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Realms of Memory of the First Ukrainian Political Emigrants: On the Example of P.Orlyk (1710–1720)

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Abstract. **The aim of the article.** The investigation deals with study of the *realms of memory* of the first Ukrainian political émigré representatives (in the first half of the 18th century) on the example of the hetman in exile, Pylyp Orlyk. *Realms of memory* (*lieux de mémoire*) are shown as structural elements from which Ukrainian identity was formed at that time. The research is based on historical documents that belonged to P.Orlyk or were written with his participation. In the article is to reconstruct the *realms of memory* of political emigrants (on the example of P.Orlyk). The article uses **the methodology** of historical science, primarily the analysis of specific *lieux de mémoire*. **The scientific novelty** of the article is the analysis of Cossack *realms of memory*, which became the basis for the development of Ukrainian identity at that time. **Conclusions.** The article highlights examples of such *realms of memory*: territory, cities, rivers, historical heroes, elements of political system, visual *lieux de mémoire*. Kyiv is shown as an example of the city that established as a key Cossack *realm of memory* and influenced the Ukrainian identity. Personality of B.Khmelnyskyi is considered as a *lieu de mémoire* that played an important role in various forms of Ukrainian identity. *The Rights and Freedoms* and the institution of the general treasurer (pidskarbii) were studied as *realms of memory* that determined the political values of Cossack society. Cossack Regalia (kleinody) are depicted as a visual expression of Cossack values and identity.

Keywords: Orlyk, Ukrainian political emigration, Hetmanshchyna, realms of memory, lieux de mémoire.

This article shows how the elements of Ukrainian identity were established on the basis of the *realms of memory* of the first Ukrainian political emigrants (primarily using the example of Pylyp Orlyk). The *realms of memory* of political emigrants were based on the values and symbols of the Hetmanshchyna's elite of the beginning of the 18th century, and became the bricks from which the identity of Orthodox *Rights and Freedoms* was formed. Education was one of these values.

Due to education Pylyp Orlyk was in Kyiv, and later it became a resource that helped him advance through his Cossack administration career. Understanding the values of Cossack *Rights and Freedoms* and the ability to successfully present them to Cossacks, Zaporizhians, as well as to foreigners allowed P.Orlyk to become hetman and remain one for almost a third of a century. Therefore, the study of *realms of memory* as the basis of Ukrainian identity at that time is an interesting and promising problem.

The study of collective memory has its own history¹. In France, for example, the study of collective memory has a long tradition². An important milestone was the publication of

¹ Halbwachs M. Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire. – Paris, 1925. – 299 p.

² Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology / Ed. by J. Le Goff, P.Nora. –Cambridge, 1985. – 217 p.

multi-volume work *Les Lieux de mémoire* by the reputable French historian Pierre Nora. These volumes initiated the study of the constructs that made up the memory of the past. He called them *realms of memory* (*lieux de mémoire*). However, the French historian did not base his doctrine of memory on an empty place. P.Nora developed the concept of Maurice Halbwachs, the founder of historical collective memory³. He developed a separate approach to covering the past through the analysis of the memory of certain social groups. His main idea was the working hypothesis, that memory existed only within a social group. For P.Nora, the collective memory of a social group exists as so-called constructs – *lieux de mémoire*. Jeanne d'Arc, French both literature and wine are the constructs on which the collective memory is strung and the French identity is created. They are not tied to a territory like Paris, but are the constructive bricks, or *realms of memory* that shape the historical identity of social groups. Since the community (of the state, autonomy, nation) consists of the social groups, thus, it is possible to reconstruct the history of the entire country. Definitely, such history will be different from the traditional positivist event history.

In the territory of the Middle-Dnipro Ukraine 300–400 years ago, educated people understood history primarily as handwritten chronicles and collections. From the 19th century for educated people history is transformed into books written on the basis of the analysis of archival documents, diaries, historical texts, letters, etc. For the generation Y and Z memory of the past is very important, and it exists in certain constructions, or *realms of memory*. These *lieux de mémoire* exist offline and online and play an important role in people's lives⁴.

