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# PERSPECTIVE VIEWS P. LYASHCHENKO AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE USSR IN THE 1920S

Introduction. The new economic policy, which replaced the policy of war communism, somewhat facilitated the situation of the peasants. In the village on a voluntary basis began to actively introduce various types of cooperative forms of land use and land cultivation. However, this situation did not last long. In parallel with these changes, the authorities managed to conquer the Volga region, the North Caucasus and the South of Ukraine for the Holodomor of 1921-1923. By 1927 the communist government began accelerating the socialization of everything and everything in the village, driving the peasants into collective farms and state farms. Agricultural scientists did not stand aside processes that took place in the agrarian sector of the country's economy.

Purpose. In modern studies of Ukrainian and foreign scientists, various aspects of sociopolitical, socioeconomic life and manifestations of agrarian transformations in the USSR in the interwar period are revealed. Significant source of problems and theoretical study belongs to S. Kulchytsky. Somewhat out of the attention of the researchers remained the creative legacy of agrarians of the 1920s, including P.I. Lyashchenko The author of the article aims to highlight the peculiarities of approaches to solving the agrarian question in the USSR in the scientific heritage of Academician P.I. Lyashchenko

**Results.** Numerous discussions during conferences and publication in specialized scientific journals in the 1920s were called upon to work out the most appropriate ways of reforming the village on a socialist basis. Among the participants in the discussion was Peter Ivanovich Lyashchenko, who was formed as a gifted scientist-

agrarian before the October Revolution of 1917, while working at the St. Petersburg, Yur'ev and Tomsk universities.

Conclusion. The scholar spoke on the weighed steps that would be based on a serious theoretical foundation and practical experience gained during experimental research work. However, party leadership increasingly leaned to accelerate the rate of collectivization, replacing it with existing forms of cooperative peasant farms.

**Key words**: cooperation, collectivization, collective farm, state farm, P.I. Lyashchenko

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# M.HRUSHEVSKY'S PUBLICATIONS FOR PEASANTS IN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PERCEPTION AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY'

The article is devoted to the research of perception of scientific-popular works of M. Hrushevsky. It highlights the need for such works among peasants. The article demonstrates that reviewers recognized Hrushevsky as a forerunner of educating peasants on the Ukrainian past in context of Ukrainian historical process.

**Key words:** M. Hrushevsky, peasants, «On our father of Cossacks – Khmelnytskyi», «Illustrated history of Ukraine», «Cultural-national movement in Ukraine in XVI-XVII».

The statement of the issue. Perceptive Hrushevsky studies has turned into a dynamic course of research on the Great Ukrainian. The academic component dominates, and it is focused on the peculiarities of perception of fundamental volumes of «History of Ukraine-Rus». in the intellectual cultural at the end of XIX – the first third of XX century. As a result of such unbalanced emphasis, the perception of scientific-popular works of Hrushevky addressed to his biggest audience – the peasants, is left unattended. However, those were scientific-popular texts of Hrushevsky that were important to him, regarding the significance of the problem of mass education and involvement of people to the urgent tasks of Ukrainians as a nation. The reviewers of that time noticed the peculiarities of Hrushevsly's style in his popular-scientific works and they admired the importance of his work on spreading knowledge about Ukrainian past among peasants. Unfortunately, this aspect of perceptive Hrushevsky studies lacks its independent historiographical reflection even today.

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Research analysis. Nevertheless, the problem of reception of Hrushevky's scientific-popular works for peasants was highlighted by Hrushevsky studies researchers several times. There exist a few attempts of the detailed study of the problem. First of all, those are works of Olga Andrievska [1], Vitaliy Telvak [2] and Valentyna Kukhar [3]. At the same time, this complex issue requires further reflexion regarding the great amount of source and historiographical literature.

The purpose of the article. The article aims at recreation of the main tendencies of reviewing the works for peasants by Mykhailo Hrushevsky. We will focus on the period before the World War I since later critical publications inevitably had the imprint of the fast-paced changes in political situation, historiographical and ideological contexts.

