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**Наталія ТЕРЕС**  
**Київ**

## **ІСТОРИЧНІ ТРАДИЦІЇ ТА СУЧАСНЕ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-ДЕРЖАВНЕ БУДІВНИЦТВО В УКРАЇНІ В ОЦІНЦІ ЗАРУБІЖНОЇ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ**

*Стаття присвячена вивченню в англomовній зарубіжній історіографії окремих аспектів впливу історичних та історико-культурних традицій на процес державотворення в сучасній Україні. Звертається увага на здобутки зарубіжних дослідників у вивченні зв'язку між формуванням нації та утворенням держави, оцінкою значення та впливу Російської, Австро-Угорської імперій та СРСР на процес формування головних державотворчих засад сучасної України.*

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## **UKRAINIAN NAPOLEON STUDIES: ACHIEVEMENTS AND TASKS**

The name of Napoleon Bonaparte, the commander, the conqueror and the emperor of the French went down in history of the mankind forever. Some people admiringly call him a man of genius, the greatest ever in the world. Others consider him to be a tyrant, a criminal, who for many years shed Europe with blood for his unrestrained love for power. A great number of legends have appeared around his name and it is often hard to differentiate between the true and the fictitious ones.

The man who for about twenty years was holding sway over military and political life of the European continent and who was the supporter of one of the most radical anti-monarchical revolutions in the world actually became its “grave-digger” and performed a kind of monarchy restoration and then headed it by having established a new dynasty. The man, who talked a lot about peace in Europe and who wanted to look like a peace-maker, permanently waged wars participating in person in so many of them, that few of the most outstanding military men happened to take part even for a longer periods of their lives. And there are very many problems like these. Therefore, it's no wonder that for short two hundred years more books have been written about Napoleon than about any other person. It is not an exaggeration. According to academician Y.V.Tarle, Napoleonic historiography is “truly colossal”<sup>1</sup>.

Napoleon era was studied by historians of almost all countries of the world, and in particular Ukrainian explorers paid a great attention to the activities of the French Emperor.

Denis I.Zubritsky (1777 – 1862)<sup>2</sup>, the witness and the participant of many events in Europe on the border of 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the founder of a systematic study of the Ukrainian history in Halychyna and the author of “The Chronicle of the French revolution from 1789 to 1811”, where he considered Eastern-European politics of Napoleon in context of the problems of the Polish state revival, was one of the first researchers, who scrutinized the activity (specifically the foreign policy) of Napoleon Bonaparte in Ukrainian historiography.

“The Chronicle” was found in the funds of Manuscripts Department of Lviv State Museum and it was first

described and analyzed by V.Adadurov and M.Rozhyk, the scientists from Lviv. In their opinion, this work by Zubritskyy initiated the study of foreign history in Ukrainian historiography<sup>3</sup>.

The author of "The Chronicle" was the secretary of Peremysl government, a new provisional governmental body established on May 28, 1809 by the Polish from Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the satellite of Napoleon France. After October 14, 1809 Austria renewed the control over the major part of Eastern Galychyna in accordance with Shenbrun Peace. Zubritskyy was disabled to hold administrative posts for his "anti-government" activity. This let him go in for scientific effort and, in particular, write a work dedicated to the events of the French revolution at the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Napoleon era, thus leaving behind many Western-European researchers.

"The Chronicle of the French Revolution" is based on numerous newspaper reports of diverse origin as well as on military "Bulletins" of the Austrian and French armies. The nature of the materials, according to the above-mentioned researchers, gives us the reasons to think that it isn't only Austrian and Polish press but also original French periodicals, hard-to-get in the Austrian Empire taking into account its permanent wars with France. It can be evidenced by the fact that the author makes several references to "The Monitor"<sup>4</sup>, the French governmental body, as an important source for studying the events of the late 18<sup>th</sup> – the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Substantial part of the book is devoted to the activity of Napoleon Bonaparte (the author starts tracing it beginning from 1790). Special attention is given to the Italian campaign of 1796 – 1797, where the talent of Napoleon as a commander and a statesman first became apparent with his independent views on current foreign policy processes, Napoleon's coming to power (the overturn of Brumaire, 18 1799), the foreign policy of the consulate and the empire, in particular, the wars of Napoleon France with almost entire Europe<sup>5</sup>. However, Napoleon diplomacy is illustrated here only in fragments. At the same time, as the above-mentioned scientists specified, that Zubitskyy was disabled to witness further events as well as the lack of latest newspaper reports didn't allow him to finish his work logically with collapse of Napoleon Empire in 1814<sup>6</sup>.