Thus, the collective memory of a past society (nation or social group) can be studied as *realms of memory* of this society. *Lieux de mémoire* are not always tied to a certain territory, they could be a certain hero, historical event or historical artifact. For the emergence of *realms of memory* and its development, researchers identify three factors:

1. Something to be remembered through these *lieux de mémoire* (nation, religion, historical heroes, capitals, historical events and artifacts etc.).
2. Social groups that define specific *realm of memory*.
3. Social groups that recognize these *lieux de mémoire*⁵.

The main function of a *realm of memory* is to establish a certain identity. Analysis and in-depth study of *lieux de mémoire* is useful for understanding of Ukrainian both identity and cultural heritage. Among the Ukrainian *realms of memory* the *lieux de mémoire* of Cossack Hetmanate plays an important part⁶. Although Ukrainian autonomy was a small state in size and population, it generated a significant cultural heritage based on Early Modern Rzeczpospolita and Rus traditions. The *realms of memory* of the Hetmanshchyna included the following:

1. Territory, cities, rivers: the territory of the “Fatherland”, Kyiv, Zaporizhian Sich (Host), Dnipro River.
2. Heroes: nameless “warlike Khazars”, hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi.
3. Political system: *Rights and Freedoms*, the institutions of the Cossack Council (Rada), of the hetman and institutions of the general pidskarbi (general treasurer), etc.

³ Halbwachs M. La mémoire collective. – Paris, 1950. – 170 p.

⁴ Nora P. Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire // Representations. – 1989, Spring. – 26: Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory. – P.7–24.

⁵ Доронин А. Введение к сборнику // «Места памяти» руси конца XV – середины XVIII в. – Москва, 2019. – С.5–13.

⁶ About Hetmanate see: Kobut Z.E. Russian centralism and Ukrainian autonomy: Imperial absorption of the Hetmanate: 1760s – 1830s. – Cambridge, 1988. – 358 p. About the historiography of Hetmanate see also: *Idem*. Post-Soviet Studies of the Cossack Elite: The Present State of Research and Future Tasks // Harvard Ukrainian Studies. – 2015/2016. – 34. – №1-4. – P.373–384.

4. Visual *lieux de mémoire* – Cossacks kleinods (mace, bunchuk, seal, cannonry, etc.), written *The Treaties and Covenants* (1710), artistic images on socio-political issues, etc.

Thus, modern knowledge about the *realms of memory* of the Ukrainian emigrant elite is extremely relevant for studies on the Hetmanshchyna. A number of works on this subject have already appeared in historiography⁷. This article deals with the following *lieux de mémoire* of the Ukrainian emigrant elite: geographical objects, a historical hero, political symbols and values.

Kyiv as *lieu de mémoire*

For the hetman in exile, P.Orlyk and other authors of *The Treaties and Covenants* of 1710, Kyiv was the capital of the Hetmanshchyna. At the beginning of the 18th century the modern Ukrainian capital was represented as the center of Ancient Rus or the metropolitan's residence, or was represented, first of all, by the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra or as a fortress with a large garrison of Muscovy's troops. For the Hetmanshchyna's administration, Kyiv was primarily the center of the regiment of the same name. Moreover, at the beginning of the 18th century the regimental chancellery of this regiment was moved to Kozelets, that is, within the framework of the Cossack political system the status of Kyiv was further lowered.

In *The Treaties and Covenants* (1710) a separate item is devoted to Kyiv on confirmation of the rights and privileges of the city⁸. In the Latin version of the document (made or edited between April 5 and May 10, 1710), Ancient Rus was also associated with Kyiv: "The capital city of Rus is Kyiv"⁹. In *The Contenta Pactorum* (abbreviated version of *The Bender Constitution*) the formulations of the Ukrainian-language *The Treaties and Covenants* were repeated¹⁰.