The statement of the basic material. Scientific popularization as one of the socially important tasks of historian had been in the centre of his scientific activity since his first years in Lviv. This is evidenced by numerous public speeches on historical themes, his collaboration with newspapers and magazines, that readily printed his historical sketches dedicated to the outstanding figures and significant events of the Ukrainian past. At the beginning of the 20th century the first scientific-popular books of M. Hrushevsky appeared, which aroused the lively interest of the wide circles of the reading public. However, while in Galicia the works of the scientist were freely distributed in the reader's environment, it was much more complicated with the publication and distribution of his works on the Dnieper Ukraine. The well-known prohibition of the Ukrainian language and discriminatory legislation regarding the Ukrainian publishing complicated the activity of popularizing the national model of the past among the people.

The opportunity emerged after the revolutionary events of 1905, when the restrictions on the functioning of the Ukrainian language were eventually lifted. Since then, M. Hrushevsky spent much of the time writing popular-historical works for a large audience, mostly for peasantry. These works quickly won the recognition of both the specialists and the readers, in spite of certain competition, as Alexandra Efimenko and Mykola Arkas had already written similar books. For example, the audience appreciated a small book «About the father of Cossacks Bohdan Khmelnytsky» issued in Kiev in 1909, devoted to the heroic age of the Ukrainian past. In a readable and accessible style, it depicted the course of the Cossack war through the prism of the personality of a great hetman. «The book», as critics believed, «is written warmly, vividly and in such a form that everyone, even less literate, can understand it» [4, 633].

M. Hrushevsky's «Illustrated History of Ukraine» sets more serious scientific and promotional tasks. In an extensive preface to the book, the author wrote that he presented it as a gratitude to Ukrainian citizenship, which «instilled me with twenty-five years of my writing». Next, the scientist presented his interesting vision of the purpose of the publication and the tasks of scientific popularization: «I wanted to give my citizens a book that is written easily and accessibly, that animates the images of the past, fragments of our old creativity, our literature, includes pictures of interesting items of old life, portraits of ancient Ukrainian figures, maps and plans for the incoming events. It is not an easy thing to put into such

a little book all the richness of Ukrainian life, that does not to confine itself to the superfluous history of only rulers and wars, but to show how the people lived, how its social and cultural life was developing «[5,3].

Given the popular-scientific nature of the publication, M. Hrushevsky maximally simplifies the presentation, avoiding a large number of names and dates, and organizing special information in the registers and tables at the end of the book. Explaining his approach to the selection of illustrative material, the author notes that «a true picture of an old subject introduces a modern man into an old life far better and more vividly than its long descriptions and all sorts of newer fantasies; old engraving, drawing, regardless of what they represent, give us another example of the technique, artistic creativity and artistic understanding of that time»[5, 4]. It is interesting that M. Hrushevsky used only authentic images in his work, avoiding «any fantasy».

The Ukrainian observers of «Illustrated History of Ukraine» noted its high scientific value, which consisted in the consistent support of the thesis about the continuity of the Ukrainian historical process from the early Middle Ages to the beginning of the twentieth century through the entire text of the narrative [6, 7]. This thesis, as they emphasized, gradually penetrates into the Russian textbooks. But despite such a purely scientific character, reviewers have noticed the quality of literary style, masterful writing skills [8]. For example, Mykola Zaliznyak wrote: «This is not a science-dry collection of facts, not a theoretical reasoning, abstraction and generalization of a sociologist. Here in the work, our past life is resurrecting in front of our eyes in all its versatility, the scientific element is perfectly combined with the artistic – the author does not only knows the facts, but also feels, with the help of his inner intuition, our past lives, gives it vivid colours with the force of his inner sense. Therefore, this book makes a great impression on the reader, therefore, it will be a pure source of national self-knowledge and national consciousness

