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Lidiya LAZURKO,
ORCID 0000-0002-9748-9249

PhD (History)
Senior Lecturer, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University
(Drohobych, Ukraine) lazurkol@gmail.com

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL IMAGE OF TADEUSZ KOSTIUSHKO ON THE PAGES OF LVIV'S POLISH AND UKRAINIAN SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS DURING THE LATE XIX – EARLY XX CENTURIES

The article's purpose. To reconstruct the historiographical image of Tadeusz Kostiuszko, which was formed on the pages of the Polish and Ukrainian scientific historical press of Lviv at the end of the XIXth to the beginning of the XX century. On the basis of materials – the content of the two most significant for that time Polish and Ukrainian historical sciences magazines «Kwartalnik Historyczny» (published in Lviv in 1887 – 1939) and «Notes of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society» (published in Lviv in 1892 – 1937). The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, science, verification, author's objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. Scientific novelty is that for the first time attempt was made to reconstruct and compare the historiographical image of Tadeusz Kostiuszko, which was formed on the pages of the Polish and Ukrainian scientific historical press of Lviv at the end of the XIXth to the beginning of the XX century. The conclusions. The study of texts on Tadeusz Kostiuszko in the periodicals «Kwartalnik Historyczny» and «Notes of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society» makes it possible to conclude that the authors of these editions, acting on principles of the positivist methodology, consistently de-mythologizing the image of the Polish national hero and tried to defend the objectivism of historical science, even if it contradicted the state of affairs at the moment and the political challenges of time.

Key words: historiographical image, historical journal, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, «Kwartalnik Historyczny», «Notes of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society».

Лідія ЛАЗУРКО,
кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії України
Дрогобицького державного педагогічного
університету імені Івана Франка
(Дрогобич, Україна) lazurkol@gmail.com

ІСТОРИОГРАФІЧНИЙ ОБРАЗ ТАДЕУША КОСТЮШКИ НА СТОРІНКАХ ПОЛЬСЬКИХ І УКРАЇНСЬКИХ НАУКОВИХ ЧАСОПИСІВ ЛЬВОВА КІН. XIX – ПОЧ. XX СТ.

Мета дослідження – реконструювати історіографічний образ Тадеуша Костюшко, який був сформований на сторінках польської та української науково-історичної преси Львова наприкінці XIX – початку XX ст. На основі матеріалу – змісту двох найбільш значущих на той час польських та українських історичних наук журналів «Kwartalnik Historyczny» (видавався у Львові у 1887 – 1939 рр.) та «Записки Наукового товариства ім. Т. Шевченка» (видавалися у Львові в 1892 – 1937 рр.). Методологія дослідження спирається на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-

історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. Наукова новизна полягає в тому, що вперше була зроблена спроба реконструювати та порівняти історіографічний образ Тадеуша Костюшко, який був сформований на сторінках польської та української науково-історичної преси Львова наприкінці XIX – початку XX століття. Висновки. Дослідження текстів про Тадеуша Костюшко у часописах «Kwartalnik Historyczny» та «Записки Наукового товариства імені Тараса Шевченка» дозволяють зробити висновок, що автори цих видань, діючи на засадах позитивістичної методології, послідовно деміфологізували образ польського національного героя та намагалися відстоювати об'єктивізм історичної науки, навіть якщо це суперечило кон'юнктурі моменту та політичним викликам часу.

Ключові слова: історіографічний образ, історичний журнал, Тадеуш Костюшко, «Kwartalnik Historyczny», «Записки наукового товариства імені Т. Шевченка».

Problem statement. Recognition of the right of history to subjectivity, which paved the way in science about the past during the 2nd half of the XX century, opened new research horizons. Since the objectivist perception of the historical source has changed its interpretation of cultural monuments, history appears to us in images (constructs) as memory of past events. Consequently, in modern historiography, the subject of study is not a historical fact, but its image, which was deposited in the minds of contemporaries and retransmitted, experiencing various transformations, for the next generations.

