

HETMAN IVAN MAZEPA AND THE UNIFICATION OF UKRAINIAN LANDS IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY UKRAINIAN PRESS

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Abstract: For several centuries, Ivan Mazepa, a statesman, philanthropist, diplomat, military leader, and Hetman of Ukraine from 1687 to 1709, has been interpreted almost exclusively in the Russian imperial historiographical and political paradigm. The prominent Ukrainian statesman and politician was portrayed as a “traitor,” “anathematised,” a political adventurer, and “the second Judas” (in the words of Peter the Great). In Ukraine, it was only after 1991 that researchers could study Ivan Mazepa, his activities, and his influence on politics in his time and the long term, without political contexts and ideological layers. Instrumental were the works of Ukrainian diaspora scholars and the opportunity to join archival collections outside Ukraine. Our study aims to highlight aspects of Ivan Mazepa’s problem of unifying Ukrainian lands and their interpretation in Ukrainian periodicals of the first half of the twentieth century. We focus on scientific research and discussions that took place in the pages of these publications. The article focuses on the publications of Andrusiak, Hrushevsky and Ohloblyn. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, critical analysis of sources, and a discriminating review of materials related to the article’s subject matter. Ivan Mazepa’s state-building activities during the years of his political biography were subject to influences and transformations. It is related to the historical and political context of the time and the personal qualities of the hetman, a talented, multifaceted, and strategically minded person. The main focus is on the publications of Mykola Andrusiak’s “Mazepa’s Relations with Stanislaw Leszczynski and Charles XII” (1933) and Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s “On Ukrainian Topics. Mazepism and Bohdanism” (1912).

Keywords: Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ivan Mazepa, Literary and Scientific Herald, Mykola Andrusiak, Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

1 Introduction

In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the information component plays a leading role; the information space “becomes the main medium of interpersonal, group and international contacts and the main place of collision of national interests, information sovereignty and the field of information wars” (Kryshtal, 2023; Korolchuk et al., 2023; Primush et al., 2023). History, historical past, and historical heritage are also subject to manipulation, creation, and dissemination of fakes in information warfare. In particular, one such historical figure that has been the focus of Russian imperial, then Soviet, and again Russian propagandists for several centuries is Ivan Mazepa. The imperial myth of the Battle of Poltava was among the first to be created in the Russian Empire to assert its dominance over Ukrainian territories. A misleading version of the events was spread during the fighting and long after it ended. Fabricated clichés about the “victory of Russian weapons”, “Mazepa’s betrayal”, “Mazepa’s anathema”, etc. became severe manipulation constructs in Russian and Soviet historiography and propaganda (Sukholit, 2013; Yatsenko, 2014). The creation of such a historical myth was necessary for the Russian Empire to level and devalue the Ukrainian national movement and aspirations for its own statehood and independent development. Ivan Mazepa and his participation in the Northern War were interpreted as an internal struggle in the Russian Empire. From the point of view of the Russian imperialists, the word “mazepynec” became one of the most derogatory epithets for Ukrainian patriots. This was followed later by “petyurivtsi” and “banderivtsi” (Zabolotnyi & Mieliekiestsev, 2023; Yefimenko, 2022). The image of Ivan Mazepa, his life, and his activities remain one of the bugbears of Russian anti-Ukrainian propaganda today. His intentions to unite Ukrainian lands, his activities as a patron of the arts and a ktetor were stigmatised, devalued, and physically destroyed (Stenko, 2021). The hetman’s words: “I have no descendants, <...> therefore, I am not involved in the interests of succession and seek nothing but happiness for the people who honoured me with the hetman’s dignity and entrusted me with their fate” (Freedom Factor exhibition, 2019) are a kind of manifesto of his political intentions and aspirations. Let us remember that “dispute resolution and conflict resolution are fundamentally different methods used in alternative dispute resolution” (Zarosylo et al., 2022). Therefore, the study of Ivan Mazepa, his state-building intentions and actions remains a topical issue for national

historiography, as well as an essential aspect of the struggle of Ukrainians against Russian aggression to assert their historical identity and subjectivity, without propaganda distortions and pseudo-patriotic layers; as “the need to ensure the development of the rule of law or to protect and restore the rights of citizens violated as a result of military aggression” (Antoshkina et al., 2023). It is worth carefully studying history lessons to avoid repeating some of them. The annexation of Crimea followed the failures of 1708-1709, “the Cossacks ceased to act as a buffer against the Tatars and Turks”, and soon “the historical distinction between Russia and Ruthenia was officially abolished. <...> The generous Ukrainian land became the object of intense Russification and colonisation” (Deivis, 2020).