A new vision of Kyiv among Ukrainian emigrants is presented in Orlyk's letter to the Grand Vizier dated May 10, 1712, in which it was stated that Kyiv could not be

⁷ Szpociński A. Miejsca pamięci (lieux de mémoire) // *Teksty Drugie*. – 2008. – №4. – S.11–20; Бовгиря А. «Украина обоих берегов Днепра»: Гетманщина конца XVII–XVIII в. и дискурс единой отчины // «Места памяти» руси конца XV – середины XVIII в. – С.378–397. About historiography of Pylyp Orlyk see also: *Kroll P. Filip Orlik (1672–1742) w polskiej historiografii (345 rocznica urodzin)* // *Studia Polsko-Ukraińskie*. – 2017. – 4. – S.145–157; *Kononenko V.* Вплив традиції «раста conventa» на укладання й написання «Договорів та постанов» 1710 р. у сучасній українській історіографії (1991–2013) // *Україна в Центрально-Східній Європі*. – Вип.16. – К., 2016. – С.307–321. The books connected with theme of the article see: *Дмитришин І.* Григорій Орлик, або Козацька нація у французькій дипломатії. – К., 2019. – 496 с.; *Чухліб Т.В.* Ідеальна держава в Україні? Козацький проєкт 1710 р. – К., 2011. – 103 с.; *Кресін О.* Політико-правова спадщина української політичної еміграції першої половини XVIII ст. – К., 2001. – 248 с.; *Subtelny O.* The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century. – New York, 1981. – 280 p.; *Сьютун F.* The Image of Russia and Russian-Ukrainian Relations in Ukrainian Historiography of the Late 17th and Early 18th Centuries // *Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600–1945)* / Ed. by A.Kappeler, Z.Kohut, F.Sysyn, M. von Hagen. – Edmonton; Toronto, 2003. – P.108–143; *Idem.* Fatherland in Early Eighteenth-Century Ukrainian Political Culture // *Mazepa e il suo tempo / Mazepa and his time: History, Culture, Society* / Ed. G.Siedina. – Alessandria, 2004. – P.39–53.

⁸ «Пакти і конституції» Української козацької держави (до 300-річчя укладення). – Л., 2011. – С.111.

⁹ «Metropolis Urbis Rossiae, Kiivonia, caeteraeque Ucrainae civitates in omnibus suis legibus ac privilegiis aequo iure colatas, inviolatae ac intactae ut conserventur, auctoritate huius Actus Electoralis statuitur et confirmandum hoc suo tempore Ducali potestati committitur» (see: *Pacta et Constitutiones legum libertatumque Exercitus Zaporoviensis inter illustrissimum dominum Philippum Orlik, neoelectum Ducem Exercitus Zaporoviensis, et inter generales, colonellos, nec non eudem Exercitus Zaporoviensis, publico utriusque partis laudo Conventa ac in libera electione formali iuramento ab eodem illustrissimo Duce Corroborata Anno Domini 1710, Aprilis 5, ad Benderam* / *Переписка и другие бумаги шведского короля Карла XII, польского Станислава Лещинского, генерального писаря Филиппа Орлика и киевского воеводы Иосифа Потоцкого, на латинском и польском языках* // *Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете*. – Кн.1. – Москва, 1847. – С.14).

¹⁰ «Civitas [Ciuitas] metropolitan Kiivoniae [Kijouiae], caeteraeque...» (*Contenta Pactorum inter Ducem et Exercitus Zaporoviensem conventorum, in Compedium brevi stylo collecta* // «Пакти і конституції» Української козацької держави (до 300-річчя укладення). – С.170–171).

separated from Ukraine, and Ukraine from Kyiv¹¹. In such work as *The Relation about Kyiv* (1712), it is said that the Ukrainian Cossacks have the exclusive right to Kyiv and the Right-bank and Left-bank Ukraine. This was argued on the basis of the idea of “combining” the Cossacks with the ancient Khazars, previously prescribed in *The Treaties and Covenants* (1710)¹². Therefore, Moscow had no grounds for claims to Kyiv¹³. In Orlyk’s Memorial to the Tatar khan (1713) it was claimed that if the Turkish sultan recognized the rights of the hetman to all of Ukraine (including Kyiv), the latter would be able to regain control over this territory¹⁴. P.Orlyk and his supporters (especially General Secretary Ivan Maksymovych) represented Kyiv as a Cossack *realm of memory*, which absorbed similar to the capital functions defined by the military chancellor and historian Samiilo Velychko regarding Chyhyryn.