The analysis of recent researches. Borrowed from philosophy and literary criticism, the notion of «image» appears and spreads in the study of history. And the idea of the past is filled with images of events, images of personalities, images of symbols and historiographical images. (Nora, 1999: 17–50; Riker, 2004: 728; Repina, 2004: 33–45; Leont'eva, 2011: 448; Posokhov, 2013). Concerning the latter S. Posokhov notes: «Today it is obvious that different versions of the past, found in academic literature, also represent the images of the past, which are closely related to the collective perception of a certain era, with the norms of scientific knowledge, peculiarities of the author's personality and even his fleeting feelings. All this leads to an understanding that these texts, including scientific ones, are saturated with an infinite number of images» (Posokhov, 2013). It should be noted that one of the first attempts to outline the meaning of the term «historiographical image» in national science belongs to the researchers of Dnipropetrovsk (Boldyr, Chernov, 1996: 91–102).

The article's purpose. The context of this study requires differentiating the concepts of «historical» and «historiographical» images, since they are rather similar but not identical. Both of these concepts are subjective in their way of existence and are closely related to the concept of «historical consciousness.» However, they have significant differences. The historical image is, in essence, the historical memory that is formed in contemporaries and transformed into the consciousness of the following generations, and the historiographical image is «the result of applying the methods of historical critique to a certain historical image» (Posokhov, 2013). Therefore, our attempt to reconstruct the historiographical image of Tadeusz Kostiuszko, which was formed on the pages of the Polish and Ukrainian scientific historical press of Lviv at the end of the XIXth to the beginning of the XX century. In essence, there is also an explanation of the changes that took place at that time in the study of history. The main source material for us will be the content of the two most significant for that time Polish and Ukrainian historical sciences magazines «Kwartalnik Historyczny» (published in Lviv in 1887 – 1939) and «Notes of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society» (published in Lviv in 1892 – 1937.)

The presentation of the basic ideas. The Kwartalnik Historyczny magazine was created in 1887 to track intellectual output from the history of Poland. The main specialization of

the publication was reviewed. A long-time collaborator of the magazine was the Warsaw's historian Tadeusz Korzón, who wrote most of the critical reviews on T. Kosciuszko's works that appeared in the end. XIX – at the beginning XX century. And the author of the most detailed at that time (1894) biography of T. Kostiuszkowas also T. Korzon. By the definition of K. Srenovsky, Kostiuszko was a soldier and knight for Korzon (Śreniowska, 1964). A more detailed description of this enthusiasm is encountered in J. Kolbushevskaya's work. He is a modern researcher of the life and work of T. Korzon, who writes: «Warsaw's historian endowed Kosciuszko with particular respect. In him he saw the ideal citizen, soldier, leader, politician and man» (Kolbuszewska, 2007). Such an emotional perception and attachment lead to the extreme assertion that Kosciuszko was the only one for two hundred years to be healthy, or rather, to have a cured Polish mind (Kolbuszewska, 2007).

Thus, for the first time, the persona of Tadeusz Kostiuszko attracts the attention of the editorial staff of the magazine in connection with G. Seisberg's publication of new materials on the confrontation of the First Coalition with revolutionary France after the Battle of Flora in 1794. These materials contained information about the Polish uprising lead by T. Kostiuszko. It should be noted that in the broader context of those times, stood the question of influence on the course of post-revolutionary events in France by the Polish uprising. G. Seysberg found official documentation shedding light on the events of the time. In particular, he dispelled T. Kostiuszko's illusions about the neutral position of Austria in the Polish uprising (Korzón, 1889: 585–588). An analysis of these documents led the observer to conclude that Kostiuszko's rebel position was even more difficult than it was considered to be, «since in reality he was confronted not by two but by three powerful enemies» (Korzón, 1889: 588).

In the same issue of the magazine, we encounter a review of the work of Romualdi Baudouin de Courtenay «New Materials to the History of Kostiuszko», which appeared in the monthly paper devoted to science and literature «Przegląd Polski» in 1888. The reviewer of this study emphasized the lack of systematic work on this topic, due to a large dispersal of materials in archives of different countries on different continents. Therefore, he welcomed the emergence of this Polish writer's work, because she introduced the audience to interesting materials about the history of T. Kostiuszko's works, which were kept in Prince M. S. Vorontsov's archives. It is important to mention that there were significant remarks of the methodological nature, since the published documents were not commented on, and some of the author's materials «did not submit word for word, but retold in her own words» (X., 1889: 592–593).

