікації засвідчило прояв значного інтересу науковців до цієї тематики. Виявлено певне кількісне і якісне переважання праць історичного характеру, нерівномірність наукових зацікавлень цією проблематикою з боку психологів та соціологів. Акцентовано увагу на тому, що питання ментальності через свою багатоаспектність та різноплановість не можуть розглядатися звужено, а потребують застосування міждисциплінарного підходу при підборі методів досліджень.*

У статті доведено, що поєднання, здавалося б, неpojєднуваного робило козаків та їхній менталітет, уклад життя, спосіб господарювання, ремесла, промисли, релігію, тісний зв'язок з природою унікальним явищем. Культура козацького хліборобства, ремесла, високий рівень військового мистецтва, глибока віра у поєднанні з дохристиянськими обрядами, егалітаризм, панування звичаєвого права, формування ідеї народовладдя – це були ключові постулати, на яких будувалося життя Запорозької Січі. Саме тому козацтво стало феноменом, який міцно вкоренився в архетипі українців як приклад звитяги, мужності, боротьби і мав вплив на прийдешні покоління.

Відтворюючи складові менталітету українського козацтва – світоглядні засади, ставлення до релігії, морально-етичні принципи, правосвідомість, у дослідженні доведено, що у ньому відобразилися надбання попередніх епох. Ці архетипи сильних мужніх воїнів-лицарів, дружинників увібрали в себе і європейські впливи вишколу. З плином століть виникло своєрідне сплетіння людських чеснот, благородства, віри в Бога, фізичної та психологічної витривалості. Наголошується на необхідності цілісного сприйняття постаті, враховуючи позитивні і негативні риси, що дозволяє зрозуміти мотивацію вчинків козаків, не вириваючи ці речі з контексту. Беручи до уваги те, що формування ментальності українського народу безпосередньо пов'язане не лише з природним чи успадкованим від попередніх поколінь досвідом, але і з привнесеною чи набутою історією їхнього розвитку, можемо стверджувати, що морально-етичний та світоглядний портрет козацтва відклався в підсвідомості, створюючи архетип сучасного українця. Світоглядні та морально-етичні засади, на яких будувалося життя періоду звитяжної національно-визвольної боротьби проти поневолення, і які викликають почуття гордості, складають основу національного почуття сучасних українців.

Ментальні риси козацтва розкриваються через важливі складові його світоглядно-морального портрету: любов до батьків, рідної мови, вірність у дружбі, побратимстві, ставленні до Батьківщини-України; готовність захищати слабших, молодших, зокрема дітей; повага до дівчини, жінки; непохитна відданість ідеям, принципам народної моралі, духовності; відстоювання повної свободи і незалежності особистості, народу, держави; турбота про розвиток національних традицій, звичаїв і обрядів, бережливе ставлення до рідної природи, землі; шанування релігійних цінностей, прагнення робити пожертви на будівництво храмів, навчально-виховних і культурних закладів; цілеспрямований розвиток власних фізичних і духовних сил, волі, можливостей свого організму; уміння скрізь і всюди чинити шляхетно, виявляти інші чесноти.

Ключові слова: козацтво, ментальність, світоглядно-моральний портрет, християнські цінності, українська історіософія, феномен, етнопсихологія.

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(Переяслав-Хмельницький)

## НАУЧНЫЙ ДИСКУРС ПО ЭВОЛЮЦИОННО-СЕНЕРГЕТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРАДИГМЕ ЭТНОПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ И ИСТОРИОСОФСКОЙ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИИ МЕНТАЛЬНЫХ ЧЕРТ КАЗАЧЕСТВА

Этнопсихологическое, историософское и историографическое осмысление феноменальности украинского казачества, его уникального образа жизни, быта, характера, мировосприятия, самоидентификации показало проявление значительного интереса ученых к этой тематике. Выявлено определенное количественное и качественное преобладание работ исторического характера, неравномерность научных интересов по проблематике со стороны психологов и социологов. Акцентируется внимание на том, что вопрос ментальности через свою многоаспектность и разноплановость не может рассматриваться сужено, а требуют применения междисциплинарного подхода при подборе методов исследований.

