

*some years. Moreover, the status of assistant of a well-known udaman served a young man as a good testimonial for his future. The herders more often than other men fell ill with anthrax as infection was transmitted through sick animals, mostly sheep.*

*During field season farmers suffered from bloody diarrhea and gastrointestinal catarrh due to unhealthy diet and water unsuitable for drinking. Besides sometimes men got injured, abrasions and skin lesions resulted in inflammation of deep layers of skin. Among the crafts regarded as a worthy occupation for a man in the first place we should mention carrying, outerwear and footwear tailoring, and smithery as well. The traditional occupation of the Greek men was trade. Exactly this activity as zemstvo's doctors thought facilitated men's venereal diseases infection. One of the most spread diseases was syphilis.*

**Key words:** *men, the Greeks, traditional occupations, diseases, the Northern part of the Sea of Azov Region.*

УДК 94(477=14)«16/18»

**V. Volonyts**

#### **TRADE AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY OF NIZHYN GREEKS IN UKRAINIAN LANDS IN THE XVIII-XIX CENTURIES IN THE XIX- CENTURY RESEARCHERS' WORKS**

*The substantive examination of the problem started in the middle years of the XIX century and was related to actualization of the interest in Nizhyn Greek community which was significantly transformed under the national reforms. While elucidating Greek center's history the researchers emphasized its merchant specific character, examined the process of decay of the Greek commerce in Nizhyn and defined that the reasons of this event were inner discords between the settled and the newly arrived Greeks. The commercial activity intensified the Greek community's self-organization and laid the ground for "special corporation" associated with B. Khmelnytsky's Universal of 1657 as historians thought.*

*The Greek merchants' activity in the middle years of the XVII century attracted attention of such authors as M. Kostomarov, O. Lazarevsky, I. Aksakov, O. Rusov, M. Storozhevsky, F. Kitchenko who in the context of the general works on Russian and Ukrainian history separately defined the Greeks' role in the development of commerce and trade routes connecting East-Slavonic lands with Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean.*

*The historians of the XIX century examined the significant elements of Nizhyn Greeks home commerce: trade routes directions, turnover structure, and usurers' operations. They also presented valuable statistic data and published important documentary material on the given problem but it lacked comments and tracing the dynamics of commodity and price condition changes.*

*However exactly since the middle years of the XIX century the substantive examination of the problem that raised the scientific interest began. Taking into account the level of the scientific knowledge of that time, the methodology of research, different trends of particular researchers, ideological bias in some issues the historians couldn't create the objective picture of the Greek merchants element's impact on the economic development of Ukraine.*

**Keywords:** *the Greek merchants, trade and commerce, entrepreneurship, Nizhyn Greek fraternity.*

Examining historical experience of the foreign colonists' commercial activity in the Ukrainian territory provides the necessary historical knowledge for forming civilized commercial and economic relations at the national and global scale. It also contributes to forming effective policy in the sphere of interethnic ties.

In the course of the XVII-XIX centuries the multifunctional role in the economic development of Ukraine was played by three Greek commercial centres – Nizhyn commercial community, Odesa Greek community and Mariupol Greek merchantry.

The historiographic experience of studying the issue of the Greek merchants' commercial activity in Ukraine in the XVII-XIX centuries is sufficient, but many works are devoted to examining issues of founding Greek communities solely. The history of commercial activity of the Greeks in Ukraine was not examined comprehensively. However, in the context of studying history of the Greeks residency in the Ukrainian territory every researcher paid attention to the development of their basic activity, i.e. commerce.

The purpose of the given article is the historiographic analysis of the works of the XIX – early XX centuries' researchers' works concerning elucidation of the commercial activity of the Greeks merchants in Ukrainian lands in the middle years of the XVII – XIX centuries.

The historiographic survey covers the works examining the history of Nizhyn, Odesa and Mariupol Greeks in the general retrospective, however the commercial and economic constituent of communities' activity is characterized casually.