Nevertheless, despite some drawbacks, "The Chronicle" is a valuable source of Napoleon era, built upon a critical use of documentary sources. Regardless of author's certain sympathy to France and Napoleon's personality in particular, the chronicler was generally objective in reflecting different aspects of French and European history of the late 18<sup>th</sup> – the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>7</sup>.

A number of international aspects of the Polish issue, particularly, the events of Franco-Austrian war of 1809 became the subject under consideration for Ukrainian researchers of the late 19<sup>th</sup> – the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, who were estimating them in context of the Eastern Galychyna history study<sup>8</sup>.

A course of lectures entitled "An Outline of the Latest Russian History"<sup>9</sup> by professor M.V.Dovnar-Zapolskyy, one of the outstanding figures of Professor V.B. Antonovych's school, was edited in Kyiv in 1912. The whole complex of Russian-French relationships in 1801 – 1814 was analyzed in this course against the background of the Russian history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the actions of Napoleonic diplomacy were illustrated rather fragmentary.

Among the papers concerning the issue in question published at that time, the work by O.Levytskyy<sup>10</sup> should be marked out, in which he described the activity of Napoleon agents in the Ukrainian lands that belonged to the Russian Empire.

In 1937 in the Western Ukraine the work of I.Borshchak<sup>11</sup>, a well-known Ukrainian researcher was published. Basing on numerous archive materials mostly the French ones, the author studied the plans and the actions of Napoleonic diplomacy concerning the Ukrainian lands of the former *Rech Pospolita*.

Here we first learn about the plans of the French diplomacy concerning those regions of Ukraine which were part of Russian Empire specified by O.Goteriv., the Policy Director of Foreign Office of France, at the beginning of 1812 in a special memorial. In this memorial Napoleon was suggested to establish an "independent" state, consisting of Poltava and Chernigiv Duchies along the Dnipro river stream from the Desna River to the city of Orel. Cossacks and Crimean Tatars would come into the new "Napoleonida" state, consisting of the Dnipro part of Katerinoslav region, Tavria and the whole valley of the Donets River up to the Don River which, along with the Black and Azov Seas, would be the state southern border. This new state, "headed by the only leader and the constitution satisfying the customs of these nations, with a possible prospect of political independence, would be a powerful barrier to ambitious projects of Russia and its pretensions concerning the Black Sea"<sup>12</sup>.

At the same time, from the standpoint of a contemporary historical science the conclusion drawn by I.Borshchak that "Napoleon made use of Poland, but did not want to do anything for the country itself"<sup>13</sup> requires much reconsideration.

In 1938 – 1939, a successive volume of Historical library – "The World's History" was published in Lviv, the author of which was I.P.Krypyakevych, a famous Ukrainian historian and a future academician of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In line with other events of the world's history, he examined the foreign policy of France in the late 18<sup>th</sup> – the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the Napoleonic wars in particular. In 1939 the last 20<sup>th</sup> volume was published (out of 22 planned to be published), for on September 1, 1939 the World War II broke out bringing to

the Western Ukraine the Soviet Regime as well as Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the history. Only after the breakdown of the Soviet Union an unabridged edition of this work was published with volume 3 touching upon this issue<sup>14</sup>. Yet in this work the Napoleon activity of foreign policy and French diplomacy were described fragmentary.

Despite the fact that many years have passed since the book was written, this work by Krypyakevych is still actual, because it was created impartially without any ideological stamps.

