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National security and information in the early modern state: the case of Ukraine

Національна безпека та інформація в ранньомодерній державі: приклад України

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Abstract

The system of information support of the authorities of the Ukrainian early modern state, as well as implementing internal and external policies, contributed to protecting Ukrainian lands from external aggression and the expansion of Ukrainian interests in the world. The main purpose of the study is to analyze this statement. The methodological basis of the research is a comprehensive analysis of archival sources and historiography, which is based on the main principles of historicism and scientific objectivity. The scientific novelty of this publication is to prove the hypothesis that thoughtful information activity in its various segments was an important component of the policy of the Ukrainian early-modern state and contributed to protecting its lands and interests from foreign encroachments. Conclusions. Information activity was an important

Анотація

Система інформаційного забезпечення органів влади Української ранньомодерної держави, а також здійснення внутрішньої та зовнішньої політики сприяли захисту українських земель від зовнішньої агресії та поширенню українських інтересів у світі. Методологічною основою дослідження є комплексний аналіз архівних джерел та історіографії, що спирається на головні принципи історизму та наукової об'єктивності. Науковою новизною публікації є доведення гіпотези, що продумана інформаційна діяльність у різних її сегментах була важливим складником політики Української ранньомодерної держави, сприяла убезпеченню її земель та інтересів від чужинських посягань. Висновки. Інформаційна діяльність була важливим складником безпекової діяльності українського козацтва, засобом здійснення владної політики.

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component of the security activities of the Ukrainian Cossacks and a means of implementing power policy. The principles and approaches developed in working with information will help reveal the secrets of the Cossacks' information skills and will contribute to the deepening of interest in the study and revival of Cossack traditions, which is necessary both for filling research gaps and for training specialists in the field.

Keywords: information policy, Cossack Ukraine, national security, publishing, education.

Introduction

Being at the crossroads of the interests of the East and the West, the North and the South, Ukraine has always been and still is in a state of constant struggle for its security. The modern information society has revealed many existing problems in this area. Information wars have become harbingers and components of political, economic and, ultimately, military wars.

Under such conditions, the problems of the provision of society's vital activities, become of primary importance. The research is designed to find the details of the formation of Ukrainian information policy, state formation, establishment of a national mentality, and freedom-loving society, which is currently defending Ukraine and the civilized world from foreign encroachments.

The early modern Ukrainian state has been confronted with the insinuations and encroachments of its neighbors since its inception. The leaders of Kozak Ukraine developed and implemented a wide complex of non-public events aimed at safeguarding national interests. They created a powerful intelligence and counterintelligence system, which was one of the best during the XVI–XVIII centuries.

Taking care of the security of the homeland, the leaders of the Ukrainian early modern state and the wider circle of Cossacks obviously understood the importance of the humanitarian component in state building, grouping and self-identification of the Ukrainians of that time. The education of the population of the region not only contributed to the development of economic and military arts, but was also a factor in ensuring the proper existence and efficiency of the Ukrainian knighthood during a significant period of its history.

Напрацьовані у той час принципи і підходи у роботі з інформацією допоможуть розкрити секрети інформаційної майстерності козаків, сприятимуть поглибленню інтересу до вивчення та відродження козацьких традицій, що є потрібним як для заповнення дослідницьких лакун, так і для підготовки фахівців галузі.

Ключові слова: інформаційна політика, Козацька Україна, національна безпека, видавнича справа, освіта.

The object of the research is information policy as a security component in the times of the Ukrainian early modern state. The subject of the research is informational, in particular publishing, activity, the use of information and publishing works in state-building processes, with the aim of ensuring national security. We assume that well-thought-out information activity in its various segments was an important component of the policy of the Ukrainian state, contributed to its protection from foreign encroachments, and was an important part security activities.

The purpose of the study is to analyze and characterize the system of information support of the hetman power of early modern Ukraine, its influence on the implementation of internal and external policy, which contributed to the protection of Ukrainian lands from external aggression and the expansion of Ukrainian interests in the world.

The basis of an effective system for ensuring the proper functioning of state institutions and management is information. Ukrainian Cossacks knew how to obtain, form and use the necessary information, which ensured the existence in a hostile environment of both the sovereign Zaporizhia Sich and the broader Ukrainian early modern state, their successful implementation of politics and military-political actions for several centuries.