Examining history of the Greeks' commercial activity in the late XVII-XIX centuries started since the middle years of the XIX century. The first researcher of the Greek merchants' history of Nizhyn was M. Storozhevsky. In his work –“The Greeks of Nizhyn” he was the first to pay attention to the historical data of the community [1]. The historian associated its emergence with the first travels of the Greek clergy to Muscovy, the government of which much encouraged coreligionists to settle in the territories bordering on Poland.

The author states that the Greek merchants emerge in Ukraine long before the Khmelnytsky uprising and settle in Pereyaslav and Baturyn, but numerous obstacles to commercial activity forced the Greeks leave these cities for Nizhyn. M. Storozhevsky points out that B. Khmelnytsky's first Universal to the Greeks (1657) was called forth by the existence of the completely formed –“special corporation” that could promote commerce in the region.

However, the researcher attracts attention to the presence of the external factors hindering the vigorous commerce of the Greeks. The merchants often became hostages of unstable foreign policy's relations. The Tatars' and Cossacks' incursions, the Polish governors and municipal officials' arbitrariness significantly complicated the passage of the merchants with the goods along the trade routes and made it highly hazardous. Referring to Muscovy's annexation of the Left-bank Ukrainian lands and the borders' modification the author states the absence of significant impact of these events on the commerce development. However, M. Storozhevsky stresses the crucial importance of Peter the Great's decrees as to the fraternity's rights and privileges that contributed not only to promoting commercial activity but attracted the Bulgarian and Wallachian Greeks' attention to this region. Due to that fact the staff of the Greek merchantry expanded. Since then the city becomes the main centre of the Asian and European goods concentration.

M. Storozhevsky calls the period of Catherine II's reign –“the golden century for Nizhyn Greek Corporation” but stresses the steady Nizhyn's commercial significance decay in XIX cent. [1, 2]. The military activities having negative effects on economic development of the region, pauperization of population and weakening the ties with Greece forced the part of the Greeks halt the active commerce, move out their stocks and refocus their commercial interests on Odesa, Moscow and Saint-Petersburg. The author emphasizes the role of Nizhyn Greek Magistrate in the decay of the commercial corporation. The former couldn't adapt itself to the

new social and economic conditions and being weakened by quarrels and controversies it was unable to protect the rights and privileges of the Greeks as it had done earlier. The researcher's thesis that gradual objective process of decay in commerce in Nizhyn was caused by discovery of the new trade routes and markets is traced in the majority of the following works. It accounts for the absence of researchers' interest in the defined period of the Greek merchants in Nizhyn as well as fragmentariness of description.

In 1852 a well-known researcher of Ukrainian history F. Kitchenko published in "Chernygovski gubernski vedomosti" the text of P. Rummyantsev's letter to the Nizhyn court and all the community. The researcher examined the decay process of the Greek commerce in Nizhyn and found its causes in the inner discords between the settled and newly arrived Greeks [3].

The Greek merchants' activity in the middle years of the XVII century was noted by the prominent Ukrainian historian M. Kostomarov [4]. In his work "Outline of Muscovy's trade in the XVI and XVII centuries" he reveals sources of the close commercial relations of Russia and Greece associating them with the marriage of Ivan III and Sophia Paleolog. The historian states that since that time concealed antagonism appeared between Russia and Turkey but the necessity of expanding turnover stipulated for the close commercial ties. The author points out that the Greeks enjoyed special privileges, paid less dues. As the historian notes the Greeks were the chief jewelry suppliers of the Tsar's court. However iterant cases of deception and contraband forced the Tsar's government resort to more decisive actions. As a result in 1672 the restrictions were imposed and the control of the Greek merchants at the borders was intensified. Since that time the Greek merchants' flow to Muscovy reduces, only occasional tradesmen could come to Moscow and sell the counterfeit goods. In 1676, as M. Kostomarov points out, the Greeks were permitted to trade in Putyvl' but soon they were subjected to the tight control of the government again [5].

