

UDC 378.4.091-047(477)(09)
DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.11.170706

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Бібліографічний опис статті: Adamskyi, V. & Kryshchuk B. (2019). The influence of European tradition on the formation of the Ukrainian model of university education (1917 – the beginning of 1918). *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 11, 108–117. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.11.170706

**THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN TRADITION
ON THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN MODEL OF UNIVERSITY
EDUCATION (1917 – THE BEGINNING OF 1918)**

Summary. *The purpose of the article is to reveal the stages of the initial period in the practical realization of the idea of a national university establishing as a special and unique type of higher education institution through the prism of European experience. The research methodology. The article is based on observance of the principles of historicism, objectivity in the assessment of historical events and phenomena, systematic and comprehensive, which, in their totality, made it possible to reveal the diverse issues that form the subject field of the study. The research novelty lies in the fact that in the research studio for the first time the formation stages of the Ukrainian university education of a sign period in the national history of the Central Rada were distinguished and their main content was characterized; the influence of European traditions of the higher education system formation on the normative provision of similar processes in Ukraine was reflected. Conclusions. As a result of the analysis of the university education formation process in new socio political conditions related to the formation of Ukrainian power structures, the stages of the implementation of the idea, with the definition of the*

characteristics of each of them, were substantiated. It was proved that at the beginning of the revolution of 1917, according to the requirements of various public organizations and professional forums, the idea of the possibility of Ukrainianization of the existing higher education institutions in the region was prevailing. With the establishment of the General Secretariat, some hope of a positive solution to the issue relied on the coherence of its actions with the authorities of the Provisional Government. It was established that after formation of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR), this process became more precise, resulting in the network opening formation of national high schools of classical type and a number of national universities, respectively, of European practices by the Department of Higher and Secondary Schools of the General Secretariat of Education. In addition, at this stage, representatives of national education and science conducted intensive work on the creation of a Ukrainian version of the university statute. Particular attention was focused on the final period of the existence of the Central Rada, when, on the initiative of the Ministry of Education of the UNR, a project was implemented actively on the unification of the University of St. Volodymyr and Kyiv People's Ukrainian University. It was concluded that there was not enough time for putting the idea into practice, and therefore it was implemented already at the time of the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadskyi.

Key words: European tradition, university, statute, reform, department, professorial teaching corporation, higher education.

ВПЛИВ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОЇ ТРАДИЦІЇ НА СТАНОВЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ МОДЕЛІ УНІВЕРСИТЕТСЬКОЇ ОСВІТИ (1917 – ПОЧАТОК 1918 РР.)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – розкрити етапи початкового періоду в практичній реалізації ідеї щодо заснування національного університету як особливого та унікального за своїм характером типу закладу вищої освіти крізь призму європейського досвіду. **Методологія дослідження.** *Статтю побудовано на основі дотримання принципів історизму, об'єктивності в оцінці історичних подій та явищ, системності та всебічності, що у своїй сукупності уможливили розкриття різнопланових питань, які становлять предметне поле дослідження. Наукова новизна* полягає у тому, що в дослідницькій студії вперше виокремлено етапи становлення української університетської освіти знакового у вітчизняній історії періоду Центральної Ради та охарактеризовано їхнє основне змістове наповнення; відображено вплив європейських традицій побудови системи вищої освіти на нормативне забезпечення аналогічних процесів в Україні. **Висновки.** *У результаті аналізу процесу становлення університетської освіти за нових суспільно-політичних умов, пов'язаних із утворенням українських владних структур, обґрунтовано етапи реалізації ідеї, з визначенням характерних рис кожного із них. Доведено, що на початку революції 1917 р., згідно з вимогами різних громадських організацій та фахових форумів, переважала думка щодо можливості українізації наявних у краї вищих шкіл. З утворенням Генерального секретаріату певна надія на позитивне розв'язання питання покладалася на узгодженість його дій з владними структурами Тимчасового уряду. Встановлено, що після утворення Української Народної Республіки цей процес набув більш чітких форм, результатом чого стало вироблення департаментом вищої і середньої школи Генерального секретаріату освіти мережі відкриття національних вищих шкіл класичного типу та низки народних університетів відповідно до європейських практик. Крім того, на цьому етапі представниками національної освіти і науки проводилася інтенсивна робота щодо створення українського варіанту університетського статуту. Особлива увага зосереджена за заключному періоді існування Центральної Ради, коли за ініціативою Міністерства освіти УНР активно реалізовувався проект щодо об'єднання університету св. Володимира та Київського народного українського університету. Зроблено висновок, що для повноцінного переведення ідеї в практичну площину ініціаторам не вистачило часу, а отже, вона зреалізувалася уже за гетьманату П. Скоропадського.*

Ключові слова: європейська традиція, університет, статут, реформа, департамент, професорсько-викладацька корпорація, вища освіта.