Bohdan Khmelnytskyi as *lieu de mémoire*

The most successful hero who survived the Hetmanshchyna, the Russian Empire and the USSR in the memory of Ukrainians appeared after the Battle of Poltava in 1709. Ukrainians placed it on 5-hryvnia banknote. For all modern Ukrainians, B.Khmelnytskyi crystallized as a *realm of memory* on one of the national banknotes.

In many sources of Ukrainian origin of the second half of the 17th – early 18th centuries B.Khmelnytskyi is a typical leader of the anti-Polish uprising (in some cases even a negative character). In the texts of so-called *war of manifestos*, lasted from the fall of 1708 to the spring of 1709, the *God-given hetman* headed the list of rulers such as I.Vyhovskyi and P.Doroshenko¹⁵. After the Battle of Poltava (8 July 1709) B.Khmelnytskyi became an outstanding hero for emigrants, from which I.Mazepa and P.Orlyk took an example. In particular, the Mazepists appealed to the authority of Khmelnytskyi already on September 26, 1709 in *The Excerpts from the Humble Memorial of the Zaporizhian Army to the Holy Royal Estate of Sweden*, where they invoked Charles XII to approve the western border along the Sluch River, as it was under the *God-given hetman*, according to the conditions of Treaty of Zboriv (Assembly contract)¹⁶.

About the leader of the uprising of 1648 in *The Treaties and Covenants* (1710), it is said that God nominated a hetman of glorious memory B.Khmelnytskyi to defend the Holy Orthodoxy¹⁷. In *The Bender Constitution*, the “glorious memory of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi” is repeatedly mentioned. He raises the people from their knees, concludes an alliance with the Swedish king Charles X, under his rule the Moscow tsar does not dare to violate the integrity of the Fatherland, its *Rights and Freedoms*¹⁸. As written in

¹¹ «Nec Kiioviam sine Ukraina, nec Ukrainam sine Kiiovia unquam posse esse» (Copia Literarum a Duce Orlik ad Supremum Visirium, X mart., 1712 // Переписка и другие бумаги шведского короля Карла XII, польского Станислава Лещинского, генерального писаря Филиппа Орлика и киевского воеводы Иосифа Потоцкого, на латинском и польском языках. – С.59).

¹² Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ. – Ф.2236. – Оп.1. – Спр.71. – Арк.5–6.

¹³ «inuste Moscus praetendit metropolim Ucrainae urbem Kijoviam, eamque ab Ucraina separare conatus» (see: Там само). This is discussed in more detail in Ya.Zatyliuk’s article: *Затялюк Я.* Предки «козацького малоросійського народу» і киево-руська спадщина в уявленні еліти часів Пилипа Орлика // Пилип Орлик: життя, політика, тексти: Мат. Міжнар. наук. конф. «Ad fonts»: до 300-річчя Бендерської конституції 1710 р., Київ, НаУКМА, 14–16 жовтня 2010. – К., 2011. – С.134.

¹⁴ Российский государственный архив древних актов. – Ф.124. – Оп.1. – 1713 г. – Л.1–9 об.

¹⁵ Невідомий універсал Мазепи зі шведської бібліотеки (публікація та коментарі Олександра Дубини, переклад з латинської Ольги Циганок) // Сіверянський літопис. – 2009. – №6. – С.5–11.

¹⁶ Витяги з покiрного меморiала Вiйська Запорозького до святаго королiвського маестату Швецiї вiд 26 вересня 1709 р. // «Пакти i конституцiї» Української козацької держави (до 300-річчя укладення). – С.353.

¹⁷ Договори и поставовлепа правъ и волностей войсковыхъ // Там само. – С.78–79.

¹⁸ Там само.

the manifesto of April 4, 1712, only “after the death of the blessed memory of hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, the Moscow Empire, using the most diverse methods, violated the rights and freedoms of the Cossack nation”¹⁹. Thus, the *God-given hetman* became the ideal hero of the ideal Hetmanate dreamed of by Ukrainian emigrants.