2 Literature review

Studies related to the figure of Ivan Mazepa, his activities and influence on his time and the further course of history are counted in thousands of works (Chukhlib, 2011). His personality, views, and worldview were shaped by the political culture of the late Baroque (Popovych, 1998).

Matskiv T. focused his research on the Cossack period of Ukrainian history. In particular, his works included biography. He focused his research on the hetmanship of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa, the search for new sources and their involvement in scientific circulation, and the refutation of historical stereotypes and myths. When studying the figure of Ivan Mazepa, to whom the scholar devoted several decades of his life, Matskiv used archival materials from Austria, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Sweden. He studied the European society’s perception of Mazepa’s political divisions and, in general, of the events on the Ukrainian lands, which were divided between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Moscow, and the Ottoman Empire (Matskiv, 1966; 1983; 1988; 2000; Yushchuk, 2021).

Tairova-Yakovleva T. has compiled a collection of correspondence between Pylyp Orlyk and Ivan Mazepa with political and state figures of Europe. Thanks to this, we can learn the historical context and Hetman Mazepa’s thoughts and views on the attempts to form a European coalition against Moscow. Information about the political and everyday life of the Hetmanate at that time is also valuable (Tairova-Yakovleva, 2022). The researcher also authorises large-scale studies of Ivan Mazepa as an extraordinary and talented personality, a patriotic and far-sighted political and statesman (Tairova-Yakovleva, 2012, 2018).

Kutashov I. analysed the state-building concept and political activities of Ivan Mazepa, arguing that his election as Hetman of the Left Bank of Ukraine was the starting point of his vision of Ukraine as an independent state within the framework of political ideas about sovereignty of the time (Kutashov, 2006). The state-building policy of Mazepa through the prism of relations between Ukraine and Russia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was studied by Kamina Kh., emphasising the critical aspect - the desire to unite the Left Bank, Right Bank, Slobozhanshchyna and Zaporizhzhia into a single Ukraine, “which was imagined by the newly elected hetman as a Western European state with the preservation of the traditional Cossack system” (Kamina, 139).

Various aspects of his political and state-building activities, transformation of his political outlook, diplomatic, military, ascetic work, distorted pages of his biography were studied by Apanovych O., Babinskyi H., Kovalevska O., Menninh K., Ohloblyn O., Subtelnyi O., Chukhlib T., Yatsenko V. (Apanovych, 1993; Babinsky, 1974; Kovalevska, 2009; Kovalevska, 2012; Manning, 1957; Ohloblyn, 1960; Ohloblyn, 2008; Ohloblyn, 1989; Ohloblyn, 1990; Ohloblyn, 2001; Sublelny, 1975; Sublelny, 1981; Chukhlib, 2003; Chukhlib, 2008; Chukhlib, 2009; Chukhlib, 20011a; Chukhlib, 2011b; Chukhlib, 2013; Yatsenko, 2012; Yatsenko, 2014).

3 Methods

The analytical, synthetic, systemic, and structural scientific research methods were applied following the tasks set. Also, when considering the activities of Ivan Mazepa as a state and political figure, the biographical method and the method of critical analysis of sources were used. The article analyses the publications of Ukrainian scholars, primarily historians, which are devoted to the problem of Ivan Mazepa's state-building activities in the unfavourable conditions of political and military operations on the Ukrainian territory and the interests of other states towards Ukraine, which had a real impact during the years of Hetman Mazepa's life and activities. At the same time, the principles of historicism and the desire for objectivity are applied to cover the complex lace of historical perturbations and their political and ideological assessments.