Problem statement. University education and scientific practice have existed in Europe for more than nine hundred years, and its national model was implemented only a century ago. Being one of the most productive works of the European mind, the university played and

still plays an invaluable role in the development of European civilization. The significance of a sign institution, despite all the difficult challenges of the present, continues to grow to this day.

It should be emphasized that the «idea of the university» in the European public opinion at the level of the idea was established already on the boundary of the XVIII and XIX centuries. Indeed, in the XIX century, according to the recognition of the professional researcher A. Andrieiev, simultaneously with the realization that the nation is a core element of the state and culture, an idea of the «national model» of the university was formed. At their universities, each nation sought to see the result of the «national development» of higher education, the sphere of the embodiment of the «national spirit», which had an opportunity to manifest itself as fully as possible exactly there (Andrieiev, 2005, pp. 75–76).

Along with this, in the XIX century, an idea emerged, the essence of which was the reciprocal nature of the connection between educational institutions and culture in general: the university was seen as a «nation-building» phenomenon, that is, they claimed that a successful life and development of the nation would not be possible without a national university. Only in this way, thanks to its own university, a young nation could take a worthy place among other nations, compete with them and prove its self-worth and independence.

Awareness of these realities prompted Ukrainians to start an active struggle to establish their own university. The issue became of particular relevance during the period of the national revival of the early XX century, when the structures of the Ukrainian Central Rada appeared and attempts to organize local life in its national forms were made.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The problem of the formation and development of the university system of education in different historical periods and in different territories was studied by representatives of both foreign and domestic professional corporations. In this context, we should emphasize the meaningful developments of Hans de Wit (Hans de Wit, 2002), Johann P. Olsen (Johann P. Olsen, 2007), Keith Vernon (Keith Vernon, 2004), D. Rozovyk (Rozovyk, 2002), O. Zavalniuk (Zavalniuk, 2005, Zavalniuk, 2011), I. Perederii (Perederii, 2009), D. Yablonska (Yablonska, 2018) and others.

The publication's purpose. In the proposed article, the authors aim at analyzing the design of the national university model and its influence on the development of cultural and educational processes in the initial period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, based on the research practices of recent years, as well as on the new research institutes involved in documentary sources, highlighting the main stages of the national high school formation. The latter, on the one hand, were largely determined by the general development of revolutionary processes, and on the other hand, by the realities that the university corporation lived in the region. They did not always coincide with each other, and, consequently, the approval of the national model was manifested both in open and latent struggle and rivalry. This confrontation clearly reflected the problem of institutional building, which was characterized by a large variety of approaches and propositions.

Statement of the basic material. Since the formation of the Ukrainian Central Rada and the announcement of its course on the principles implementation of the autonomous system, the issue of building a national school became of great relevance. In various appeals to its address, it was primarily about the Ukrainianization of all parts of the education system (Verstiuk, 2003, pp. 39, 48, 55, 59). It is clear that in this task realization, the preference was given to elementary education, where the need was the greatest. As for higher education, as a rule, participants in professional meetings and wider circles of the public demanded

the introduction of courses in Ukrainian studies and the introduction of Ukrainian studies disciplines in the educational process (Zavalniuk, 2008, pp. 9–14). These requirements were reflected in the documents addressed to the Petrograd authorities and, it must be admitted, in some cases, achieved a positive result. In particular, in the spring of 1917, the Provisional Government allowed the founding of the Department of Ukrainian Language, Literature, History and Law (Rozovyk, 2001, p. 55).

Separate propositions came from representatives of faculty and teaching corporations. Thus, Kharkiv's professor of medicine, the famous therapist A. Kakovskii presented his reform project to I. Steshenko on April 6, 1917. He suggested to declare all university departments, whose professors served 30 years, vacant and to replace them by August 20, 1917, with only professors of Ukrainian descent who spoke the language. All other professors had to be obliged to master the Ukrainian language throughout the year or to exchange a place of work with Ukrainian professors from Russian universities. These questions were proposed to urgently present to the Provisional Government to find a solution (Ulianovskiy, 2007, p. 226).

Essential assistance in the question of Ukrainization, according to the initiators' intention, was to be provided by Ukrainian scientific forces, which were scattered across different educational institutions of Russia. In view of this, the problem was quite acute on the agenda to create the right conditions for their return to Ukraine. On the eve of the First All-Ukrainian Teachers' Congress, held on April 5–6, 1917, M. Hrushevskiy, referring to «Ukrainian professors and teachers of higher schools,» especially emphasized this task (Do ukrainsiv-profesoriv..., 1917). At the same forum, Ukrainian propositions for the establishment of a national high school were recorded in a separate decision (Vaskovych, 1996, pp. 271–272).