The commentators on «Illustrated History of Ukraine» highlighted an illustrative work design, noting that the pictures contained therein have quite independent scientific and educational value, since they are distinguished with great taste and profound knowledge of the subject [10, 130]. Criticism unanimously approved the fact that M. Hrushevsky during the selection of illustrations focused exclusively on authentic art monuments. This favourably distinguished «Illustrated History of Ukraine» among other similar genres, first of all, the popular book by M. Arkas. Such an approach, as the columnist of the magazine «Art» noted, should become an example for other authors. In particular, he wrote: «In this book, we have a serious experience of a new kind. Its fate will show what the public needs – a romantic fantasy or strictly actual illustration, satisfying the requirements of the given moment of aesthetic demands - or satisfying the educated aesthetic taste that can find the interesting and wonderful in historical monuments of the distant past» [11, 249].

The emergence of «Illustrated History of Ukraine» was noticed far beyond the Ukrainian reading environment. Thus, the Prague «Časopis Musea Krŕlovstvi Českého» responded to the new work of M. Hrushevsky by the review of Karel Kadleets. The



Czech scholar noted the importance of the scientific and popularization work of the Lviv professor, which promotes better information not only of Ukrainian society, but also for representatives of other peoples interested in Ukrainian affairs. Briefly summarizing the contents of the whole book and highlighting the author's narrative substantiality, the reviewer paid special attention to Hrushevsky's study of history of the Cossacks. According to K. Kadleets, these are the best pages in the work, because the author provided not only unknown facts, but a qualitatively new interpretation from the point of Ukrainian historical interest [12]. According to the columnist, worth the artistic excellence of the author's story is also worth of an approval as well as the readability of the book for the average reader. K. Kadleets appreciated the illustrative design of work, which allows to substantially improve readers' impressions. «The value of Hrushevsky's book», the critic summarizes, «consists not only in the fact that it is written popularly in a clear and comprehensible manner, but above all in the fact that has been written by the best expert of the Ukrainian past» [12, 178].

The commercial success of «Illustrated History of Ukraine» on the readership market (the first circulation of 6,000 copies was sold during the year!). It contributed to the repeated reprint of the book and its significant distribution among the people, as well as it pushed the professor to implement his translation project – the publication of the Russian-language version of this work. In the preface to the Russian edition, the professor himself explained: «Regarding the interest awakened by this book [it is a Ukrainian edition - auth.] in a large circle of intellectuals and just literate Ukrainian readers, I decided to implement the idea of making this publication accessible to readers, those who are interested in the past of Ukraine, but do not have sufficient knowledge of Ukrainian language or are simply not accustomed to reading in the Ukrainian language «[13, 3].

Reviewers agreed that the best features of the Ukrainian version – scientific nature, objectivity, literary and artistic design – were reflected in the Russian edition [14; 15; 16]. The differences were especially visible while comparing the work of the Lviv professor with the books of A. Efimenko and M. Arkas. Critics praised M. Hrushevsky's disclosure of peculiarities of cultural and political life on Ukrainian lands. The pages of the Russian pedagogical magazine «Russian School» said: «All the cultural and political life of Ukraine comes to life in the book of a talented professor, from prehistoric archaeological data to the sketch of the modern Ukrainian movement. [...] Culture and political life are presented so fully, and it is so substantially supported by accurate data that this work can safely occupy an honourable place in the history of the Slavic peoples and lands» [17,

The observers also emphasized on the significant educational value of «Illustrated History of Ukraine». The Petersburg magazine «Rech» wrote: «Russian reader receives, therefore, the opportunity not only to get acquainted with the scientific presentation of the history of the Ukrainian people in its integrity, but to more consciously address the Ukrainian issue, making sure that modern Ukrainians is not an arbitrary invention of a certain handful of fantasy-makers, but an organic result of the historical process «[18, 3]. It was particularly emphasized that the general status quo of Ukrainian