The activity of Nizhyn Greek merchants is analysed casually but relevantly in the full member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, lieutenant colonel M. Domontovych's work "Materials for Russian Geography and Statistics. Chernigiv province". In characterizing economic development of the province the author pays special attention to the role of the Greeks in the commerce development. The researcher notes significance of the Universals of B. Khmelnytsky who tried to stimulate the merchants to settle in Ukrainian lands. The work stresses significance of Nizhyn Greek Magistrate and the Greeks special status (their rights and privileges). While examining the commerce in Chernigov province the author places particular attention to Krolevets, Nizhyn and Romny trade fairs. M. Domontovych notes that under conditions of trade ports' absence in the middle years of the XVII-XVIII centuries trade fairs in Ukraine gain prime importance.

The author directly associates the opening of the Nizhyn Pancake (Vseyidny) trade fair with B. Khmelnytsky's Universal of 1657 and the Greeks arriving in the city. For a long time exactly the existence of the trade fair there guaranteed the growth in prosperity for the Greek merchants. In the given context the author's concept that Nizhyn Greek merchant community's decay was caused by the displacement of the Pancake (Vseyidny) trade fair from Nizhyn to Romny is rather interesting. The replacement contemporizing with founding new markets in port cities forced the merchants move out the stocks from the turnover and leave for Odesa, Taganrog, Kyshynev [6].

The role of Nizhyn Greeks in the development of commerce in Ukraine is described also by I. Aksakov in his basic work "Researches Concerning Commerce at Ukrainian Trade Fairs" [7]. The historian states that the Greeks were almost the chief commercial agents not only at the Nizhyn trade fairs but were engaged in the activity of the Krolevets, Romny, Svensk trade fair. The author accepts the opinion of O. Shafonsky that "in Little Russia except Nizhyn Greeks there are almost no real wholesalers but even respectable shchepetilniks (fancy goods sellers)" [8, 6]. I. Aksakov presents the list of the main goods delivered from Russia, the

Crimea, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Turkey, Archipelago, Gdansk and Konigsberg which were sold by the Greek merchants [9, p. 210].

The detailed description of overland routes for delivering the goods to the Ukrainian market is presented only in O. Rusov's work. The author analysed the main trade routes existing in Ukrainian lands since the late XVII – XVIII centuries. The researcher defines three ways of delivering goods from Constantinople. The first route went through the town Bendery and Budzhatsky steppe, the second one ran through Wallachian territory and the town Soroky, the third route crossed the Crimean Peninsula. O. Rusov also pays attention to two trade routes from Poland to Ukraine through Smolensk and the Crimea [10].

The general review of Nizhyn Greeks' commercial activity is traced in the publication of an anonymous author who concealed his name under the cryptonym "В.В." [11]. In the opinion of the researcher G. Shvyd'ko the author of the work was V. Bartashevsky. This work in the context of the analysis of Nizhyn Greek Magistrate examines the status of Nizhyn Greeks, their rights and privileges granted by the authorities. However, we can agree with the idea of K.Kharlampovych that it was an article upon order. The purpose of the work lay in attempting to give a juridical substantiation of the necessity of depriving the Greeks of the privileges which in the author's opinion leads to disruption of the commercial potential of the Russian merchantry while the Greeks' guild tax exemption contradicts the City Statute and Manifesto from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1807.

Brief but conceptual as to its contents material is contained in O.Lazarevsky's work devoted to the history of Ukraine. The outline written on the basis of M. Storozhevsky's and O. Fedotov-Chehovskiy's data reveals not only the processes of the Greeks moving from Nizhyn to the South of Ukraine but also analyses the causes of the new trade routes appearance [12].