Rights and Freedoms as a realm of memory

Rights and Freedoms, Cossack councils, *The Treaties and Covenants* (1710), hetman’s governments, pidkarsbii and other Cossack institutions were for representatives of Ukrainian elite those *lieux de mémoire* through which the political values of Cossack society were understood and defended. The integrity of *Rights and Freedoms* before I. Mazepa’s uprising was presented as being violated not only by external interference in the Ukrainian life of the northeastern autocrat, but also by the pernicious Moscow despotic influences on the hetmans. In *The Bender Constitution* (1710), it was imagined that the Ukrainian rulers after B. Khmelnytskyi transformed their power into an autocratic one and thereby “twisted the ancient order, the military rights and freedoms”²⁰. The transition to Swedish protection was presented as the return of the integrity of the Cossack *Rights and Freedoms*, and *The Treaties and Covenants* were concluded to seal this “return”²¹. The task of the newly elected hetman (as well as his successors) was to ensure, by means of Swedish protection and God’s help, *Rights and Freedoms* in Cossack society²².

In Bendery in 1709, Ukrainian politicians asked the Swedish king for protection, “so that the neighboring lords do not try to subjugate our homeland by armed force or in any other way and not destroy the right for freedom”²³. That is, *Rights and Freedoms*, which lost their integrity in one way or another, stood in the same row with such a problem as encroachment by neighbours. The privilege of Charles XII dated May 10, 1710 (*Confirmatio horum Pactorum a Rege Sueciae*), also clarifies that P. Orlyk was elected as hetman “to preserve military rights and freedoms”²⁴. In the 9th point of *Pylp Orlyk’s Instructions to the Ambassadors of the Zaporizhian Host to the Ottoman Empire* dated November 3, 1711, it was also discussed that the Sultan should ensure the inviolability of Ukraine with its *Rights and Freedoms*²⁵. This was confirmed by the sultan: no one had the right to interfere with Ukrainian laws (rights) and freedoms (liberties), and the vizier himself had to monitor its inviolability²⁶. Thus, *Rights and Freedoms* were the *realms of memory* through which the Cossack intellectuals of the Hetmanshchyna understood the past.

¹⁹ Орлик П. Конституція, маніфести та літературна спадщина: Вибрані твори. – К., 2006. – С.120.

²⁰ Там само. – С.84–85.

²¹ «Войско Запорозкое не для чего иного под протекцию Наяснѣйшого Королевского В[є]л[и]ч[є]ства Шведского удалось и тепер оной крепко и непоколебимо держится, только для для поправки и подвигненья упалых правь своих и волностей войсковых, договорили и постановили з Ясневелможным Его Милостю паномъ Филиппомъ Орликомъ» (see: Договори и постановлепа правь и волностей войсковыхъ. – С.84–85).

²² Там само. – С.90–91, 100–101, 114–115, 116–117.

²³ Витяги з покiрного меморiала Вiйська Запорозького до святого королiвського маєстату Швецiї... – С.353.

²⁴ Confirmatio horum Pactorum a Rege Sueciae / Привiлей вiд 10 травня // «Пакти i конституцiї» Української козацької держави (до 300-рiччя укладення). – С.346.

²⁵ Instructio Dom. Dom. Demetrio Horlenko etc. extraordinariis Zaporoviensibus Legatis ad Portam Otomanicam, a Duce Orlik in urbe Baba data III d. 9-bris, 1711 / Переписка и другие бумаги шведского короля Карла XII, польского Станислава Лещинского, генерального писаря Филиппа Орлика и киевского воеводы Иосифа Потоцкого, на латинском и польском языках. – С.66.

²⁶ Переклад привiлею iмператора туркiв, що його було дано гетьмановi запорозькому Пилиповi Орлику на володiння Україною цього боку Днiпра. Сталося це в Бендерi в царській канцелярiї 1712 року 10 травня // Орлик П. Конституція, маніфести та літературна спадщина. – С.129. See also: Прицак О. Один чи два договори Пилипа Орлика з Туреччиною на початку другого десятирiччя вiсiмнадцятого столiття? // Український археографічний щорічник. – Вип.1. – Л., 1992. – С.307–320.