However, no one has special confidence of the way of higher schools Ukrainization, therefore projects of a more radical solution to the issue were initiated simultaneously. In particular, the magazine «Nova Rada» in the second half of April 1917 contained an article in which the author expressed doubts about the rapid Ukrainization of existing universities due to the lack of specialists who would meet the requirements of the university statute to replace the vacant departments. «But that does not mean» he stressed, «that among Ukrainians there is no scientific force. No, they are, but they are not qualified, they do not have any of these conditional signs – examinations of magistrates and others, although they may have written or know a course better than a professor» (T-ko, 1917).

Ukrainian citizenship, according to the author, could not tolerate such a state of affairs. He considered the practical way out of the situation as the foundation of a Ukrainian university (T-ko, 1917). In this way, a free university would unite all the scientific Ukrainian forces, and become an intellectual laboratory where Ukrainian science was to be developed and the world to be ukrainianized, where the training of Ukrainian scholars had to take place.

The second stage in conducting educational policy was initiated by the formation of the General Secretariat for public education. I. Steshenko entered the post on June 25, 1917 (CSASPAU, fonds 2581, description 1, case 15, page 1). In his activity, he was guided by the general principles defined in the Secretariat's declaration and the regulations of the First Teaching Ukrainian Congress. In the context of meeting the challenges facing the higher education link, the Secretariat appealed to the administrations of the universities of St. Volodymyr, Kharkiv and Novorossiysk with the request to open the Department of Ukrainian Studies, but none of them sent an answer. Beyond this, the section on higher education of the Secretariat adopted a fundamental decision on the possibility of teaching in the Ukrainian

language that year with the admission to read parallel courses in other languages. But the practical realization of this step was presented in the form of adopting a corresponding appeal with simultaneous appeals to higher schools and individual lecturers. In order to monitor these processes promptly, it was decided to create a special commissariat. In addition, the Secretariat expressed its support for the opening of the Ukrainian People's University in Kyiv (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 1, c. 15, p. 2).

The work of the educational department at this stage of socio political development took place under conditions that were not quite favorable in terms of the historical perspective. It was at this time that the Provisional Government developed an Instruction to the General Secretariat, the norms of which were unknown. As a result, its limited scope fell within Senate explanations by Minister O. Manuilov. University corporations used dependence on this situation and the real balance of forces at their discretion. For example, on a regular question from the General Secretariat concerning Ukrainization, the administration of Novorossiysk University replied, «We ask you to correspond in the official language» (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 2). A notable event at this stage was the introduction, on July 1, 1917, by the Provisional Government of the Changes in the University Statute, which returned home-school autonomy to the higher school (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 11, pp. 14–15).

Under such conditions, according to the heads of the Education Secretariat, the only way to influence the higher school was in the negotiation process with Petrograd (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 1). Appropriate steps have been taken and they have come up with some success. The role of the Secretariat of Education is obvious. The best evidence is the report of the Department of Public Education of the Provisional Government dated September 5, 1917 (SACK, f. 16, d. 469, c. 864, p. 14). As a result, in the rector's telegram of the University of St. Volodymyr, the Minister of Public Education O. Manuilov ordered to establish a department of Ukrainian studies in accordance with the resolution of the Provisional Government of September 19, 1917 (SACK, f. 16, d. 469, c. 864, p. 13).

I. Steshenko did not become more harsh to interfere in the affairs of higher education at this stage of the development of the national education system. This was partially obstructed by objective reasons (official approval of the General Secretariat took place only in August, and secretaries were appointed to office in early September), partly subjective (excessive loyalty of Ukrainian leaders to democratic principles). It is clear that at the time of revolutionary changes this did not always have a proper effect, and partly it complicated the work incredibly.

However, in spite of these lingering factors, the Secretariat of Education succeeded in successfully implementing a number of urgent reforms. First of all, it is about holding a very clear structuring of the department itself. Among other units, the Department of Secondary and High School with its internal departments was formed (Kudlai, 2009, p. 62).

At the beginning of September 1917, the director of the department, F. Sushytskyi, spoke at a meeting of the Scientific Society with a special report, in which he formulated two main tasks that were supposed to be implemented in the field of higher education. Firstly, to ukrainianize the existing higher schools of Ukraine, and secondly, to work out a project on the establishment of new higher schools (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 1zv.). In addition, it was considered necessary to open a national library, archives, and museums.