Special attention should be placed on the article of the Kharkiv archivist M. Plohynsky "Foreigners in the Old Little Russia" published in 1905 [13]. Like M. Storozhevsky he associated the Greeks appearance in Ukraine with the Greek clergy travels to Moscow due to decay of Constantinople and strengthening new Orthodoxy's centre. We should notice that the author thoroughly traces the ways of Greek merchants in particular entering the Ukrainian market. He states the important role they should play in recovery of the state's economic potential.

The researcher realizes the fact that peculiarities of Russian policy in 1648-1678 concerning the Greeks created special natural environment in the border territories where the Greeks had concentrated being stopped by their attraction to Moscow. Such points on the way to Moscow were Kyiv, Nizhyn, Krolevets where the Greeks trade centres were founded. Examining Nizhyn Greek community the researcher emphasizes the close trade and cultural relations between the Greeks and local merchants. Taking no notice of studying foreign commerce the author analyses home trade in details. He associates the development of the latter with the positive changes in the city due to the Greeks' activity.

M. Plohynsky individually characterizes the rights and privileges granted to Nizhyn merchants by the Hetman governments. The imperial tradition of their affirmation was initiated by Peter the Great. The author of the article criticizes numerous abuses of Nizhyn Greek Magistrate that concerned granting foreign passports to everyone officially belonging to the Greek community. The passports from Magistrate were often given not only to the Greek merchants but also to the Turks, the Wallachians and representatives of other nationalities who didn't even reside in Nizhyn [14, p. 76].

The analysis of M. Plohynsky's work is presented in V. Eingorn's critical review "The New Work on the Old Little Russia's History" [15]. The author of this completely independent scientific work points out at the structural deficiencies of M. Plohynsky's work stating incorrect reference to the original source, factual errors, careless quoting, discrepancy between

the material and sections' titles. But V. Eingorn's article in addition to the critical remarks presents the text of the first Nizhyn Greeks' oath to the Russian Tsars.

In M. Storozhenko's article "Some Observations on the History of Nizhyn Greeks" in the newspaper "Kyivska Starovyna" there is a tendency which can be traced in the researches of the previous years. The author agrees with the concept that the history of Nizhyn Greeks originates in the times of B. Khmelnytsky and gives brief information about the main Hetman's Universals and imperial decrees paying attention to the privileges granted to the merchants.

Interesting is the fact of approving of the benefits granted to the Greeks and affirming the Greek community members' special status by the Governor-general P. Rumyantsev, who studied the Greek merchants' history in the territory of Little Russia [16].

While studying trade and commercial activity of Nizhyn Greek merchants attention should be paid to the academician B. Gildenshtedt's "Travel to Little Russia" – in one of the sketches ("The Town of Nizhyn and Ukrainian commerce") the author elucidates the role of the Greek merchantry. He agrees with the ideas of the preceding researchers that "the Greeks constitute the largest in number and the most significant part of the local merchantry" [17].

Characterizing the development of the local commerce B. Gildenshtedt remarks that Nizhyn was "the main warehouse commodity commercial centre between Russia on the one side and the Crimea, Moldavia, Wallachia, Turkey, Danzig and Leipzig on the other side where mostly all the commerce was controlled by the Greeks". Individually the author presents the list of main goods sold by the Greeks indicating their prices [17].

Thus since the middle years of the XIX century there began the issue's thematic examining. This fact activated the researchers' interest. Taking into account the level of scientific knowledge of that time, researching methodology, different interests of particular researchers, and ideological bias in certain issues the historians couldn't create unprejudiced image of the Greek merchants' impact on the economic development of Ukraine. The history of the Greek merchantry was examined in three main contexts: the history of Nizhyn Greek community, the process of Southern Ukraine colonization and commerce development in Ukrainian territory.

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Стаття надійшла до редакції 14.06.2016 р.