In the Soviet times, namely from 1930s up to the late 1980s, an exclusive party-class approach to the cognition of social phenomena held sway over interpretation of the world's history problems. The above approach turned any historical process into the instrument of policy making scientific studies dependent on this policy and the development of these studies impossible without a total control. At the same time monographs were being written and theses defended on this problem mainly by Russian scientists<sup>15</sup>.

As for Ukraine, Napoleon subjects weren't considered actual and priority-driven for the Ukrainian scientists. For the same reasons there were no experts in Napoleon history in Ukraine, although the professional level, in our opinion, allowed us to perform the reconnaissance on the given problem. At the same time, some researchers in the context of the Ukrainian history described certain problems of Napoleon era, in particular the participation of the Ukrainian representatives in the Russian-French war of 1812. Here they didn't reveal Napoleon's activity, and his plans concerning Ukraine weren't either studied at all or they were illustrated skin-deep<sup>16</sup>.

However, there were some researchers who illustrated the actions of Napoleon himself as well as the activities of his diplomacy.

In 1945, in Kyiv V.M.Kotov defended a thesis on "Ukraine in Aggressive Plans of Napoleon I". The author tried at least to put this question before the Soviet historical science<sup>17</sup>, and he succeeded in doing that. Basing on the materials of 2 Kyiv archives, the releases, in particular the collections of works of the Russian historical society, the memoirs and works of Polish and Russian scientists, he was the first in the Soviet historical science to show Napoleon plans concerning Ukraine in opposition to Russia. He described the activity of Napoleon agents in the Ukrainian lands and showed it to be a form of psychological pressure on Russia before the war (1812). V.M.Kotov can be certainly considered the successor of the scientific studies of I.Borshchak whose works were forbidden in the Soviet Union.

However, giving its due to the time, Kotov "blamed" him for "the bourgeois nationalism", but impartially treated the scientific reconnaissance of a famous historian and his monograph named "Napoleon and Ukraine"<sup>18</sup> in particular. 20 years later V.Kotov issued an article entitled "Aggressive plans of Napoleon I concerning Ukraine and the collapse of these plans in 1812"<sup>19</sup>. Unfortunately, for the lack of materials of other archives, the French published documents and the correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, here as well as in his thesis, he failed to show in full the Napoleon plans concerning Ukraine and the role of Osman Empire in these plans during the preparation for the war with Russia (1811 – 1812).

Shortly after V.Kotov, in Kherson Ye.D. Verbytskyy defended a thesis on the issues of Russian-French relations in 1800 – 1803, basing on a wide range of scientific sources, primarily the materials of Russian archives and a number of printed works. He was the first in the Ukrainian Soviet historiography to show the activities of Napoleon as an actual leader of the foreign policy of France in those days<sup>20</sup>. Among other publications dealing with the above issue, one should mention the textbook by O.K.Dzhedzhula in which he gave an open orthodox Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the history<sup>21</sup>.

In 1964 (Kyiv) B.S.Abalihin<sup>22</sup> defended the Ph.D. thesis. Using considerable archive materials and documents of one Russian and four Ukrainian archives in particular, the correspondence of Napoleon, the Russian and Soviet published documents, memoirs as well as the works of the Polish, Russian, Ukrainian and Soviet researchers, in the Chapter I of his dissertation study entitled "Ukraine before the war of 1812", unlike V.Kotov, he illustrated the activities of the French agents and emissaries acting in the Ukrainian lands which belonged to the Russian Empire before the French-Russian war (1811 – 1812) in more detail. He also showed the roles of Austria and the Osman Empire in Napoleon Bonaparte plans in preparing and carrying out the Russian campaign. In 1962 the brochure of this author entitled "The Ukrainian nation in Patriotic war of 1812" was published in Kyiv.