A new monograph on T. Kostiuszko, written by T. Korzon, was discussed at a meeting of «Towarzystwa Nistorycznego» on October 30, 1894. The work was presented by F. Papee, and Yu. Siemensky, B. Dembinsky, L. Finkel and others took part in the discussion (Sprawozdania, 1895: 192). This study, based on all the canons of the positivist tradition, has become a greatly appreciated in studying the life and activities of the national hero. However, the review was published in 1897 by a specialist on the history of modern times, Bronislaw Dembinsky, who, first remarked: «The work of the author is indeed a great, laborious Benedictine work, which, first of all, we must pay tribute to» (Dembiński, 1897: 857). However, characterizing this work more meticulously, the reviewer also noted the «unevenness» of the story in which they had their strong and weak subjects, which, after all, is not surprising for a 691-page publication. On this occasion, he wrote: «There are extracts and whole sections, written conscientiously and exhaustively, but deprived of life and a brighter pulse. Some moments and events are well and carefully elucidated, but they are so long and tedious that

instead of promoting a better understanding of the physical and spiritual nature of the hero, divert attention from the meaning of his life and activities. The book is so conscientious, it is dominated by detail, fragments and not very important cases, that the main figure disappears from the field of view, and the thread of the story is lost in the accumulated material» (Dembiński, 1897: 857).

In a report on the «Towarzystwa Nistorycznego» members meeting on November 16, 1901, we encounter the presentation of B. Dembin's work, «Kostiuszko's Regard to the French Revolution» (Sprawozdania, 1901: 617–618). The author believed that Kostiuszko had no intention of joining the ranks of the French army when he went to Paris in January 1793. It was a political mission to establish relations with the Porte and Sweden in order to use them in the future struggles. The details were not known, but the researcher assumed the existence of a plan of action with the Convention that T. Kostiuszko did not act as a puppet, but an independent politician.

In 1908, the journal published a review by T. Korzon on the work of V. Kozlovsky on the presence of B. Nemtsevich and T. Kostiuszko in America, which was published on the pages of the Biblioteka Warszawska. The work of V. Kozlovsky was written mainly on the basis of B. Nemtsevich's diaries, as well as his official and private correspondence. The comparing the information in these materials made it possible for the author to make significant clarifications on the topic and fill it with small details. They were so small that a conflict broke out between the reviewer and the author about the health of T. Kostiuszko at the time when he left America. The hero had a damaged leg and he, as it was known, began to travel immobilized. And, according to V. Kozlovsky, T. Kostiuszko healed during the two months he was at sea. T. Korzon questioned these remarks made by V. Kozlovsky, who published specifications in the next issue of the magazine. The latter affected the reviewer so much that he had ordered two independent doctors to draw expert conclusions about T. Kostiuszko's illness (Korzon, 1908: 469–473).

As we can see from the materials subsequently T. Korzon continued to meticulously track the work of V. Kozlovsky. In particular, he reviewed a number of publications by V. Kozlovsky about the participation of T. Kostiuszko in the Anglo-American War (Korzon, 1912: 188–203). About these works, V. Kozlovsky, the reviewer responded quite rigorously as «the richest and most vividly presented collection of discoveries, speculations, conclusions, and judgments» (Korzon, 1912: 188). Obviously, Kostiuszko's topic of health, as mentioned above, was often touched upon by T. Korzon, because he began this review with a statement about the circumstances of previous polemics. It is clear that it was not about who was right, but rather about the history of the historian – the ability to work with historical documents and their interpretation with subsequent mythologization. Also Vladislav Mychyslav Kozlovsky, a writer who studied natural science and philosophy, was an amateur in history. On this occasion T. Korzon wrote: «The unusual dispute between a neuropathologist and a surgeon with the author of pedagogical, natural, astronomical, philosophical, social, journalistic, literary, historical, but not medical articles or books, was arranged by me, a historian, because Kozlovsky] entered the treasuries and historical laboratories, sought documents to prove his own assumptions, tried to refute the things that had already been clarified, attacked the names of historians, but did not shed light on the subject, only blurred and darkened the known» (Korzon, 1912: 189).

The culmination of creating Kostiuszko's image on the pages of the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* magazine was the dedication to him a whole separate notebook in 1917. After all, this

was the year of the century of the national hero's death, which incredibly coincided with Poland's chance of winning independence during the First World War. The main publication of this issue was «Kostiushko's guide: a manual for compilers or a biography of Tadeusz Kostiushko» by T. Korzon (Korzon, 1917: 376–425). This idea of the editorial, evidently provoked by a wave of patriotic upsurge, was quite unusual for a declaratively apolitical journal, which, despite the change of power in Lviv and Russian censorship, did not cease to be published throughout the war. And the violation of the publication's balance in this issue, for example a decrease in the category of reviews and increased number of research, even provoked an aggravation of the relations between the Lviv and Krakow circles of Towarzystwa Historycznego, which we will discuss in more details below.