В статье доказано, что сочетание, казалось бы, несочетаемого делало казаков и их менталитет, уклад жизни, способ хозяйствования, ремесла, промыслы, религию, тесную связь с природой уникальным явлением. Культура казацкого земледелия, ремесла, высокий уровень военного искусства, глубокая вера в сочетании с дохристианскими обрядами, эгалитаризм, господство обычного права, формирование идеи народовластия – ключевые постулаты, на которых строилась жизнь Запорожской Сечи. Именно поэтому казачество стало феноменом, который прочно укоренился в архетипе украинцев как пример победы, мужества, борьбы и имел влияние на будущие поколения. Воспроизводя составляющие менталитета украинского казачества – мировоззренческие принципы, отношения к религии, морально-этические принципы, правосознание, в исследовании дока-

зано, що в нем отразились достижения предыдущих эпох. Эти архетипы сильных мужественных воинов-рыцарей, дружинников вобрали в себя и европейские влияния подготовки. С течением веков возникло своеобразное сплетение благородства, веры в Бога, физической и психологической выносливости. Подчеркивается необходимость целостного восприятия личности, учитывая положительные и отрицательные черты, что позволит понять мотивацию поступков казаков, не вырывая эти вещи из контекста. Принимая во внимание то, что формирование ментальности украинского народа напрямую связано не только с естественным или унаследованным от предыдущих поколений опытом, но и с привнесённой или приобретённой историей их развития, можно утверждать, что морально-этический и мировоззренческий портрет казачества отложился в подсознании, творя архетип современного украинца. Мировоззренческие и морально-этические принципы, на которых строилась жизнь периода победоносной национально-освободительной борьбы против порабощения, и которые вызывают чувство гордости, составляют основу национального чувства современных украинцев.

Ментальные черты казачества раскрываются через важные составляющие его мировоззренчески-нравственного портрета: любовь к родителям, родному языку, верность в дружбе, побратимстве, отношении к Родине-Украине; готовность защищать слабых, младших, в частности детей; уважение к девушке, женщине; непоколебимая преданность идеям, принципам народной морали, духовности; отстаивание полной свободы и независимости личности, народа, государства; забота о развитии национальных традиций, обычаев и обрядов, бережное отношение к родной природе, земле, почитание религиозных ценностей, стремление делать пожертвования на строительство храмов, учебно-воспитательных и культурных учреждений; целенаправленное развитие собственных физических и духовных сил, воли, возможностей своего организма; умение везде и всюду поступать благородно и др.

Ключевые слова: казачество, ментальность, мировоззренчески-нравственный портрет, христианские ценности, украинская историософия, феномен, этнопсихология.

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(Київ)

## МОВНА СВІДОМІСТЬ ТА САМОІДЕНТИФІКАЦІЯ ЧИНОВНИЦТВА УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ГУБЕРНІЙ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА XIX – ПОЧАТОК XX СТОЛІТТЯ)

Статтю присвячено проблемі ставлення чиновництва українських губерній Російської імперії другої половини XIX – початку XX ст. до української мови, її значення для культурно-освітнього та національного життя в умовах обмежувальної політики центру щодо функціонального застосування української мови. Для дослідження мовної свідомості та самоідентифікації чиновництва використано історичний, порівняльний та біографічний методи. Для світоглядної характеристики чиновників – учасників громадського руху застосовано просопографічний підхід. Доведено, що позиція, яку займали стосовно української мови представники вищої та середньої ланок державного управління, як керівники та виконавці у системі загальноімперського бюрократичного механізму, у першу чергу, залежала від особистих світоглядних переконань чиновника. На прикладі окремих представників українського чиновництва імперії, зокрема, київського, волинського і подільського генерал-губернатора М. Драгомирова, міського голови Одеси П. Зеленого показано, яким чином державний службовець високого рангу влади міг впливати на дозволені обсяги використання української мови та сприяти розширенню сфер її функціонування.

Ключові слова: чиновництво, українська мова, мовна свідомість, самоідентифікація, Громади, Російська імперія.

Друга половина XIX ст. позначилася запровадженням низки нормативних актів, спрямо-

ваних на докорінне звуження сфери функціонування української мови на землях, що входили