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AN IDEA OF FREEDOM IN SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE OF UKRAINE IN THE XIV–XVIII-TH CENTURIES

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A process of development of national idea is considered in the period of cossacs' uprisings under the leadership of Khmelnytskyi against a social and national enslavement of the Ukrainian people, and also in the period of Hetmanshchyna (Hetman leadership). It is proved that the national idea of that time is expressed in the state-creative efforts of the cossacs' ruling clique, in aspiration of gaining national independence of Ukraine, in elaboration (formation) of the religious-legal ideas, in consolidation of heterogeneous groups of the Ukrainian ethnos in a strong nationally conscious force, in creation (formation) of state establishments on the cossacs' territory. A creative activity of the thinkers which at the theoretical and political levels determined the main features of the Ukrainian ethnos is investigated; they, due to their literary-scientific and practical activity, caused a getting up and defense of the national and religious consciousness of the Ukrainians, and consequently, were gave rise to the growth of national consciousness and national idea.

Keywords: freedom, national idea, independence, nation, people.

Relevance of the study due to the need to realize the value of Ukrainian society, the national idea, its practical implementation at all levels of social, political, cultural, spiritual, social and economic life of Ukraine. The national idea is related to politics, economy, education, religion, morality, human values , law and culture. However, it is generalized traits integrative character and requires special philosophical analysis. Especially important is the analysis of the formation, the formation and consolidation of the national idea in the works of prominent socio-political and philosophical thought XIV–XVIII centuries. That they can find answers to urgent questions of the modern state, the Ukrainian nation, genuine national political, social, economic, spiritual and cultural independence of Ukraine.

The problem of development and reflection of Ukrainian national idea in the work of leading thinkers XIV–XVIII centuries occupies an important place in studies of Ukrainian scientists in the period between the two wars: W. Hnatiuk, M. Zabarevskoho (D. Doroshenko), Yu. Ohrimovych, W. Starosolskyy, M. Stsiborskyy, as well as in the works of famous Ukrainian and foreign scientists in exile in period after the Second World War such as J. Armstrong, Yu. Boyko, S. Velychenko, S. Yekelchyk, I. Lysiak-Rudnytskyy, P. Mirchuk and O. Pritsak J. Reshetar, M. Sosnowskiy, P. Fedenko, M. Shkilnyak, V. Yaniv. Outlined issues occupies an important place in the works of modern Ukrainian scientists as A. Astaf'yev, A. Braginets, S. Wozniak, M. Gorelov, Ya. Grytsak, V. Hutz, M. Zhulynskyy, V. Zhmyr, O. Zabuzhko, M. Karmazin, G. Kasyanov, P. Kis, I. Kresina,

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O. Kuts, Yu. Kuts and V. Lisovyy, T. Panko, A. Pashuk, S. Prikhodko, M. Rozumnyy, O. Semkiv, M. Sosnowskiy, D. Solovey, O. Sukhyy, B. Chervak, A. Fartushnyy, B. Yakymovych and others. However, despite the considerable number of publications on certain aspects of the given problem, we still insufficiently philosophical studies, which would allow to understand the stages of the national idea, the content, dynamics and transformation in social and spiritual life of Ukraine XIV–XVIII centuries.

The purpose of the article – to trace the stages of formation of the national idea and its various manifestations in social and spiritual life and philosophy of the Ukraine that period. mid – end of XIV century – a significant milestone in the genesis of ethnic statehood in Ukraine, when, in fact, was finally interrupted tradition of nation-building in the Ukrainian lands, started back in ancient times. In ethnic territory began to create public institutions in countries that included Ukrainian land – Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later – the Commonwealth, Hungary and Moldova. For Ukraine it had serious consequences for laying the foundations for the denationalization of Ukrainian ethnos, the disappearance of the characteristics that define ethnic Ukrainian faces. These processes were most intensive among the ruling classes Ukraine, which gradually broke away from their ethnic roots, so to control the formation of the state based on fundamental national idea they could not. As noted M. Hrushevskyy, "Ukrainian nobility in the first half of the XV century. still represented a considerable mass, but unorganized, imprinted from any influences, while the other class interests very early knocked him from the position it should be employed with regard to the national interest" [5, p. 140].