Returning to the work of T. Korzon, we note that he tried to systematize the biography of the national hero, whose bibliography at that time already had hundreds of positions. The author used the following scheme for grouping information: A) The information is proved by legal acts and documents. B) Incorrect or false information which should be removed from all messages. N) Unverified or insufficient information requiring additional information. Then, with the help of points (46 of them) he noted facts from the life of the hero - origin, birth, education, military service, private life, insurrection, etc. For each item, the author immediately commented on the myths and inaccuracies, which, as a rule, accrete the biographies and he traced their origins.

It was this notebook that led to confrontation with the Krakiv circle of Lviv members of the Towarzystwa Nystorycznego. The editors succeeded in publishing the journal during the war, although in a much lesser quantity, but to keep it within the limits of a purely peer-reviewed, pre-agreed nature was difficult. Many factors contributed to the fact that there simply was a lack of people who could provide income. Hence the «Research» section, which was much easier to write. The long-standing «bias» to periodicals that Krakow's historians had, provoked their sharp reaction as soon as the notebook dedicated to T. Kostiushkows published. Krakow collaborators turned to the newspaper's management with a letter in which, referring to the conditions of 1913, agreed upon forming the Circle. Under these conditions, they set their demands concerning the content of the magazine, based on the vision of his main task in the critical review of Polish science in the field of history. The Krakow editorial committee has always emphasized the dominant significance of reviews, scientific chronicles and bibliographies, and even helped fill up the review column. L. Finkel, who was at that time the head of the Towarzystwa Nystorycznego was forced to defend himself and the editor-in-chief S. Zakshevsky against allegations, the validity of which was not universally acknowledged. «We agree», said L. Finkel, «that the magazine is not what we would like to see, but it is the only way it can be under these conditions. We also agree that the critical informative column is the most important, at least for the time being. The existence of this magazine in the future, its significance as an auxiliary factor in historical work will, to a greater extent, consist of scientific achievements, rather than of reviews. Covering the integrity of the historical movement is our aspiration, but for a long time this desire is only an ideal. It's enough to look at the bibliography of the magazine to see how many important works were not reviewed in the magazine, even at the time of Liske (Modelski, 1937: 192).

Thus, as can be seen from the materials of this edition, the authors who worked with the editorial staff tried to defend the purity of the positivist understanding of the tasks of historical science and, paying homage to the national hero T. Kostiushko, to objectively highlight the challenges of his life path, trying to de-mythologize his image.

Practically at the same time as «Kwartalnikom Historycznym» in Lviv, «Notes of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society» (1892-1937) were published, which were the printed organ of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and presented the vision of history through the eyes of Ukrainian researchers. This magazine had a well-established, inherent structure at time of publication: several major articles, often with a sequel and chapters: scientific chronicle, sources (miscellanea), criticism, bibliography, reviews. The last two chapters contained reviews of periodicals and editions from Russia, Poland, Hungary, Germany and other countries. The ideas of independence, original authenticity of the Ukrainian people were defended in the writings of the journalists, and important issues of national culture, education and science were discussed.

Taking into account the specifics of the confrontation in Ukrainian-Polish relations at the end of XIX - early XX centuries, the mutual attitude towards each country's heroes of the past was not simple. The personality of T. Kosyushko was also not an exception. For the first time T. Kosciuszko appears on the pages of the journal «Notes of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society» in 1921 in the research of the scientist-literary critic Vasily Schurat. Interestingly, V. Schurat refused to swear allegiance to the Polish state in 1921, thereby losing the right to hold office and became a teacher and director of a private women's gymnasium of the Vasilian sisters. At the same time he was the first rector of the secret Lviv Ukrainian university (1921 – 1925) and the chairman of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (1919 – 1923).

Vasyl Schurat studied the origin of the «Chief of the people», analyzing the latest works on the Polish, Belarusian, and even Lithuanian hero's roots. The main focus of his research was on issues of Ukrainian historiographical tradition, whose representatives were from the middle of the XIX century in T. Kosciuszko's ancestors he tried to find first Greek Catholic, then Orthodox origins (Shchurat, 1921: 231–247).