The department continued to take special care of the problem of the National Ukrainian University organization, the solemn opening of which took place on October 5, 1917, as well as the affairs of the pedagogical academy (Kudlai, 2009, p. 68).

The proclamation of the third Universal of the Ukrainian People's Republic began the third stage of educational construction. If before that the main efforts of the department in view of organizational development and financial problems were limited, as a rule, in Kyiv, then the scope and scale of activity expanded to the all-Ukrainian dimension. In particular, several important things were done at the end of the year.

Firstly, in November 1917 at Kyiv University of St. Volodymyr it was declared a competition to fill vacant positions in Ukrainian departments. Secondly, a bill on the Department of Ukrainian Studies in all higher schools of Ukraine was drafted. Thirdly, a draft law on compulsory lecture of the Ukrainian language for all faculties and departments of higher educational institutions of Ukraine was prepared. Fourthly, a circular was sent to Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa educational districts in order to ascertain the issue of the number of secondary school graduates in 1918 who would like to listen to lectures in higher schools in Ukrainian. This was done in order to visualize the picture for further course on Ukrainianization. Fifthly, in December, the development of the statute of state-owned Ukrainian universities began. To this end, a special commission was established consisting of Prof. H. Pavlutskyi (Doctor of Art History), B. Kistiakivskyi (Doctor of Public Law), D. Hrave (Doctor of Mathematics) and V. Dubianskyi (Master of Geology and Mineralogy) (CSASPAU, f. 2201, d. 1, c. 326, p. 92). During December 1917 general points were already agreed upon. It is noteworthy that according to its general structure and normative provision of autonomous self-government, the charter was consistent with those principles that underlie the functioning of the European higher education institution. Sixthly, it was planned to reform the Nizhyn Institute of History and Philology in terms of its Ukrainization, as well as a draft on the nationalization of Kyiv Theological Academy was developed (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 1, c. 15, p. 54–54 v.).

Proclamation of Ukraine's independence by the IV Universal recognized and radicalized the problem solution of university building, thus initiating the fourth stage of the idea implementation. This is especially evident after the return of the Central Rada to Kyiv in March 1918.

The relevant plan was developed by the Department of Higher and Secondary Schools in February 1918 and proposed for consideration by the Council of Ministers of Education. It provided for the implementation of a measure set that would lead to the creation of a qualitatively new situation in the field of higher education. This seven-point project, as a rule, we know today from the retelling of S. Posternak (Posternak, 1920, pp. 74–75), who was a member of that Council and participated in the development of measures for the reform of higher education.

In fact, the authentic document developed by the Department of Higher and Secondary Schools of the Ministry of Education, which we managed to find in the archives, consisted of eight points and covered all the components of the organization of national university education (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 2 v.).

In the spring of 1918, the idea of a national university in the pursuit of educational policy acquired a new and high-quality sound. From the declarations and intentions it was decided to immediately proceed to its practical implementation. Looking for the most optimal options along the way, the issue of unifying the University of St. Volodymyr with Kyiv People's University was quite urgent in the Ministry of Education on the agenda. In order to solve it promptly, in early April 1918, a special commission under the leadership of Comrade Minister P. Kholodnyi was created under the Ministry of Education.

For the first time on its working meeting, the commission met on April 13, 1918, presided by P. Kholodnyi. The University of St. Volodymyr was represented by authorized representatives such as rector Ye. Spektorskyi, dean of the Medical Faculty O. Sadovenia, professors H. De-Metz and S. Reformatorskyi and associate professor P. Smyrnov, which were approved by the Council of educational institution the day before (SACK, f. 16, d. 465, c. 433, p. 22 v.). The Ukrainian People's University was represented by rector I. Hanytskyi, dean of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics F. Shvets, professors M. Vasylenko, D. Hrave, V. Zenkivskyi, B. Kistiakivskyi, V. Konstantynovych, O. Lukianenko, V. Luchytskyi and O. Cherniakhivskyi. The Ministry of Education was represented by the director of the Department of Higher and Secondary School F. Sushytskyi and professor V. Dubianskyi.

After a brief introductory speech by P. Kholodnyi, F. Sushytskyi, who spoke in Ukrainian, was invited to speak. He familiarized the participants with the main provisions on which the Ministry of Education would have liked to agree with the professorship in solving the issue of the Ukrainianization of higher schools in the state in general and the further fate of the University of St. Volodymyr (SACK, f. P-936, d. 2, c. 4, p. 1). Taking into account that the theses distributed to the members of the commission were printed in Ukrainian, according to the suggestion of some presenters it was decided to prepare parallel texts of the document being discussed – in Russian and in Ukrainian – by the next meeting. According to these, representatives of the University of St. Volodymyr asked the head of the assembly about the main motive, which was guided by the ministry when compiling the thesis proposed for consideration. P. Kholodnyi gave an exhaustive answer in the sense that the budget issue, despite all its acuteness, played only a derivative role in this case. Ye. Spektorskyi shared his own thoughts, the essence of which was that St. Volodymyr University was ready to meet the government in the matter of financial maintenance in Kyiv of two higher schools.