Great importance in the process of awakening national consciousness becomes socio-political, social work representatives of numerous groups gentry and nobility, which, though subject to strong Polish influence, but not completely renounce their membership of a Russian nation and its faith. Recall at least Polish writers such as Stanislaw Orzechowskiy polemicist, who stressed that he is Ukrainian and gladly admits this, Krakow University professor Hrygoriy Tychynskiy, son who signed his poems as "Hrygoriy of Sambora" Polish humanists of the time S. Klenovich and Sh. Shymonovych, author of the poem "Roksolyaniya" on the lions and other Galician towns, description Volhynia, Galicia, skirts, as well as life and life of Ukrainian peasants. In fact, thus they (consciously or unconsciously) put forward the idea of the unity of Ukrainian lands.

End of XVI – beginning XVII. in the historical development of the Ukrainian nation characterized by increasing social and national-religious oppression. As noted I. Franko, "hard times experienced our Ukrainian people under Polish rule in the XVI century. Union of Lublin in 1596 weaned our land from Lithuania and pryluchyla them directly to Poland, especially went to in order to make our lands to the Polish order. The end for which they zmahaly was this so that our midday Rus, inherited in Polish hands, just mix with Poland, to do with those two countries a whole" [16, p. 260].

After the Union of Lublin in 1596 were also significant changes in the Ukrainian national identity. First of all, this applies Ukrainian elite Ukrainian gentry. First, the culture, she began to focus on their social Polish brothers, taking their language, customs, culture and more. According to Soloviev, "from western aristocracy began to weaken in the aspiration to maintain their faith and Ruthenian nationality, branch of activity was not in, and the Polish Crown..., n interests are provincial interests for her, so she soon cooled them, as below it..." [13, p. 78].

Second, we observe significant departure from orthodoxy Ukrainian aristocracy, lack of coherent national school. As stated in the pamphlet anti-Uniate "Caution", "and so it is very

hurt Ukrainian intelligentsia who could sciences schools and expand and establish: for if his doctrine were then used for his ignorance would not have come to such a disaster... Poles instead without their sciences, science Roman Catholic began to give their children, and who taught them the Catholic faith, and so little science their entire Ukrainian intelligentsia led to the Roman faith, even their descendants of the Orthodox faith in Roman vyhrestylysya and surnames and names povidminyaly, as if never knew they were descendants of the progenitor of his pious" [11, p. 125–126].

During this process, a series of figures that the theoretical and political levels determined the main features of Ukrainian nation, its literary and scientific, practical activities contributed most resistances of Rome and the rise of national defense Ukrainian religious consciousness, and thus contributed to the growth of national consciousness, national idea. In particular, I. Franko calls K. Ostrogskyy, who understood and well aware of the fact that the Ukrainian people need to educate, to raise him from the darkness of ignorance and slavery, because only educated people can realize their national identity and protect their national and religious rights of the pressure romanization. To this end, he organized the academy in jail and invited to teach in one of these nationally-conscious Ukrainian teachers as M. Smotritskyy, G. Smotrytskyy, I. Knyahynytskyy, monk Iov et al., which I. Franko calls a "reasonable and scientists Ruthenians". This Academy created the strong educational and cultural, literary and national conscious center.

It is extremely important for the awakening of national consciousness of the Ukrainian people had literary and scientific, practical activities of the Ukrainian leaders, whose works were included in the history of philosophical thought called "polemical literature", which covers the vast scientific and theological treatises, historical and political pamphlets, open letters, etc., whose appearance was due indispensable necessity of Ukrainian people for national and religious freedom. One of the jewels of polemical literature find work "Caution" in which the author, as a humanist, educator, calls it a modern society to a stable anti- Catholicism through the development of national culture and schools in Ukraine. In his view, the decline of national culture, language, schools, writing leads to national degeneration, opens the way to captivity Ukrainian people. Author rebukes the church hierarchy because they "... from their patriarch denied, and the Pope swear, and so great unrest among the people committed" [11, p. 125].

Another piece in which the national idea elevated to a high level of the expression was "Apokrisis" Christopher Filaleta which condemns the policy of the Polish government against the Ukrainian people and the demands of democratic rights for the Ukrainian. The author sadly notes that, after the Union of Brest instead of the expected improvement occurred deterioration "great sadness" in Ukraine. Filaleta indicates that the body-conscious Ukrainian povidkryvalysya wounds that are very hurt: not as the "Roman persecutors recognition" as "apostates from the faith of the ancient Greek" [15, p. 98].

Ukrainian polemicists defending their native faith, frequently resorted to historical digression to remind contemporaries of their family and defend signs Ukrainian ethnicity, and hence the national idea in terms of historical rights. It is found in the preface of "Poems to bury Sagajdachnogo Kasiyana Sakovych" where the author proudly notes that "the Rus Oleg monarchs sailed in boats on the sea and stormed Constantinople, and their ancestors were baptized Vladimir, and in that faith lived sedately" [3, p. 156] as well as in Zechariah Kopystenskyy who writes that when Prince Daniel took the crown from the Pope, he, nevertheless, "... the Roman church is not united in faith and faith has not changed his" [7, with. 133].