4 Study results

Ivan Mazepa faced considerable challenges as a political figure. At that time, the election of the Hetman was controlled by Moscow. In addition, the treaty with Moscow (in fact, Moscow's ultimatum) was a prerequisite for the election of the hetman. Moreover, the Cossacks themselves were massively involved in the construction of St Petersburg, where working conditions were exhausting and dangerous due to climatic and living conditions. Since 1686, church affairs were under the complete control of Moscow. At the same time, the tsarist government actively pursued a policy of "removing" capable and talented people from Ukraine to the metropolis (Feofan Prokopovych, Dmytro Tuptalo, Stefan Yavorsky, Fedir Dubiansky, Oleksiy Rozumovsky, Marko Poltoratsky, and others) (Popovych, 1998: 258-260). Economic pressure was also increasing: natural taxes and maintenance of troops at the posts forced Ukrainian merchants to transport goods via inconvenient Russian routes, which disrupted long-standing proven and established logistical ties. In addition, there were also significant restrictions in the field of foreign policy (Universals of Ukrainian Hetmans from Ivan Vyhovskyi to Ivan Samoylovych (1657-1687) (2004); Smolii & Stepankov, 1997).

On 25 July 1687, Ivan Mazepa was elected Hetman of the Left Bank of Ukraine at the Cossack military council on the banks of the Kolomak River. Hetman Mazepa came from a noble family. His father Stepan was the Bila Tserkva ataman in Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's army. His mother, Maria, came from the noble family of Mokievsky and was a well-known political and religious figure and philanthropist. Ivan Mazepa received a good education (Kyiv-Mohyla College, Jesuit College in Polotsk, studied at universities in Italy, Germany, and France, and studied artillery in the Netherlands) and spoke several foreign languages. Moreover, this broad outlook and cultural and political environment gave him "a sense of that Europeanness that forever protected him, a man of the European East, from the influences of eastern Moscovness" (Vintoniak, 1990).

Studies of the Mazepa era in the history of Ukraine (and Europe more broadly) cover various topics: political and military-political components, socio-economic relations, religious and church life, cultural and educational life, the state and development of culture, diplomacy, and international relations. For a long time, the historiography of the problem was presented in the paradigm of "Mazepa and Moscow" (Ohloblyn, 1989: 7).

In fact, relations between Ukraine and Moscow in those years were extremely tense. In particular, this resulted in conflicts between the Hetman and Moscow governments. This concerned everyday, mundane matters and political, territorial, military and administrative issues: "<...>. In 1690, the case of Slobozhanshchyna, the Sloboda Ukrainian regiments, arose. Hetman Mazepa, as well as Hetman Samoylovych, insisted that Sloboda Ukraine be transferred to the authority of the Ukrainian hetman so that the Sloboda-Ukrainian regiments would become part of the Hetmanate. The Moscow government believed that Sloboda Ukraine was a part of the Moscow state and territory that was only later populated by Ukrainian people from the Hetmanate and from the Right Bank Ukraine and that the Ukrainian government had no reason to seek the accession of these regiments to the Hetmanate, the extension of the Hetman's jurisdiction over Slobozhanshchyna <...>" (Ohloblyn, 1990: 50). As can be seen from the above example, the claims of Muscovy (already in the format of the Russian Federation, headed by the criminal dictator Vladimir Putin) are only growing over time and taking on even more sinister and dangerous forms. Therefore, the study of the political and state-building activities of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, in particular, the coverage of this issue in the Ukrainian periodicals of the first half of the twentieth century, requires further scientific attention in order to understand the historical context of the state-building aspirations of the Ukrainian people and its intellectual elite. The assessment of Mazepa and contribution to the history of Ukraine as a political and statesman among the representatives of the Ukrainian political and scientific elite of the early twentieth century was ambiguous. In particular, M.Hrushevski stated: "A man undoubtedly more intelligent, a politician much more subtle, Mazepa did not reach such gross tactics as Brukhovetskyi, but he earned only extreme unpopularity during his hetmanate, just the hatred of the people, as a "Moscow soul", a traitor and a Moscow footstool" (Hrushevskyi, 1912: 95). Of course, from the height of the present, such an assessment by M. Hrushevsky of Mazepa's actions may seem controversial, but it, in our opinion, well illustrates the complex and turbulent times in the history of Ukraine, which were the years of social activity and professional activity of the Ukrainian historian. Thus, by studying the works of Ukrainian figures of the first half of the twentieth century, both in Ukraine and in the diaspora, we can more thoroughly analyse both Mazepa's political activity and our perception of his ideas and views in the context of revolutionary and military events in Ukraine and the activities of Ukrainian diaspora figures.