The study consistently shows the state of educational activity at that time, book publishing policy, the importance of proclamations, universals, letters in involving society in state affairs, the document circulation system, which ultimately led to the creation by Hetman Pylyp Orlyk of one of the first European constitutions, which substantiated the idea of Ukraine's independence, the declared goal of the

Cossacks is the liberation of Ukraine from the supremacy of Muscovy.

Literature review

Characterizing the degree of scientific development of the problems of the Ukrainian early modern state, we note that, focusing on the works of predecessors, modern researchers deepen and expand knowledge about modern Cossack upbringing, education and culture, which were important factors in the formation of the state construction and functioning of the Land of the Cossacks.

The works of Valery Stepankov (Stepankov, 2004), Viktor Brekhunenko (Brekhunenko, 2014), Oleksiy Putro (Putro, 2008), Ivan Syniak (Syniak, 2005) and Lubov Histsova, Liudmyla Demchenko, Tetiana Kuzyk, Larysa Muravtseva (Histsova et al., 2006), are devoted to the question of intelligence activity, in particular the informational component of it, the role of the leaders of the Cossack state in the development and implementation of security policy, including in the field of communication.

The issues of written communication, the training of Zaporizhia "chancellors", the functions and role of scribes, who were an important link in the power vertical, was considered in the works of, in particular, D. Yavornytskyi (Yavornytskyi, 1993), I. Syniak (Syniak, 2005), Yu. Mytsyk (Mytsyk, 1994) and other scientists. I. Syniak and V. Omel'chuk (Syniak, 2017) investigate the role of government in special, in particular informational, activities during the time of Hetman K. Rozumovsky. The security aspects of information policy are also discussed in the studies of Yu. Bondar (Bondar, 2017) and V. Shpak (Shpak, 2015).

Many scientists have focused on the study of the life activities of the leaders of the Ukrainian early modern state, in particular: Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (Stepankov, 2013; Krypiakevych, 1961; Storozhenko, 1996; Smoliy & Stepankov, 2003, etc.), Ivan Mazepa (Pavlenko, 2003; Mytsyk, 2007; Kovalevska, 2008, etc.), Pylyp Orlyk (Subtelny, 1981; Apanovych, 1993; Ivanchenko, 1993, etc.), Ivan Vyhovskyi (Kryvosheia, 2008; Yakovleva, 1998; Horobets, 2011, etc.), Peter Kalnyshevskyi (Hrybovskyi, 2004; Evarnitskiy, 1887; Putro, 2007, etc.) etc. An attempt to generalize the main aspects of the formation and evolution of the Ukrainian state idea, which are considered in an inextricable connection with the struggle for its

implementation during the 17th – 18th centuries made historians Valery Smoliy and Valery Stepankov (Smoliya & Stepankov, 1997).

The source analysis of the selected research topic shows the presence of certain works related to the information field, however, they are fragmentary, they consider either narrow time frames, or the activities of individual figures, or individual areas of life. The primary sources are archival materials, in particular the funds of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, the Institute of Manuscripts of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. Vernadskyi, the Scientific Library of the National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", etc. Important data are kept by letters, reports and denunciations of the Cossack foreman, the General Military Office and the Cossack scouts. Together, they make it possible to find out the importance and quality of written communication, as well as the role of Hetmans in the organization of military and intelligence operations, to establish the forms and methods of activity, in particular information, to clarify information about the role of information in the selection of personnel and in the organization of various events, as well as to reveal their effectiveness.

The vast majority of archival materials are located outside of Ukraine: in Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Russia, Germany, etc. The current situation does not allow them to be used to their full extent, but work on the topic continues, since there is no comprehensive study of the information policy of a once powerful state in the context of national security with emphasis on the existing problems of the 21st century.

Methodology

Source analysis is applied as a universal empirical method of researching regularities and specific features of the development of the information sphere, in particular, education and publishing, relying on, firstly, the letters, reports and denunciations of the Cossack foreman, the General Military Office, and Cossack intelligence officers, which make it possible to clarify the nature of the information activity at that time. Problem-chronological analysis was used in the reconstruction of the history of the development and formation of the foundations of the state information policy through the study of the activities of the leaders of the Cossack state, from Bohdan-Zinoviy Khmelnytskyi to Kyrylo Rozumovskyi.

The systematic method made it possible to investigate the evolution of the use of publishing

products as a means of socialization, promotion of ideas and views, as well as a tool of information struggle, in the form of a holistic process that has a historical-progressive character. When considering the aspects of foreign policy regarding relations with Poland, Sweden, the Crimean Khanate, Russia, etc., the historical-comparative and analogies methods were used, when various elements of the information system were compared with corresponding foreign counterparts.