historiography in terms of scientific study of particular problems and entire periods could not but affect the corresponding places of Hrushevsky's book and on his narrative style. Much more thoroughly, according to the observers, the book described the ancient and Lithuanian periods, as well as issues related to the cultural and religious life in Ukraine, which have a long tradition of scientific study. Those issues in the research of which the scientist himself made a significant contribution were also marked by a high professional level of attention. Among the them the reviewers unanimously noted the history of the Cossacks. At the same time, the characterisation of the economic, legal and social life of the Ukrainian people, especially the era of the Hetmanate, is somewhat schematic. Yet the general perception of the work was quite favourable. Thus, Nikolay Vasilenko noted: «It is possible, of course, to disagree with the individual conclusions of the prof. Hrushevsky, one can argue with them, but no one can deny the fact that they are supported by a scientific basis, substantial knowledge and study of historical material. This is the special value of the book prof. Hrushevsky» [19, 252–

Among the numerous and diverse reviews of Hrushevsky's historical works in general and his «Illustrated History of Ukraine» in particular, a critical review of the Marxist historian, Mykola Rozhkov deserves particular attention. This is the first known analysis of M. Hrushevsky's work from the point of view of Marxism. At the very beginning of the review, the reviewer sees Hrushevsky's work as an interesting monument to the Ukrainian «left-wing nationalism», and the author as someone «blinded by nationalist enthusiasm» [20, 119]. These circumstances, according to the reviewer, constitute numerous weak points of the book. Among the latter, he enumerates a separate consideration of internal and external history; the false image of the genesis of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian state tradition; underestimation of the economic component of historical evolution; incorrect understanding of the economic and social laws of human progress; national rather than class explanation of a number of cultural, social and economic phenomena, etc. «Everywhere in the work», concludes the reviewer, «Mr. Hrushevsky is blinded by his cult of nationality, replacing the class foundation with the national one». Emphasizing at the «little-bourgeois-ness» of M. Hrushevsky's historical views, the reviewer still finds the strong point of his work. Among them there are the description of the development of agriculture in the Ukrainian lands of the 17th century, the genesis of the Cossacks, the struggle of the Cossacks with Polish oppression. The reviewer appreciated linguistic, literary and artistic features of the book. «In general», as M. Rozhkov concludes, «it is worth recommending the book by Mr. Hrushevsky to the reader's community: it is interesting and important by its content and drawings, and as a certain literary phenomenon, which reflects an important social movement in Russia and Ukraine abroad» [20, 121].

The popularity of «Illustrated History of Ukraine» among Ukrainian and Russian readers encouraged some of the ideological supporters of M. Hrushevsky (A. Zhuk, V. Stepankovsky, L. Yurkevich, V. Lypynskyi, V. Kushnir) to the idea of translating this work into European languages in order to popularize Ukrainian problems in the world. For example, Stepankivskyi initiated the



English translation of the book [21, 652–655]. However, unfavourable financial conditions on which English publishers agreed to print the book by M. Hrushevsky became an impassable obstacle for the realization of the plan.

The success of the popular-scientific works of M. Hrushevsky (both in Russian and in Ukrainian) among the large audience revealed a lack of literature, that could provide scientifically proved and at the same time adapted to the level of an average reader knowledge about the Ukrainian past. In order to satisfy the growing demand, the scientist published more popular-scientific essays in separate books, which, according to V. Doroshenko, «constitute a powerful weapon of national awareness and self-knowledge among the broad strata of our citizenship» [22, 297]. These works were appreciated by both Ukrainian and Russian professional circles. The scientific novelty and originality of the author's suggestion on historical events and phenomena, their skilful literary image, emotionality and accessibility received special approval. Majority of reviewers emphasized on impeccable illustrative material [4; 23; 24]. Discussing the scientific and popular works of Lviv professor, critics emphasized that Hrushevsky managed not only to avoid typical for works of this kind schematism and superficiality in the image of historical events, and more importantly, «he paid attention to those internal engines that determined the direction in which the wheel of history was turning [...]. The reader observes Ukrainian citizens from century to century, from one historical time to the next, and the reader clearly sees which mistakes hurt the cultural and civil development of our people to the greatest extent; the reasons for rise and decline of Ukrainian nation in different times; which of these errors are inherent to our citizens even today, which ideals they were pursuing in those distant times, and if these ideals were real and consistent with the civic structure and the people's psyche, etc.» [25, 100–101]