Ivan Mazepa was a multifaceted, inquisitive, and talented man. He played the bandura, wrote poetry, collected weapons, and was fond of art. Several buildings, including the Kyiv Cave Monastery and the Church of the Ascension in Pereiaslav, were built thanks to his generous financial and material support. However, he is best known as a political figure. Therefore, let us briefly outline the milestones of his political biography (Table 1).

To demonstrate the views of the representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual cohort, we present in the form of a table a summary of these from the publications of Mykola Andrusiak and Mykhailo Hrushevsky (Table 2).

Table 1: Ivan Mazepa's Political Biography. Main Accents.

Date	Event	Historical context
Since 1659	He served at the court of King John II Casimir of Poland, where he continued his education in Germany, France, and Italy under the king's patronage.	Wars between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the combined forces of the Hetmanate and Moscow. Swedish occupation of part of Polish lands ("The Flood", 1655). King John II Casimir flees to Silesia. The Swedes are driven out of Pomerania. Prussia secedes from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The end of the Moscow-Polish conflict with the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667.
1662-1669	Familiarisation with Ukrainian issues, mainly through lobbyists of Ukrainian interests in the Sejm of the Commonwealth.	Black Council in Nizhyn, 1663. The execution of Ivan Vyhovsky, 27 March 1664. Establishment of the Little Russian Order, 10 January 1663 - for the Moscow government to control the political and administrative activities of the Hetman's administration and tsarist voivodes.

1669-1674	He returned to Ukraine, inheriting the position of the father of the Chernihiv sub-chaplain. Joined the service of Hetman Petro Doroshenko	The War of the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1683-1699; the defeat of the Ottoman Empire and the loss of many territories, the beginning of the empire's demise. The Cossack state was at the epicentre of a complex struggle between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Muscovy, and the Ottoman Empire. Doroshenko opposed the Andrusiv Armistice of 1667, recognising the protection of the Ottoman Empire.
June 1674	Mazepa headed the embassy with a diplomatic mission to the Crimean Khanate and letters to the Turkish Sultan. On the way, he was taken prisoner by the Zaporozhian Cossacks - the Sich were hostile to Hetman Doroshenko. Mazepa was ransomed from captivity by the Left Bank Hetman Ivan Samoylovych. He began his service with Hetman Samoylovych of the Left Bank of Ukraine - for eight years, he was a "military comrade", a clerk, and a diplomat	17 March 1674 - Hetman of the Left Bank Ivan Samoylovych was proclaimed hetman of "both banks of the Dnipro" (Pereyaslav).
1682-1687	Appointed to the post of General Esaul (Hetman's inner circle)	Samoilovich's main task is to return the Right Bank Ukraine, a battlefield for Warsaw, Moscow and Istanbul, under the mace. Mazepa was involved in the negotiations between Warsaw and Moscow on the conclusion of an "eternal peace". I. Samoylovych's right-wing policy was an essential factor in his removal from the post of Hetman of the Left Bank of Ukraine, his arrest, and his exile to Siberia.
1669-1687	Participation in numerous military campaigns, battles and skirmishes	1669 - Treaty of Korsun, recognition of the Ottoman protectorate by the Right-Bank Hetmanate. 1677-1678 - The first and second Chyhyryn campaigns of the Ottoman Empire. 1678-1679 - The Great Convoy. 1681 - Treaty of Bakhchisarai. 1687 - V. Golitsyn's first Crimean campaign.
1687	Election of Ivan Mazepa as hetman.	The signing of the Kolomata Articles.
1704-1709	Mazepa united the Left Bank and Right Bank Ukraine under his rule	Revival of Kyiv as the spiritual capital of Ukraine
1708	Ukrainian-Swedish Union	2 (13) November 1708 - punitive actions of the Moscow army to destroy Mazepa's capital - the destruction of the city of Baturyn and the genocide of its inhabitants.
1709	The Battle of Poltava	The destruction of the Chortomlyk Sich by the Muscovites.

Source: Compiled based on (Buket, 2021; Sikora, 2013; Kostenko & Khalupa, 2021; Chukhlib, 2013).