The historical-comparative method was used to compare the characteristics of various elements of the system with corresponding foreign analogues. The method of historical hermeneutics is used to reconstruct the attitudes and assessments of various social groups. Thanks to the method of cause-and-effect relationships, the dependence of the state of the national information field, in particular publishing and education, on the democracy of society, the influence of internal and external factors, and global processes was revealed.

The legitimacy of the research consists in the use as a primary source base of materials from the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv and other archival institutions, as well as the preliminary work of Ukrainian and foreign scientists, which have already been tested by time.

Results and discussion

Cossack Ukraine was a country of literate people. Sources report that Zaporizhzhya Sich itself – a Cossack Christian state that existed for over a hundred years – had a kind of "book corpus" of several dozen books that every Cossack had to read. Zaporozhians read the Holy Scriptures, spiritual books, many of the soldiers knew not only Ukrainian, but also Polish, Tatar, and Turkish languages, could be translators, and knew the art of negotiation. There were schools and workshops for the production of books that contained the acquired knowledge in Khortytsia and other Cossack settlements.

Important evidence about Cossack Ukraine are the travel notes of the Syrian archdeacon-historian Paul of Aleppo (Halebsky) "Travel of the Patriarch of Antioch Macarius", handwritten lists of which are kept in London, Paris, St. Petersburg and Kyiv. (In Kyiv, the manuscript of the notes is kept in the archive of Professor O. Pritsak in the Scientific Library of the National University "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" (Halebskyi, 1650). The manuscript appeared in

Ukraine thanks to the efforts of Agathangel Krymsky, who acquired it during his trip to Syria in 1896). The author made a trip as part of the patriarchal delegation, the official purpose of which was to establish and strengthen religious and political ties, and the route of which in 1654–1656 ran from Damascus through Ukrainian lands to the Muscovite Empire.

Travel notes contain information about the political and economic situation in the lands visited by the deputation, customs, culture and lifestyle of the local population. Starting from Rashkov and throughout the Hetmanate, the participants of the trip noticed the general ability to read and write, even among women, children, even orphans, knowledge of church service and hymns (Hrushevs'kyj, 2015, p. 429). The fascination of Aleppskyi causes by the education of the nuns of the Ascension Monastery, who are all "not only literate, but even highly learned...". About the abbots in Kyiv monasteries, he says that among them there are "human scientists", experts in law, philosophers and eloquent speakers (Arkas, 1994, p. 188).

Aleppskyi connects the large number of literate people in the "Land of the Cossacks" with the statist policy of B. Khmelnytskyi, whom he met twice during his travels (in 1654 in Bohuslav and in 1656 in Chygyrin).

The Danish ambassador under Peter the Great, Justus Julius, confirms Aleppskyi's impressions. Returning home through Ukraine, he writes: "Inhabitants of Cossack Ukraine live happily, do whatever they want... They go to church with prayer books in their hands, while among the Muscovites, not even the boyars are literate" (Arkas, 1994, p. 188).

Travelers emphasized the development of publishing in the Land of the Cossacks. Thus, after visiting the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, Pavlo Aleppskyi noted: "Near the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin, there is a beautiful printing house that serves the whole country. All the church books come out here - beautifully printed, in different declensions and in different colors. Also drawings on large papers – views of regions, images of saints, scientific research and so on (Khalebskyi, 1995, p. 66; Arkas, 1994, p. 188). Here Aleppskyi mentions the printing house founded in 1615 on the initiative of the abbot of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, the energetic administrator E. Pletenetsky, who, by the way, came from the Galician Cossack family: Pletenetskyi's father was the elder of the

registered Cossacks, and the future archimandrite himself, according to some sources, was also a Cossack until he was ordained a monk. Around the fraternity and the printing house gathered writers, cultural figures who formed, according to I. Ohienko's expression, the "Printing Academy". All the academicians got along well in the printing business (Ohienko, 1994, pp. 407-410).