Noting the significance of the educational and cognitive influence of M. Hrushevsky's scientific-popular books, Ukrainian observers emphasized on the educational and national-consolidating value of the researcher's popularization work. The pedagogical publications of the Galician language wrote: «In Ukraine under Russian reign Hrushevsky's works will define an era [...] while in the Austrian part these works will increase national consciousness, nurture thousands of fighters and, most importantly, they will link national-cultural unity of our region with the roots of our nation» [26, 48].

Another evidence of active perception of the scientific-popular works of M. Hrushevsky by the criticism of that time is the discussion of his «Cultural-National Movement in Ukraine in the XVI-XVII centuries». The Ukrainian observers of this «interesting by content and by an accessible form of presentation to the large audience» work spoke about the significant scientific erudition of the author and his populariser talent to narrate about complex historical events accessibly and emotionally [27; 28]. Critics noted the importance of the chosen historical era, since the problems faced by the Ukrainian movement at the turn of the 16th-17th centuries remained contradictory for the national life of the early twentieth century. The pages of the Kiev «Rada» stated: «The profound historical knowledge of the author, a living style of writing, artistic language, a broad outlook; numerous illustrations – reproductions

of old engravings and printings, stylistic appearance of the edition – all this made a new work prof. Hrushevsky one of the most valuable achievements of literary publishing this year» [29, 3]. The reviewers also emphasized on the public response to the new book, its special relevance for the Russian reader that was under the influence of official ideology. «The Russian reader is acquainted with the historical facts about the hereditary connection with modern Ukrainians – as St. Petersburg's «Rech» wrote – and gets the possibility to clarify the modern tasks and aspirations of the latter through the understanding of ideological substantiation of its historical development» [30, 3]. Along with such approving reviews, there were still some critical remark concerning: lack of more extensive explanation of the theoretical aspects of the research (for example, revealing specific features of the Ukrainian national movement) and author's terminology, clear outlining of the Ukrainian factor in the cultural polyphony. Critics recommended the author to improve language of writing, which was sometimes marked by the influences of the Galician dialect.

Critics appreciated the illustrative design of the book, which used numerous authentic artistic monuments of the studied period [31]. It is noted that the researcher has to be of Hrushevsky level, have the same significant historical erudition to adequately collect illustrative material that would create the necessary background for the narrative. The reviewer of the magazine «Art», for example, wrote: «... After summarizing our observations, we can confidently state: a new book of prof. Hrushevsky in its illustration aspect has the same, if not more pronounced, freshness, as his «Illustrated history of Ukraine». The most valuable and most important point is that it really represents what was in the past, without lies and exaggerations, avoiding all unreliable artefacts, even those, that from the modern point of view may be considered as beautiful. As for the artistic value and independence of the «Cultural Movement», there are some aspects to argue about, but the author of this one-of-a-kind book will always have the credit for sweeping the dust from the past and bringing to larger circles of our contemporary audience everything that the Old Ukraine created, adapted and transformed from the neighbours and in their own during the first years of the first awakening of cultural life» [32,

Russian observers also appreciated «Cultural-National Movement in Ukraine in the XVI-XVII centuries». Some of them even regretted that the book was published only in the Ukrainian language version. Russian researchers have traditionally argued with M. Hrushevsky's Ukrainian perspective on the key problems of Ukrainian-Russian relations, emphasizing, however, on the solidity of the professional level of his works and their timely appearance on the reader market. Characteristic of Russian critical perception was the reaction of Venedikt Miakotin to this work: «Sometimes the author in applying this view [about the role of the Cossacks in Ukrainian history - aut.] goes probably too far and some of his individual statements need remarks. However, those are just nuances, in general it is an interesting the book that fully corresponds to the tasks of historical popularization, and one can sincerely wish that he also publishes this book in Russian» [33, 392-393].