Table 2: A summary of theses from the publications of Mykola Andrusiak and Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

Surname, name of the author of the publication	Title of the publication	Periodicals	Main theses
Andrusiak Mykola	"Mazepa's Relations with Stanislaw Leszczynski and Charles XII"	Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society: Works of the Historical and Philosophical Section. 152, 35-61.	1. "Hetman Ivan Samoylovych wanted to return the Right Bank to the Hetmanate, prevent a war with Turkey and Crimea, or at least ensure Ukraine's neutrality. He paid for his policy by losing his government. His successor, Ivan Mazepa, was also distrustful of the Moscow-Polish coalition but still could not pull away from it under Moscow's dictates.) And then, for many years of his hetmanship, he followed the line of Moscow's policy. This was due to a variety of reasons. First and foremost, the military weakness of the Hetmanate was a factor. The Cossack army under Mazepa's rule was small compared to the size of the Moscow army at the time.) The Hetman could not rely on the territorial regiments with any certainty, as colonels had the right to recall to the Moscow government), which fundamentally undermined the authority of the Hetman's government. Mazepa, just like his predecessors, tried to form mercenary hunting regiments, which numbered eight and were under the direct authority and support of the Hetman). In addition, there were Moscow outposts in all the most important cities of Ukraine - at the time of Mazepa's uprising, there were up to 7,000 Muscovites in Ukraine - which greatly restricted the freedom of movement of the Ukrainian government. Relations between Mazepa and Zaporizhzhia were very tense. The Cossacks considered Mazepa to be a Moscow servant, accused the hetman of allowing Moscow to build border fortresses, and did not want to recognise the boundaries of the Tsarist peace; Petro Ivanenko's speech found strong support in the opposition-minded Sich, and some Cossacks submitted to the protectorate of Crimea. Mazepa threatened that he would destroy the Cossack 'cursed nest', the Sich, and was glad to get rid of the 'cursed dog', Hordienko)" - pp. 35-36. 2. "Looking at this crucial page in the history of Ukraine, full of the tragic struggle of the Ukrainian people in defence of their state system and freedom, I note that this is only an attempt to highlight Mazepa's connections with Leszczynski and Charles XII. Filling in the gaps in this essay and clarifying Mazepa's hitherto obscured political activity is possible only by searching for hitherto unknown manuscript material. It is not in Ukrainian manuscript collections that we should look for sources for Mazepa's policy; the destruction of his residence in Baturyn and the 'hidden thoughts and secret intentions' of our Hetman before his closest collaborators warn us that it would be futile to work in this direction. Many sources for Mazepa's policy may still be in Moscow and Polish archival collections" - pp. 60-61.
Mykhailo Hrushevsky	"On Ukrainian Topics. "Mazepaism and Bohdanism"	Literary and Scientific Bulletin, 1912. 94-102.	1. "Mazepa was not really a bright representative of Ukrainian autonomy. In our history, we have representatives of the Ukrainian state idea, Ukrainian independence and separateness who are much more distinct and powerfully expressed. Mazepa had neither the tragic zeal of Doroshenko nor the immense endurance of Orlyk, and he simply did not have time to show us this side of himself in his long life! What he hid

			<p>in the secret recesses of his soul remained closed to us. On the surface, he sailed with the current of Moscow's centralism on the tugboat of Moscow's politics. His abrupt break with it from this side resembles a trick of Bruchowiecki, who, having seen how impossible his servility to Moscow's centralism had made it in Ukraine, decided to break with it." pp. 94-95.</p> <p>2. "Mazepa was made a Ukrainian hero, a representative of Ukrainian patriotism only by the government's insults to his name and memory, contrary to the facts and the real views and moods of Ukrainian society, and by all further measures to disgrace this name, to cover it with shame and horror, as a symbol of Ukrainian "change"-only invariably will they continue to assert and spread pietism towards him, the cult of him as a representative of everything that the unreasonable saviours of Russian unity have been and are pulling under the concept of "change". pp. 96-97.</p>
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Source: Compiled based on (Andrusiak, 1933; Hrushevsky, 1912).