Unique place in Ukrainian polemical literature takes Ivan Vishenskyy – a fighter against social and national-religious oppression of the Ukrainian people. His public position was determined that he was guided by the labor, oppressed and exploited social, religious and national farmers. As noted I. Franko, "the main force people see Ivan Vishenskyy not pastors, not Panahi, and the herd, in the common people" [16, p. 276].

Literary and religious and philosophical heritage I. Vyshenskyy a form of "messages" that have permeated deep patriotism, love of the Ukrainian people and it is an expression of the national idea. In his works, he stands a great patriot of his native land, calling Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people purify their faith from superstition and exalt Slavic (Ukrainian) language native faith: "First of all, clean the church from all sorts of temptations and heretical prejudices and singleness of heart... god praise god, singing simple songs Ruthenian our thanks. While pryhylitsya our Eastern Orthodox faith with all my heart, soul and thoughts without any doubt" [2, p. 34].

Of course, Ukrainian patriots and statesmen who prysluzhylysya to the development and growth of national ideas were not only orthodox figures, but Uniates, who in his writings also addressed the historical past of Ukraine-Rus and sought to restore its state, because, as rightly noted by prominent church leader M. Smotrytskyy, "faith does not Rusyn as Rusyn... and birth and blood Rus..." [18, p. 83]. Union organizers, including the Metropolitan M. Rogoza, bishops I. Potiy, G. Balaban, K. Terletskyy and other Orthodox bishops were primarily Ukrainian hierarchs who are very well aware of the internal state and the social position of the Orthodox Church in the Polish state and its historic mission and role in advancing the rights and freedoms of Ukrainian people in the development and consolidation of its spiritual and national consciousness in protecting its national identity, to preserve it as ethnic group, nation. So by signing the Union, Ukrainian hierarchs of the Orthodox Church preserved the ritual, liturgy, language, everything that was associated with the Ukrainian tradition. As noted by the chief organizer of understanding with Rome Hypatia sweat, "... and we are now starting to agree with the Romans, the same profession Greek teachers are holding tight..." [10, p. 41]. Thus, under the care of Pope Greek Catholic Church Ukrainian left already, at least at this stage of social and spiritual life of Ukraine impossible violent polonization Ruthenian (Ukrainian) using romanization.

Thus, the polemical literature was evidence of a high level of national consciousness of the Ukrainian nation, its perpetual readiness to become the defense of their national, religious, social and cultural interests.

It can be noted that in the XIV–XVI centuries. Despite unfavorable to Ukrainian national-cultural, economic and political circumstances, national identity, national idea is still expressed in the forms of understanding the differences of its territory, language, religion, law, nationality and so on.

The idea of freedom continues in the years of the historical development of Ukraine, particularly in times of Cossacks opposition to the Polish social and national oppression. The idea of freedom then expressed primarily in the state building efforts of the Cossack elite and leadership in an effort to obtain national independence of Ukraine.

Thus, in the second half of XVI – early XVII century formation becomes prominent nationally-conscious Ukrainian middle class, which, according to I. Franko, "to fight for their state law... is gradually coming to the conclusion as to defend their religious and national interests..." [17, p. 109]. As far worse were Ukrainian peasants that for a successful defense of their interests needed an ally, as, after all other social groups of Ukrainian ethnos that suffered severe social and national

oppression. This acted as an ally of the Cossacks, which was formed by the average Ukrainian nobles, burghers and peasants. After making religious-legal ideas, gain experience of political struggle for their realization occurred combination of diverse ethnic groups into a strong Ukrainian national-conscious force that was able to stand and fight for gaining their national independence. According to Mr. Lipinskyy, thanks to the consolidation of Ukrainian ethnos in the ranks of the Cossack troops held Khmelnytskyy's victory in the national liberation war [8, p. 15–16].