Instead, representatives of the right monarchy camp met the work with a rather cautious reaction in the Dnieper Ukraine. Another cause for their concern was the appearance on the Russian reading market of the popular work of the Lviv professor - «About the old times in Ukraine». The publication on the pages of «Kievan» by a prominent pro-monarchist movement, the founder of the Kievan Nationalists Club Anatoly Savenko gave the review from the point of view of supporters of the Chorna Sotnya ideology. The author, instead of the expected scientific polemics, laughed at the hypothesis of his opponent as deprived of any scientific value. Traditionally for the nationalists, known for rejecting the views of Ukrainophiles, headed by M. Hrushevskyi, A. Savenko emotionally emphasized that the analyzed work: «this is the most tendentious brochure that I had to read» [34, 2-3].

Viacheslav Lypynskyi, one of the future theorists of the state direction in Ukrainian historiography, admired the popular scientific works of M. Hrushevsky. During pre-war times he was under the influence of the scientific authority of the author of «History of Ukraine-Rus», even calling himself his disciple. V. Lypynskyi became interested in the problem of popularizing historical knowledge among the broad masses. Realizing the vital necessity of publishing the scientific-popular Ukrainianlanguage history of Ukraine he wrote in one of his letters to M. Hrushevsky: «Now seems to me the right time for popularization of history, it is one of the most important cultural and political tasks, as new and new strata of Ukrainians come, that are not familiar with the previous Ukrainian literature» [35, 304]. That is why V. Lypynskyi was interested in following the stream popularization of the Lviv professor, helping him to get the necessary illustrations for books. Receiving as a gift from M. Hrushevsky and reading «Illustrated History of Ukraine», V. Lypynskyi wrote letter to the author: «Thank you very much for sending me your «History»! A wonderful book - not to mention the content - its style, form and appearance! I cannot keep myself from sharing my impressions that I had while reading your «History». Please accept this gratitude, Professor, from someone who cherishes the past and intends to resurrect it spiritually, to show it in the light of science» [35, 293-294]. V. Lypynskyi gave an excited feedback to other scientific and popular works of his senior colleague, the evidence of which we find in their correspondence [35, 309, 311].

**The conclusions**. Thus, the scientific-popular works of M. Hrushevsky, that were published at the beginning of the 20th century, became an important factor of scientific life of that time. This is evidenced by the significant publication scope of these works, and the lively discussion around them. Among the strong sides of the scientific-popular studies of Lviv professor, practically all observers named the thoroughness of synthesis of historical material, artistic skill in depicting complex events and phenomena, and the accessibility of the presentation to a large audience of readers. The observers unanimously emphasized that it was Hrushevsky who was a pioneer in the important task of spreading the knowledge about the past among the peasantry through the prism of Ukrainian historical interest. Due to his works, Ukrainian intelligentsia fulfilled an important educational mission among its people on the eve of the Liberation Movement.

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# ВИДАННЯ МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО ДЛЯ СЕЛЯН В ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНІЙ РЕЦЕПЦІЇ ПОЧАТКУ XX СТОЛІТТЯ

Постановка проблеми. Стаття присвячена дослідженню рецепції науково-популярних праць М. Грушевського. Актуальність цієї проблеми зумовлена тим, що досі практично поза увагою грушевськознавців перебуває проблема сприйняття та оцінки сучасниками історика його праць, адресованих найбільш масовій – селянській читацькій аудиторії. Натомість, саме ці тексти М. Грушевського перебували в полі його особливої уваги з огляду на вагомість тогочасної потреби національного виховання народних мас з метою їх оперативного залучення до реалізації актуальних завдань українства. На це звертали увагу вже тогочасні оглядачі творів львівського професора, віднотовуючи особливості стилю Грушевського-популяризатора та підносячи особливу значущість поширення ним знань про українське минуле в селянських масах

**Метою статті**  $\epsilon$  відтворити провідні тенденції обговорення адресованих селянській аудиторії праць М. Грушевського. При цьому обрано період початку XX століття, оскільки пізніші критичні публікації неодмінно несли на собі відбиток як швидкоплинної політичної ситуації, так і зміненого історіографічного й ідеологічного контекстів.