5 Discussion

The first daily newspaper, Rada in Naddniproshchyna, appeared in 1906 and had 2-3 thousand subscribers. The Literary and Scientific Bulletin was in a slightly better position, which had the status of an all-Ukrainian publication (sub-Russian and sub-Austrian). This is, in fact, a tiny number. After all, 30 million Ukrainians lived in the Dnipro region. Between 1905 and 1914, 40 Ukrainian-language periodicals were published in Naddniproshchyna. Only about a dozen of them survived for about a year. The rest usually ceased to exist after a few issues. The main reason for this state of affairs was the pressure exerted by the imperial authorities on subscribers to periodicals in Ukrainian. After the cancellation of the Ems Decree of 1876 and the revolutionary events of 1905-1907, Yevhen Chykalenko became the patron of Ukrainian periodicals. Before that, Vasyl Symyrenko carried out this mission. However, in the first half of 1906, the publication "Hromadska Dumka" had only 4093 subscribers; by the end of the year, there were 1509 subscribers. In the western Ukrainian regions, a daily newspaper called Dilo was published in 1880 and had 3,000 subscribers (Hyrych, 2013).

The intellectual history of Ukraine is closely linked to the activities of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS). The organisation was founded in Lviv in 1873. The idea of the Society was to unite the intellectual and creative power of the revivalists of Ukraine, which at that time was divided between two empires - the Russian and Austro-Hungarian (Kushnir & Feloniuk, 2019: 64). In 1892, the members of the Society began publishing a periodical, the journal "Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society" (Luchka, 2023). The journal became the main serial periodical of the Society for all the years of its activity both in Ukraine and in the diaspora (New York, Munich, Rome, Paris, Sydney, Toronto), and then after the restoration of state independence in Ukraine (even earlier - printing was resumed in 1990) (Doroshenko, 1951; Kupchynskyi, 2013; Moroz, 1998). "Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society" published historical and political studies devoted to the scientific understanding of the state's history, the formation of relevant institutions, and practical considerations in this regard. For example, the article by Volodymyr Starosolskyi, "On the Question of Forms of the State", reflects on the need to distinguish between the study of the "state" from the point of view of different scientific disciplines and approaches: history, economics, sociology, jurisprudence, geography, and focuses on the classification and interpretation of the concepts of "monarchy" and "republic": "Monarchy and republic are two powerful slogans of practical politics"; "The division of states into monarchies and republics as the main division is the result, in the first place, of historical development and this practical significance, which is connected with the struggle for both state forms" (Starosolskyi, 1925). The topic of the Cossacks was particularly interesting to Ukrainian historians in the early twentieth century. It occupied a prominent place among humanitarian studies of the history of Ukraine, archaeology, folklore, ethnography, and the history of Ukrainian literature (publications by Vovk A., Herasymchuk, V., Hrushevsky M., Dzhydzhora I., Domanytskyi V., Kolessa F., Lypynskyi V., Sumtsov M., Terletskyi O., Tomashivskyi S., Franko I., Tselevych O.). In keeping with the times, much attention was paid to historical and economic studies, which were popular in European countries at the time (Zaitseva, 2007; Hora et al., 2023).

The historian Ohloblyn O. described Hetman Ivan Mazepa as one of the most prominent and outstanding Ukrainian statesmen and politicians: "There is no doubt that Hetman Ivan Mazepa

was committed to the idea of Ukrainian statehood and, thus, to the idea of the unity of Ukraine. He *inherited* these ideas from his predecessors, the Ukrainian hetmans, from Khmelnytsky to Samoylovich. These ideas were the main ones for him in his state, political and cultural activities, and he bequeathed them to future Ukrainian generations" (Ohloblyn, 2001). Summarising the review of Ivan Mazepa's life and activities from birth to the Hetman's mace, as well as providing a description of his family and environment, Ohloblyn O. notes: "And the thirty years of Mazepa's pre-Hetman life were not only an ordinary human school and an unusually successful career as a foreman. It was a school for forming the Ukrainian state's and Ukrainian nation's ruler" (Ohloblyn, 2001). O. Ohloblyn's research on Ivan Mazepa and his activities was once published in Ukrainian Soviet periodicals. In particular, in the journal "Communist Education" (this was the name of the journal in 1931-1941, which is now known as "Ridna Shkola" (Yefimova, 2022)). O. Ohloblyn's scientific and journalistic works on Mazepa were published in the Collection of the Historical and Philological Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Pioneer, and Communist:

- 1929 — Mazepa and the Uprising of Petro Ivanenko (Petryk).
- 1938 — "The defeat of the Swedish occupiers near Poltava"; "A heroic page in the history of the two fraternal peoples" (Bibliography of works by O. Ohloblyn about I. Mazepa).