**В.С. Волоніць**

### **ТОРГОВЕЛЬНО-КОМЕРЦІЙНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ НІЖИНСЬКИХ ГРЕКІВ НА УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ЗЕМЛЯХ У ХVІІІ-ХІХ СТ. В ПРАЦЯХ ДОСЛІДНИКІВ ХІХ СТОЛІТТЯ.**

*Предметне вивчення проблеми розпочалося із середини ХІХ ст. і було пов'язане з актуалізацією інтересу до Ніжинського грецького братства, яке під впливом загальнодержавних реформ відчувало значні трансформації. Дослідники висвітлюючи історію грецького осередку, акцентували увагу саме на його купецькій специфіці, розглядали процес занепаду грецької торгівлі у Ніжині та визначали, що причини цього явища полягали у внутрішніх незгодах між осілими та приїжджими греками. Торговельна діяльність посилювала самоорганізацію грецької спільноти, заклала основи*

*«окремої корпорації» яку історики пов'язували з універсалом Богдана Хмельницького від 1657 р.*

*Діяльність греків-купців у середині XVII ст. не залишилася поза увагою таких авторів, як М.Костомарова, О.Лазаревського, І.Аксакова, О. Русова, М.Сторожевського, Ф.Кітченка які у загальних працях з історії Росії та України окремо визначили роль греків у розвитку торгівлі та торговельних шляхів, що з'єднували східнослов'янські землі з Європою та Східним Середземномор'ям.*

*Історики XIX ст. розглянули важливі елементи внутрішньої комерції, що здійснювалася ніжинськими греками – напрямки торговельних шляхів, структуру товарообігу, лихварські операції, подали цінні статистичні свідчення та опублікували важливі документальні матеріали з означеної проблеми, проте без коментарів, не простежив динаміку змін товарної та цінової кон'юнктури.*

*Проте саме з середини XIX століття розпочалося предметне вивчення проблеми що активізувало дослідницький інтерес. Враховуючи тогочасний рівень наукового знання, методологію дослідження, різновекторність інтересів окремих дослідників, ідеологічну заангажованість в окремих питаннях історикам не вдалося створити об'єктивної картини впливу грецького купецького елемента на економічний розвиток України.*

**Ключові слова:** *грецьке купецтво, торговельно-економічна діяльність, підприємництво, Ніжинське грецьке братство.*

УДК 94(477):329.275

**Н.Г. Захарчин**

### **ПРОЦЕС ОБ'ЄДНАННЯ ГМІН (ВОЛОСТЕЙ) ЛЬВІВСЬКОГО ПОВІТУ НА ПОЧ. 30-Х РР. XX СТ. ВНАСЛІДОК ПРИЙНЯТТЯ ЗАКОНУ ДРУГОЇ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ «ПРО ЧАСТКОВУ ЗМІНУ ТЕРИТОРІАЛЬНОГО САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ»**

*Розглядається процес адміністративно-територіальних змін у Львівському повіті на поч. 1930-х рр., що започаткував створення об'єднаних гмін та реформування організації та компетенцій самоврядних інституцій у повіті. Висвітлюються соціально-економічні та культурні характеристики та особливості новоутворених об'єднань.*

**Ключові слова:** *місцеве самоврядування, реформа місцевого самоврядування, Львівський повіт Другої Речі Посполитої, гміна, колективна гміна, громада.*

Тема становить науковий та практичний інтерес з огляду на наступні міркування: євроінтеграційні процеси, оголошені в Україні пріоритетними, означатимуть безумовне посилення засад самоврядування; вивчення історичного досвіду становлення інститутів самоврядування в умовах української дійсності (нехай навіть у складі інших держав) має особливу теоретичну та практичну цінність; напрацювання недавнього історичного минулого відклалася в історичній пам'яті місцевого українського населення, відтак їх адекватне сприйняття та рецепція суттєво полегшуються цією обставиною.

Функціонуванню органів територіального самоврядування у міжвоєнній Польщі присвячено роботи О. Липитчука [1], на території Західної України – О. Юхимюк [2]. Частково висвітлює реформу гмінного самоврядування 1933 р. М. Дмитрів [3] (в контексті адміністративних статусів міст Польщі). З загальних праць, що стосуються