At the same time, in our opinion, the author is not quite right in his interpretation of Napoleon plans concerning Russia right after Tilzit. He asserted that "After Tilzit (1807) the French diplomacy made efforts to isolate Russia and to deprive it from its allies in the future war. For this purpose Napoleon and his diplomatists used all means including threatening, bribery and making advances. In secret negotiations the French Government carried on with the ruling circles of Poland, Austria and Turkey, in line with other lands the Ukrainian territory was promised to the above countries in exchange for their participation in the campaign against Russia"<sup>23</sup>. But, as we know, it happened somewhat later.

However, it must be marked out that despite the number of works on this issue, the tendentious approach to describing the French revolution history of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and Napoleonic Empire was generally typical of

Ukrainian Soviet researchers as well as of all Soviet researchers. The above approach was conditioned by the Soviet scientist' non-recognition of anything progressive in the activity of Napoleon and the estimation of the regime established by him. Y.Tarle described that regime as "The dictatorship of counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie"<sup>24</sup>. Professor A.Z.Manfred called it "A new step in the development of bourgeois counter-revolution"<sup>25</sup>.

After the breakdown of the USSR and the declaration of the independence of Ukraine, a modern stage in studying the world's history problems commenced. National historiography has gradually left its class approach to the estimation of past historical events. Among the latest studies, in which different directions of the Napoleon foreign policy are shown, one should mention the theses of A.Adadurov and O.Zakharchyuk

Thus, the thesis of a young historian Adadurov is dedicated to French-Austrian rivalry in the period of the Napoleonic wars in context of the Polish issue<sup>26</sup>.

A wide range of scientific sources, including almost unknown to the scientists documents and materials, which were found in manuscript collections of archives, the libraries and museums of Lviv and Krakow, was used in the thesis, that made it possible to study French-Austrian relations in the context of the Polish issue in more detail.

The published documents, including the publications of French, Austrian, Polish and Russian military and diplomatic correspondence were analyzed in the study together with the unpublished materials. The fundamental collection of Napoleon's correspondence and its appendixes containing a political, military and administrative correspondence of the French Emperor must be paid special attention to<sup>27</sup>.

The publication of the letters written to Napoleon by the French state and military men involved somehow in the determination of the First Empire policy in the Polish issue, including Talleyrand, the Head of Foreign Office, and the Vice-Chancellor J.-J.Cambaceres, residents in Warsaw E.Vensan and G.Serra, Marshals Louis Davout and Joachim Murat<sup>28</sup>, should be marked out as well as fundamental publications of the correspondence dated 1806 – 1807 and 1809 concerning French military and diplomatic activities, peace treaties and conventions drawn between France and Austria in the late 18<sup>th</sup> – the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>29</sup>. It is these sources that allowed us to follow Napoleon views on the Polish issue.

Along with the official document publications, the author used a large amount of memoirs literature and periodicals shedding some light on the Polish issue in the international relationship of the Napoleonic wars. They are as follows: the French governmental print "Monitor Universal", "Journal de Frankfor" and "Courier d' Ambur", the newspapers of the Rhine Confederation; the Austrian officials "Viner Caitung" and "Pressburger Caitung", "Krakov Newspaper" and "Lviv Newspaper" (till 1811), as well as "Warsaw Newspaper", "The Warsaw Correspondent Newspaper" and "Poznan Newspaper", the periodicals of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, that were performed in the Napoleonic propaganda style.

In line with the above sources, a number of special scientific sources are used in the thesis, including numerous works by the Austrian, German, Polish, Russian and French researchers.

At the same time, in our opinion, the study could have been more profound and substantial if the author had used the materials of the Austrian, French and Russian archives concerning the issue. This could have broadened the resource base of the study and enriched its content.

The scientific novelty of the study lies in the first attempt of the domestic and foreign historiography to synthesize into a single historical picture such elements of the contemporary international situation as the relations at the levels like "France – Austria", "France – the Polish", "Austria – the Polish" and "Galychina and the Duchy of Warsaw in the International relations system", taking into account the influence of all significant factors<sup>30</sup>.

After defending his thesis, the above researcher continues working on the issue<sup>31</sup>.