Such a prominent historical figure as Ivan Mazepa could not be ignored by an equally prominent personality - historian and politician Mykhailo Hrushevsky. If Ivan Mazepa was a representative of the independence sentiments of the Cossack era, Mykhailo Hrushevsky represents the modern era of Ukrainian state-building and the formation of its historical paradigm. At that time, most Ukrainian scholars assessed Mazepa's political activities through his actions related to severing relations with Moscow and the alliance with Sweden. Instead, M.Hrushevsky was more critical of Mazepa's hetman period. The historian positively assessed Mazepa's contribution to developing culture and patronage. However, according to the researcher, his political actions require a balanced and unbiased view, considering the historical context of the time and the overall European political situation and culture of political affairs (Zhukovskiy, 1998: 134-135).

To understand the perception of Mazepa's political and state-building activities, his influence on the worldview and ideas of Ukrainian state-building in the early twentieth century, it is essential to read M. Hrushevsky's article "Mazepaism and Bohdanism", which was first published in the Literary and Scientific Bulletin in 1912. In an abridged form, under the title "The New Banner of Nationalists," it was published in the second issue of the Ukrainian Life magazine in 1912. A few years later, in 1917, M. Hrushevsky included this article in the collection "From the Political Life of Old Ukraine: Studies, Articles, Speeches". Already in Ukraine, the article was published in the journal "Kyivska Staryna" in 1995 on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's birth (Hrushevsky Mykhailo Sergiyovych; Hrushevsky, 1912).

Professor of the Ukrainian Free University, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, historian, and writer Mykola Andrusiak collaborated with periodicals of Galicia in the 1930s: the newspapers Dilo, Nova Zorya, magazines Novi Shlyakhy, Zhyttia i Znannia. He also had publications in the "Notes of the Shevchenko

Scientific Society” (Yas, 316). His research interests included the Cossack era, particularly the political and diplomatic activities of Ivan Mazepa. One of the results of his scientific work is his research “Ivan Mazepa and Ivan Skoropadskyi” (Andrusiak, 1933) and “Mazepa’s Relations with Stanisław Leszczyński and Charles XII” (1933).

6 Conclusion

Ukrainian periodicals of the first half of the twentieth century are a rather broad and voluminous concept. We focused on the most conceptual publications covering this article’s subject. In this way, we sought to demonstrate the general research paradigm of the Ukrainian intellectual elite, which published their scientific findings related to Ivan Mazepa in various publications.

Given the strict prohibitions and restrictions on Ukrainian periodicals related to the Russian Empire’s policy towards Ukrainians (primarily the Ems Decree), the full development of Ukrainian periodicals was not possible for a long time. In addition, the lack of financial and material resources also did not contribute to the development of the cause. The situation was somewhat better in the Ukrainian regions of Austria-Hungary.

Ivan Mazepa’s political activities and state-building project to unite the Left Bank, Right Bank, Slobozhanshchyna and Zaporizhzhia were long taboo in Ukrainian studies. They were interpreted exclusively through the prism of Mazepa’s vision of a “traitor” and political adventurer. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian intellectual elite of the first half of the twentieth century, especially during the years of the Ukrainian state-building struggle and the diaspora period, developed severe scientific research and analysis of Ivan Mazepa’s political biography, which did not coincide with the official imperial and later Soviet point of view on Hetman Ivan Mazepa. In particular, the topic of the Cossack era in the history of Ukraine was one of the most popular among Ukrainian scholars. Particular attention was paid to the search for and study of archival materials and comparative analysis of the activities of various hetmans. In such studies, Ivan Mazepa, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and Pylyp Orlyk were among the leading figures. About Mazepa, we can observe, on the example of publications by M. Andrusiak, M. Hrushevsky, and O. Ohloblyn, the desire to give an unbiased assessment of the Hetman’s activities, especially when it comes to his cooperation with political figures from other countries, in particular Muscovy. Internal Ukrainian affairs during the life of Ivan Mazepa, the external political situation, and the era’s overall historical and political context were analysed.

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