Основні результати дослідження. Виявлено значну затребуваність цих творів у селянському середовищі, свідченням чого  $\varepsilon$  значні наклади книг. Доведено, що особливо схвальні оцінки отримали «Про батька козацького Хмельницького», «Ілюстрована історія України» та «Культурно-національний рух на Україні в XVI-XVII в.». З'ясовано, що як українські (В. Дорошенко, Д. Дорошенко, В. Липинський, М. Василенко, М. Залізняк, М. Могилянський, М. Возняк, С. Русова та ін.), так і російські (В. М'якотін) та чеські (К. Кадлєц) оглядачі підносили важливість і високу якість діяльності М. Грушевського, спрямовану на популяризацію історичних знань в широких народних масах.

Натомість, доволі насторожено науковопопуляризаторську працю М. Грушевського на Наддніпрянщині зустріли представники правомонархічного табору (А. Савенко), котрі традиційно для націоналістів закинули українофілам на чолі з М. Грушевським зраду інтересів слов'янства.

Висновки. Підсумовано, що науково-популярні твори М. Грушевського стали важливим фактором тогочасного наукового життя. До сильних сторін науково-популярних студій львівського професора практично всі оглядачі відносили ґрунтовність в узагальненні історичного матеріалу, художню майстерність у змалюванні складних подій та явищ, доступність викладу для широких кіл читачів. Оглядачі одностайно наголошували, що саме М. Грушевський є піонером у важливій справі поширення серед селянства знань про минуле, наведених крізь призму українського історичного інтересу. Цим українська інтелігенція виконала важливу просвітню місію серед свого народу в переддень Визвольних змагань.

**Ключові слова:** М. Грушевський, селяни, «Про батька козацького Богдана Хмельницького», «Ілюстрована історія України», «Культурнонаціональний рух на Україні в XVI–XVII в.».

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# КОНЦЕПЦІЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ АГРАРНОЇ БУРЖУАЗНОЇ РЕВОЛЮЦІЇ ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ. АКАДЕМІКА М. І. ЯВОРСЬКОГО

У статті висвітлено погляди академіка М. І. Яворського на революційний процес перших десятиліть ХХ ст., концептуальне бачення дослідником революційної боротьби початку ХХ ст. в Україні у контексті сучасних тенденцій дослідження історії революції. Автор статті вважає концепцію революції М. І. Яворського предтечею сучасної концепції селянської революції 1902—1922 рр., запропонованої В. П. Даниловим та його послідовниками.

Основні результати статті. Революційні події в Україні початку ХХ ст. академік М. І. Яворський визначав як Українську національно-демократичну революцію. Водночас період 1902–1907 рр. селянською революцією, події 1917 р. ідентифікував як національну аграрну буржуазну революцію або фермерсько-буржуазну революцію. Вчений вказував, що головною проблемою національно-демократичної революції в Україні було вирішення аграрного питання на користь селянства. Усі прошарки селянства прагли передачі їм поміщицьких земель. Політична незалежність України розглядалася як гарантія незворотності революцію аграрних перетворень. Селянську М. І. Яворський ідентифікував як буржуазну, спрямовану на утвердження фермерського типу аграрного капіталізму. Перетворення у сфері міського життя не входили до першочергових завдань національної революції. Загальний розвиток революції, за версією вченого, спрямовувався у бік задоволення інтересів селян-фермерів, однак зійшов на шлях захисту інтересів середніх і великих власників, переріс у контрреволюцію.

За дослідженнями академіка М. І. Яворського, селянська революція за витоками і змістом явище суто українського суспільного життя. На початку ХХ ст. ця революція відбулася як наслідок довголітньої боротьби за національне визволення.