Soon after V.Adadurov, the author of the article defended his own thesis, the scientific novelty of which lies in the study of force methods and means of the Napoleonic diplomacy and the analysis of its main principles and directions. The evolution of Napoleon's views on the force as an instrument of the foreign policy was studied; a component of non-military force methods was revealed in the general system of the Napoleonic "force diplomacy"; and the ratio was determined for the military and non-military components in Napoleon's foreign policy strategy in particular. The forms and methods of the French diplomacy activity in Napoleon's anti-coalition struggle were illustrated and the methods of force pressure of Napoleonic France on the European countries were considered<sup>32</sup>. The above researcher continues working on the issue<sup>33</sup>.

A number of scientific works on the issue have been published recently in the context of the development of different aspects of the domestic history<sup>34</sup>.

A considerable build-up in the Ukrainian historiography forms certain backgrounds for historical reconnaissance in the field of the world Napoleoniana. In our opinion, further archive work and the summarization of the published documental materials touching upon Napoleon's plans concerning Ukraine, as well as the complex study of the French history of Napoleon era in the light of new achievements of the historical science and recent socio-political changes on the map of Europe, have great outlooks.

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- <sup>5</sup> Ibid. – С. 501 – 503.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid. – С. 497 – 498.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid. – С. 503.
- <sup>8</sup> С.[виступ] Ф.И. Галицкая Русь в европейской политике. – Львов, 1886; Він же. Прикарпатская Русь под владением Австрии. – Львов, 1895. – Ч. 1: (1772 – 1848); Щурат В. Відрух наполеонщини на Галицькім Поділлі // Щурат В. На досвітку нової доби. – Львів, 1919. – С. 5 – 10.
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- <sup>12</sup> Ibid. – С. 63.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid. – С. 72 – 73.
- <sup>14</sup> Крип'якевич І.П. Всесвітня історія: У 3 кн. – Київ, 1995. – Кн. 3.
- <sup>15</sup> Тарле Є. Наполеон. – Москва, 1936; Він же. Талейран. – Москва, 1938; Він же. Нашествие Наполеона в Россию. – Москва, 1936; История дипломатии. Под ред. В.П.Потемкина. – Москва, 1941. – Т. 1; Молок А.И. Франция и Европа в 1795 – 1815 годах. – Москва, 1946; Миллер А.Ф. Мустафа Паша Байрактар. Оттоманская империя в начале XIX века. – Москва-Ленинград, 1947; История дипломатии / Отв. ред. В.А.Зорин. – Москва, 1959 – Т.1. Станиславская А.М. Русско-английские отношения и проблемы Средиземноморья. – Москва, 1962; Сироткин В.Г. Дуэль двух дипломатий: Россия и Франция в 1801 – 1812 гг. – Москва, 1968; Манфред А.З. Наполеон Бонапарт. – Москва, 1972 etc.
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- <sup>18</sup> Ibid. – С. XI – XIII.
- <sup>19</sup> See: Котов В.К. Завойовницькі плани Наполеона I щодо України та їх крах у 1812 р. // Вісник Київ. ун-ту. – Серія історія та права. – 1965. – № 7. – С. 75 – 78;
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- <sup>25</sup> Манфред А.З. Наполеон Бонапарт. – Москва, 1980. – С. 291.
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## **УКРАЇНСЬКЕ НАПОЛЕОНОЗНАВСТВО: ЗДОБУТКИ Й ЗАВДАННЯ**

*Висвітлюється військова та зовнішньополітична діяльність Наполеона Бонапарта в працях українських істориків, окреслюються окремі перспективні напрями діяльності імператора французів. Особлива увага приділяється тим розвідкам української наполеоніани, де автори задіяли нові архівні матеріали та першоджерела. Робиться порівняльний аналіз концептуальних підходів українських істориків до постаті та діяльності Наполеона I, зокрема, розкривається сутність надмірно ідеологізованого підходу до цієї проблеми за радянських часів. Стверджується, що українське наполеонознавство зробило певний внесок у дослідженні Французької революції кінця XVIII ст. та Першої імперії у Франції (1804 – 1814 рр.).*