While analyzing the historiography of the problem, V. Shchurat starts researching the first mention of Kosciuszko's Ukrainian origin. In his opinion, the first public statement about this was in the Parisian magazine «Demokrata Polski» (26/07/1848) during the review of the Slavic congress in Prague, in which Ukrainians who were in the Polish section «noted on the Ukrainian origin of Mikhail Vyshnevetsky and, even Yana Sobieski, could not speak decisively whether Kosciuszko was Polish and not a Ukrainian» (Shchurat, 1921: 232).

Subsequently, in Ukrainian literature, the question of Kosciuszko's origins began to emerge in the 1960's. So in «Annales Ecclesiae-Ruthenae» by M. Garasevich, published in Lviv in 1863, when discussing T. Kosciuszko's appeal from July 4, 1794, to the Ukrainian clergy (which did not mention the Ukrainian nationality) was noted that Kosciuszko – came from the Ukrainian family, although he did not admit it (Shchurat, 1921: 233). V. Schurat believed that this statement was based on «Manifest dzikanów i parochów ritus greco-uniti» a Ukrainian, pastor from Chopovite and a dean from Radomsky Ivan Roha Kosyushko was pronounced on December 22, 1768, before the Grodsk government in Zhytomyr to defend the Greek-Catholic clergy. The same was repeated by M. Malinovsky in his book «Church and State Statutes on the Greek Catholic Ruthenian Ruler in Galicia» (Malinowski, 1861: 890). Kosciuszko's last statement about the appeal stated that he did not want to know about Ukrainians and it struck them all the more because he himself came from the Ukrainian family.

But it was A. Petrushevich who led to a wider spread of this story by repeating it in the publication: «Brief information about the Holmes diocese and its ministers» (Scientific collection of Galitsko-Ruska mattika, Lviv, 1867, issue 1, article 14), and «The Consolidated

Galician-Russian Chronicle» (Lviv, 1896). Here he recited the information from M. Gara-sevich and M. Malinovsky about the immediate ancestors of Kostiuszko, in particular about his father - the Uniate and the grandfather who professed Orthodoxy. Also A. Petrushevich tried to connect with Kostiuszko's Ukrainian Belarusian line, which is understandable in view of his political beliefs. V. Schurat even calls Petrushevich «obeditelym» (a person who brings people together) for who there was no difference between Belarus, Muscovite, and Ukrainian.

V. Schurat, who tried to understand the origins of this Ukrainian myth about the origin of Kostiuszko, believed that it was based only on the fact that at the same time as T. Kostiuszko there was a priest named Ivan Roh Kosciuszko in Volyn. The author, in this case, relies on, as he writes an «accidentally found document» – a letter from the archives of the Greek Catholic chapter in Przemysl from dean Alexei Mokhnatsky to Bishop Ivan Snihursky from November 4, 1824 (Shchurat, 1921: 234). As we see from this letter (printed in the journal as an annex to the research of V. Shchurat), the priest encouraged by the bishop to collect monuments of Ukrainian ancestry, the priest hastened to report to his boss that Tadeusz Kostiuszko was the son of Ivan Roha Kostiuszko, pastor from Chopovite and a dean from Radomsky of the Greek Catholic rite.

V. Schurat analyzes this letter in detail and concludes that his information about T. Kostiuszko is unreliable, although, on the other hand these materials are important as they contained quite truthful information. But, obviously, this particular letter became the source which spread the Ukrainian version of the myth about the origin of Kostiuszko. This information spread widely, as there was little information about this in Polish historiography at the time.

He concludes his exploration of V. Shchurat quite voluminous, taking up a whole page, with reflections on the practice of appropriating «someone else's» heroes, which, in the case of T. Kostiuszko manifested in times: «When the aggressiveness of the Poles against the Ukrainians was stronger. The national consciousness of the oppressed must have liked the idea that their stronger opponents can not get ahead on the innovative people of their own nationality, so use the borrowed ... But that is a weak comfort, a weak way to raise national pride. The study of Kostiuszko's origin should serve not for national pride, but only for science, to understand the psyche of the historical unit and people of the historical period» (Shchurat, 1921: 244).

The conclusions. The study of texts on Tadeusz Kostiuszko in the periodicals «Kwartalnik Historyczny» and «Notes of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society» makes it possible to conclude that the authors of these editions, acting on principles of the positivist methodology, consistently de-mythologizing the image of the Polish national hero and tried to defend the objectivism of historical science, even if it contradicted the state of affairs at the moment and the political challenges of time.

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