The consolidation of the nation in the national liberation war was remarkable milestone in the history of the formation of Ukrainian national identity, the idea of freedom, because for the first time in the history of the struggle for liberation felt so much unity in almost all segments of the Ukrainian people. Leading role in the further consolidation and unity of the nation was to play a Cossack layer - as the strongest class of the nation. This, to some extent, she was able to do. According to Mr. Lipinskyy, "just as the Polish nobility sotvoryla concept of statehood and the Polish nation Polish, Ukrainian Cossacks sotvoryla concept of statehood and Ukrainian nation. Even geographically provincial name Cossack territory – the provinces of Kiev, Chernigov and Bratslav – is the name of the national territory and the name of the nation. Since then, the term "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" ... begin to displace the old terms "Russia" and "Rus"... And as a noble concept of the Commonwealth has become synonymous with the Polish state, the concept of the Cossack Army of Zaporizhia became a synonym B. Khmelnytskyy novopovstaloyi Ukrainian state" [8, p. 53–54].

The idea of freedom is still reflected in the establishment of state institutions in the Cossack territory, of the regular army, establish active relations with other states. Thus, and Bohdan Khmelnytskyy as seen from sources quite confidently and consciously felt himself ruler of the Ukrainian Cossack state. Specifically, he told the Rzeczpospolita: "It is true that I have a little evil man, but God has given me that is the only ruler and autocrat of Rus" [4, p. 118]. We see a clear awareness of B. Khmelnitskyy unity of all Ukrainian lands, which has historical roots and dates back to ancient times. Therefore, the hetman of some nostalgia for the past said: "... our authentically ancient times with lands and provinces Cossack Russians, Sarmatian of Podolia and Wallachia by the Vistula and up to the Vilna and Smolensk. Had our land long and space boundaries, including land Kyiv, Galician, Lviv, Kholmian, Belz, Podolsk, Volyn, Przemysl, Mstsislauye, Vitebsk and Polotsk" [14, p. 79].

Extremely positive impact on Ukrainian national revival, the idea of freedom of the Ukrainian people had Cossack chronicles, which led to the emergence of Cossacks, national liberation war and Pereiaslavs'ka deal with her tragic for the Ukrainian national cause consequences. Especially important are three Cossack chronicles – Witness', G. and S. Hrabianka Wieliczka. These authors, covering a huge amount of documentary material in its annals are great patriots of their homeland. In particular, saw it, the chronicle which covers the events of 1648–1702 biennium, a language close to the people, indignant at the fact that the Cossacks, Muscovy prefer "for nothing", and G. Hrabianka with a sense of great pride for their homeland takes the words Khmelnytskoho facing the Ukrainian Cossacks, full courage, love for Ukraine and its glorious past: "Brethren, glorious fellows of Zaporizhia army! Shot time, grab a weapon and a shield of your faith, call on the help of the Lord, or be afraid pompous power poles ... remember the old Ukrainian soldiers, who, though he was wrong, and yet their courage all fear nahanyaly. Since the same test and you hired. Sons of brave warriors, show your courage. And you will forever honor (with command of the Lord) is written, let hope in God not despise you!" [9, p. 40–41].

The third chronicle was "Skazaniye at War kozatskoy Poles chrez B. Khmelnitsky", sponsored by S. Velichko and is written by the then literary language (and, in addition to portrait, there is a living national language). Author chronicles delivers versatile Ostryanina whose content is filled with a clear understanding of the unity of the whole Ukrainian nation "Reset ... with God's help of you, our Orthodox people, the yoke of tyranny and Polish captivity to avenge also perfect images and ruin you, brother, nobly congenital, and society as a whole Russian people, living in Little Russia on both sides of the Dnieper" [1, p. 294].

Thus, the liberation war of 1648-1654 is one of the manifestations in the history of the formation and implementation of the idea of freedom, which started a new era in the struggle of the people for national independence and the creation of an independent state.

Assessing the role of Bogdan Khmelnitsky in the formation of the idea of freedom, we should note that he stressed the greatness of the victory of the Ukrainian people on the Polish army and believed that "Russia will dominate very soon". Getman instituted proceedings compound throughout the territory of the Ukrainian land, first introduced to official documents name "Ukraine". "He restored the nation ... the roar of falling among the ruins of the old, they also ruined the Commonwealth. He brushed aside those ruins and simultaneously strengthened western culture in Ukraine in the face of constant Tatar and Muscovite danger from the East ... and, most importantly, he is a selfless, fanatical devotion to the idea of Ukrainian state can transfer its whole environment, the whole, it bred, aristocratic Ukrainian layer. For if all the long period of our history, it was the death of Bogdan, rightly nicknamed the "ruins", remember that destroyed hundreds of years just what it within ten years built" [8, p. 135–136, p. 139–140].