Rights and Freedoms were implemented at Cossack councils. At the latter, a hetman and Cossack officers were elected, and important decisions were made. I.Mazepa died in the night from 22 to 23 September, 1709, however, P.Orlyk became the Ukrainian ruler only six months later. This might be explained by the fact that he could be elected only at the council, and its holding required solving a number of problems.

As for the institution of the pidskarbii (treasurer), it is presented as permanent in *The Treaties and Covenants* (1710)²⁷. The institution is presented as if it had always existed (although this only happened under I.Briukhovetskyi). In addition to the general pidskarbii, the governments of the treasuries were established in regiments and towns (according to the Latin text *Pacta et Constitutiones*). In general, *The Treaties and Covenants* paid more attention to towns than it might seem at first glance. If *The Treaties and Covenants* refer to confirmation of self-government in Kyiv and those towns that received it in the past²⁸, then in *Pacta et Constitutiones* it was about all urban centers without exception²⁹. According to the Latin text, the institution of the pidskarbii was planned to launch in each town; moreover, this “town” pidskarbii (Thesaurarius) had to be accountable to the regimental pidskarbii (Chiliarchatus): “[...] in the community of each city, a treasurer, subordinate to the regimental pidskarbii, should be elected and sworn in, who would have all income and expenses under his control and custody and truthfully enter them into the accounting books”³⁰. The novelty proposed in the Latin text was quite considered: the “town” pidskarbii was financially interested in protecting the townspeople, since it would have to pay for the abuse of travellers in the towns from its own funds³¹. In the Latin text in the case of limiting the abuse of travellers (according to the sphere of protection of the townspeople’s interests) in contrast to the Ukrainian-language document³² there is an emphasis on the need to copy practices common in more developed countries.

So, pidskarbii in Latin text of *The Bender Constitution* became an important *realm of memory* of P.Orlyk, designed to modernize the socio-political system of the Hetmanshchyna. The *Pacta et Constitutiones* clauses created more or less good “picture” of order in the country, which was headed by P.Orlyk, and the protector was already Charles XII.

Kleinods as a lieux de mémoire

Kleinods were among the visible signs of hetman power. Without kleinods, hetmans were not the head of the state. Therefore, in autumn 1709, the foreman (starshyna) requested that Andrii Voinarovskiy return all “the hetman’s kleinods and our privileges and all the treasure intact”³³. In this list of Cossack values, the hetman’s kleinods were

²⁷ Договори и постановлепа правъ и волностей войсковыхъ. – С.101–103.

²⁸ Там само. – С.111.

²⁹ Pacta et Constitutiones legum libertatumque Exercitus Zaporoviensis inter illustrissimum dominum dominum Philippum Orlik, neoelectum Ducem Exercitus Zaporoviensis, et inter generales, colonellos, nec non eudem Exercitus Zaporoviensis, publico utriusque partis laudo Conventa ac in libera electione formali iuramento ab eodem illustrissimo Duce Corroborata Anno Domini 1710, Aprilis 5, ad Benderam // Переписка и другие бумаги шведского короля Карла XII, польского Станислава Лещинского, татарского хана, турецкого султана, генерального писаря Филиппа Орлика и киевского воеводы Иосифа Потоцкого, на латинском и польском языках. – С.13–14.

³⁰ Там же.

³¹ «Якщо по щорічному обрахунку тих видатків буде поміченим у боргах і незаконних витратах, то їх варто відшкодувати з власних коштів того підскарбія, щоб повернути місту. Тому повинен вносити в облікові книги лише ті випадки, що пов’язані з поїздками у конкретній справі: хто з чиею подорожною відбував подорож та якими вигодами користувався» (see: Там же).

³² Договори и постановлепа правъ и волностей войсковыхъ. – С.110–111.

³³ Витяги з покірного меморіала Війська Запорозького до святого королівського маєстату Швеції... – С.353.

enumerated in the first place. The return of the “kleinods” became one of the conditions of the Cossack leadership in the matter of electing a new hetman.