Thus, the representatives of the University of St. Volodymyr was aware of the fact that at the level of the Ministry of Education of the UNR practically it was impossible to stop the process of implementation of the model, according to which the teaching was to be conducted in all departments in parallel in Ukrainian and Russian. In fact, the commission itself, in its personal composition, where the qualified majority was representatives of Kyiv People's University, convincingly testified to this. Not in favor of the majority of the professors and teaching corporations of the University of St. Volodymyr was also the position of active student, who passed entirely pro-Ukrainian decisions (Donets, 2017).

The only attempt to qualitatively influence the situation was considered the way of introducing a topical issue for congress discussion of the representatives of higher educational institutions of Ukraine, which took place in Kyiv from April 14 to April 17, 1918. Its decisions noted the lack of timely reform of the education system. Regarding Ukrainianization of higher education, the forum stated that «the placement of new Ukrainian educational institutions should not take place at the expense of existing universities and institutes and for any damage to them, but should be carried out in the form of independent Ukrainian higher education institutions» (Korotkyi, Ulianovskyi, 2001, p. 39).

However, this, obviously, did not provide much faith in overall success. As an example, we should give a fact from the meeting of the Council of the University of St. Volodymyr of April 19, 1918. The agenda of the meeting was to consider the words of Minister of Education of April 13, No. 718/4227 with the following content, «I have the honor to inform that in all cases with which the University applied for the existing laws to the Ministry of National Education in Petrograd, is from today to apply to the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian

People's Republic in Kyiv» (SACK, f. 16, d. 465, c. 433, p. 29). The Council decided to take note of the information without any discussion.

In addition to solving the situation with Kyiv higher educational institutions, the Ministry of Education intensively promoted the case with the founding of a classical university in Kamianets-Podilskyi. To clarify a number of important issues related to the implementation of the project, in April 1918, the provincial center of Podolia was visited by a special delegation authorized by the Council of Linguists of Kyiv People's Ukrainian University and the Ministry of Education (Zavalniuk, 2011, pp. 106–107).

Based on these realities, the contemporary of events V. Prykhodko firmly convinced that «even with a completely hostile attitude of certain hetman authorities to the idea of high Ukrainian schools, the Russian case of Kamianetskyi and Kyiv Universities could not be buried: it would be too unpolitical» (Prykhodko, 2012, pp. 20–21).

Finally, in the spring of 1918, the case of developing a university statute was completed. According to its structure, it fully corresponded to the best European practices. The main feature of this document was the extensive expanded university autonomy. In order to emphasize the superiority of the collegial principle of the management of an educational institution, the Council was placed at the head of the university, then faculty meetings and only after – the governor, the rector and the deans. The Ministry remained, for the most part, only general oversight of institutions and approval of teaching staff (Proekt Statutu, 1918).

Conclusions. Thus, from the very beginning of the revolutionary events of 1917, Ukrainian citizenship claimed the need for the Ukrainianization of all parts of the education system, taking into account European traditions. This process has been further developed in connection with the creation of the General Secretariat of Public Education. Gradually, the state authority was structured, which had a qualitative effect on the development of strategic plans for the reform of higher education and the implementation of the idea of a national university. This task was especially active in the spring of 1918, when the plan for the establishment of a number of classical and popular universities in different cities of Ukraine was elaborated, and a special commission headed by P. Kholodnyi approached the question of the unification of St. Volodymyr with Kyiv People's Ukrainian University. A significant contribution to the formation of the national system of higher education was the development of domestic specialists of the university statute, which, in its structure, the availability of academic freedom and completeness of self-government, met the established principles that underlie the functioning of the European higher education. However, the completion of the legal proceeding of a national university took place under the Hetman's regime of P. Skoropadskyi.

Acknowledgments. We would like to express gratitude to the administration and employees of the Central State Archives of the Supreme Governments and Governments of Ukraine, the State Archives of Kyiv and the Scientific Library of the Archival Departments of Ukraine, as well as colleagues from Kamianets-Podilskyi Ivan Ohienko National University.

Funding. The authors did not use financial support to conduct research or publication of the article.

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*The article was received on February 18, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 10/06/2019.*