After completion of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people under B. Khmelnitsky and union with Moscow before the Cossacks as a provider and integrator of Ukrainian nation with its own notion of language, religion, law, has a new enemy strength in the face of Muscovy, which was very unexpected, because so far all theoretical and practical zeal was directed against Poland and Catholicism. This new enemy force Ukrainian caught unprepared for defense. Not enough time to consolidate and Cossacks, which subjected countermeasures on the part of Moscow, was forced to maneuver in order to preserve the remnants of unity, uniting people of Ukrainian national liberation war.

Nevertheless, the idea of freedom as a factor state, in its historical development, not folded, appearing in various spheres of social and spiritual life of Ukraine.

Great influence on the formation of national consciousness of the Ukrainian people and the continuation of the continuous development and growth of the idea of freedom was "Constitution rights and freedoms of Zaporizhia army", signed April 5, 1710 by Philip Orlik. This constitution is an outstanding Ukrainian national-political document, which clearly reflected the ideals of the then Ukrainian nation. The author sought to link together fragments of the past Ukraine and outline a model of society that embraces be the main achievements of the nation. The ideas expressed in this paper are the result of almost a thousand of Ukraine, as evidenced by the high level of consciousness of the nation and its political culture. This paper appeared as a materialized idea of Ukrainian statehood in the form of Hetman.

Thus, in the first paragraph set the exclusive rights of the Orthodox faith in Ukraine: "I do not give a residence permit in Ukraine followers of someone else's faith ... that only a single Orthodox faith was ratified on ... forever ... so she abounded and blossomed as the rose among the thorns, between alien religions neighboring countries" [12, p. 23–24].

In the following paragraphs the author justifies the urgent need to clean the Dnieper and the Zaporozhian Host the entire territory of the host of "fortifications and castles Muscovites" and return Cossacks rights "Dnipro above all, from Perevolochna, until the mouth" and area "Poltava regiment and Kodatska fortress with all the lands".

Philip Orlik also outlines the contours of the political system of the Ukrainian state, "with those general officers, colonels and general counsel should present illustrious hetman and his successors counsel of Homeland Security, the common good and of all public affairs" and "rejecting evil jealousy and vindictive namysly, give good advice in a manner that does not cause those plagues nor honor the hetman, or damage to the cause of the Motherland – let it pass over evil and destruction" [12, p. 31–32].

Especially patriotic sounds oath Philip Orlik, in which he undertakes to earnestly care "for the public good and collegiality Little Mother", "strengthen, as opportunity, talent and effort, rights and liberties of the Zaporozhian Host", "do not enter into any conspiracy other people's countries and peoples, as well as within the Fatherland, that would be thought to destroy it and any evil" [12, p. 47].

The idea of freedom is deeply expressed in one of the most important works of this period – "The History of Rus", which is a systematic justification historiosophical Ukraine's right to their own state. The central figure of the work – Khmelnitsky, is unknown by honoring the return of Ukraine's independence. Author of "History of Rus" also carries the idea of consciously historical rights of the Ukrainian gentry "after the manner of all peoples and nations". Recounting Pereyaslavskaya agreement, it emphasizes the principal, in his opinion, paragraph: "To be Cossacks on all previous agreements and pacts signed with Poland and Lithuania ... and for them to enjoy forever and freedoms without any distinction, to property ... all the families, their estates and purchase them firmly by them and their descendants was always under the protection of the rights of ancient Rus ... to work in their councils and no one else coming in and not vmishuvavsya, and they are judged and managed together by their need rights and their elected from among the judges and chiefs" [6, p. 167]. The author tells about these rights as a privilege "national government". He also recalls Cossack rights as a "noble, natural, from ancient antiquity they were constantly under the title of knighthood and all agreements and privileges they are confirmed ..." [6, p. 168].

It is characteristic of Hetman Mazepa content proclamation to his troops, which is imbued with the desire of Ukraine's independence and unity of its people, the requirement to "... put our country in a state of the state in which it was before the Polish possession with their natural princes and to all the same rights and privileges that the mean free nations ... to free us from slavery and neglect and to restore to the highest degree of freedom and autocracy. We know so, that we were once those Muscovites now: the government, and the primacy of the name Rus' that we passed to them "[6, p. 259].

Basically, the conceptual idea of statehood outlined in the book, read relevant today, two centuries after its creation. At the heart of the state should be the national government, elected in accordance with the law and traditions of the people: "Supreme Chief and owner of Russian land and the people that should be hetman, elected by the army ranks and among themselves free voice ... "[6, p. 139].

So, the idea of freedom, expressed in social and spiritual life of the Ukrainian people period XIV–XVIII centuries showed itself multifaceted phenomenon and one that is constantly looking for new ways of expression in all areas of social, political, literary and spiritual life of Ukraine.

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