The word “kleinod” is translated from German as treasure, value. Cossack kleinods were not only valuable in a material sense – without a mace, a seal, a bunchuk, the hetman’s government could not be imagined at all. In emigration, the attention paid by P.Orlyk to the visual symbols of the hetman’s power in foreign territory is important. This applies to both the mace and the seal and bunchuk³⁴. The hetman’s power was represented by a mace: P.Orlyk pledged the mace for creditors only under very difficult financial circumstances. It should be mentioned that he did not sell it, but rather pawned it with the hope of returning it. Important documents were sealed, for example *The Treaties and Covenants*³⁵. Heads of bunchuks – General bunchuzhnyi (bunchuk officers) played an important role in the represented authorities in the Hetmanshchyna, and they continued to play the same role in emigration. Even in 1719, in difficult living conditions in Sweden, the hetman had two General bunchuzhnyi who received significant amounts of money for their government³⁶. Thus, the study of collective memory in the environment of political emigration has great prospects for understanding of Cossack identity, since it can be understood only under the condition of reconstruction of its formation.

From the end of the 17th to early 18th century a number of narratives appeared in the Hetmanshchyna, which contained Cossack *realms of memory*. The territory, the Fatherland, the idea of the origin of the Cossacks from the Khazars, the figure of B.Khmelnyskyi, towns, political values became the constructs that were collectively remembered by Ukrainian political emigrants. The latter were to be adjusted to new challenges: some of the *lieux de mémoire* were developed (*Rights and Freedoms*), others were modified on the basis of already existing ones (“Fatherland”, Kyiv), others were newly created (the political significance of the origin of the Cossacks from “warlike Khazars”, the permanent existence of the institution of the pidskarbii). *Realms of memory* acquired a symbolic meaning for emigrants as a social group and influenced on their identity. The quality of their creation is evidenced by the fact that the modern Ukrainian national narrative of the Hetmanshchyna of early 18th century uses largely the same *lieux de mémoire* that appeared 300 years ago.

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³⁴ Научно-исследовательский отдел рукописей Российской государственной библиотеки. – Ф.204. – Картон №37. – Д.11. – Л.6 об.

³⁵ Договори и постановлепа правъ и волностей войсковыхъ. – С.116.

³⁶ Молчановский Н. Несколько данных о смерти и наследстве Мазепы. – К., 1903. – С.8.

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«Місця пам'яті» перших українських політичних емігрантів: на прикладі П.Орлика (1710–1720 рр.)

Анотація. Статтю присвячено аналізу «місць пам'яті» («lieux de mémoire») представників української політичної еміграції (мазепинців) на прикладі першої декади діяльності гетьмана в екзилі П.Орлика. «Місця пам'яті» показано як структурні елементи, з яких формувалася тогочасна українська ідентичність. Дослідження ґрунтується на історичних документах, що належали перу П.Орлика або були написані за його участі. **Методологія** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, комплексному аналізі опублікованих та архівних джерел, структурному аналізі «lieux de mémoire». Ключовим є застосування аналізу конкретних «місць пам'яті» під кутом зору їх функції у суспільстві Гетьманщини. **Наукова новизна.** Здійснено аналіз козацьких «місць пам'яті», котрі стали основою для розвитку тодішньої української ідентичності. **Висновки.** Як «місця пам'яті» розглядаються території, міста, річки, історичні герої, елементи політичної системи, візуальні «lieux de mémoire». На прикладі Києва показано, як місто утвердилося в іпостасі ключового козацького «місця пам'яті». Постать Б.Хмельницького розглянуто як «lieu de mémoire», котре відіграло важливу роль у різних формах української ідентичності. «Права та вольності», а також інститут генерального підскарб'я вивчено як «місця пам'яті», що визначали політичні цінності козацької спільноти. Клейноди зображено як візуальний вираз козацьких цінностей та ідентичності.

Ключові слова: Орлик, українська політична еміграція, Гетьманщина, сфери пам'яті, «місця пам'яті».