The publishing policy of the heads of the printing house had a distinct Ukrainian national character and was aimed at the spread of Orthodoxy, which was relevant in the light of the confrontation with Catholicism and Uniatism. Academicians insisted on the use of the living Ukrainian language ("common conversation") in church services, "because it is necessary for the word to be understandable, to "edify", to be accepted by the mind, and not only by the tongue", which was also embodied in the publishing house (Hrushevs'kyj, 1996, pp. 48-49). The Cossack theme was also present in the publishing repertoire of the printing house. In such works as "Poems for a pitiful burial... of Pyotr Konashevich-Sagaidachny" from 1622 (Sakovich, 1992, p. 160-183) (or "Eucharysterion", published in 1632 (Pochasky, 1992, pp. 222-250), the Zaporozhian Cossacks were glorified as a model of courage and patriotism.

Cossacks contributed to publishing, and were publishers themselves. As, for example, T. Verbytskyi, a "comrade of the Zaporizhzhya Army", a wealthy Kyiv burgher and former employee of the Lavra printing house, who, with the financial assistance of Metropolitan Y. Boretskyi, purchased in September 1624 from the family of another Zaporizhia Cossack, Y. Putivlts, "that at that time "Behind the thresholds" was located, for a respectable sum of 200 Lithuanian kip" a yard with a house in Podil, where he set up his "printing house". The first book of the new publishing house was "Chasoslov", later "Bukvar" and "Psalter" were published. Verbytskyi intended to expand the possibilities of the printing house, for which he went to Ostroh, who immediately heard rumors about a "Zaporozhian printer" who wanted to buy the remaining equipment of the local printing house. The trip was not entirely successful – the local landowner L. Buchaisky imprisoned the guest, after which he was sent back to Kyiv with nothing. Later, on behalf of P. Mohyla, Verbytskyi went to Voloshchyna, where he organized a new printing house in Dovhoy Pol (Hrushevs'kyj, 1996, p. 46; Ohienko, 1994, pp. 407-410).

Noting the broader context of the national movement superimposed on the age of the Cossacks (Y. Isaievych drew attention to the fact that important events in the history of Ukrainian book-writing and printing coincided with milestone events of the Cossacks (Isaievych, 2004, p. 932)), it is worth noting the fraternal movement – the creation of schools in different Ukrainian lands, where the national elite who personified the Ukrainian Renaissance. The first fraternal school was established in Lviv. In the following years, such schools were founded in Sambor, Horodok, Przemysl, Lutsk, Stryi, Nemyrov, Vinnytsia, Kamianets-Podilskyi and other cities and villages. They were founded so that young people "draw knowledge from native sources" (Khyzhniak, 2004, p. 754). "Brothers" purposefully carried out the propaganda of patriotic views, using various measures and means, primarily publishing, to form a national worldview among the widest circles of compatriots. The Cossacks also stood near the origins of the Kyiv fraternal school – the predecessor of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, whose students formed the basis of the "educated class" of military clerks, from which many writers, translators, and historians emerged.

Thanks to the efforts of educators, education has become, in the opinion of Z. Khyzhniak, a component of the mentality of Ukrainians (Khyzhniak, 2004, p. 765). In the 17th century the majority of Ukrainians (approximately 60%) were literate. Schools existed in cities, towns, villages, at large monasteries and churches. Higher schools were also founded in Kyiv, Kremenets, Vinnytsia, Gosh and outside Ukraine, in particular, a school and a printing house in Iasy (Moldova) and others cities (Palij, 2013, p. 766; Khyzhniak, 2004, p. 765). The Cossacks took care of providing schools with the necessary literature. So, for example, in 1760, Colonel Ivan Kulyabka from Luben ordered two thousand primers from Kyiv publishers for the education of Cossack youth (Kahamlyk, 2008, p. 192).

One of the most popular in the 17th–18th centuries. there were historical works that were distributed mainly in manuscript. Currently, memoirs are also interesting, in particular the so-called Lviv Chronicle, Samovidets Chronicle, diaries, numerous chronographs and chronicles, including the Cossack chronicles and diaries of Samiyla Velichka, Hryhoriy Grabyanka, Samiyla Zorka, Yakov Lyzoguba, and others. Researchers also pay attention to the formation during the 17th century. of the dum genre – a heroic historical epic that combined book and oral

elements. Dumas were in the active "propaganda" arsenal of kobzars, which became a certain symbol of Cossack culture, entering the corpus of the so-called Ustyn books – collections of folklore and other works that were transmitted orally (Martynova, 2003, p. 305).

Cossacks and "leaflet communication" were actively used. As early as 1625, written appeals were spreading in Zaporizhzhya Sich, which spoke about the tasks of the Ukrainian liberation movement, in particular, in the matter of opposing the crown army (Scherbak, 2004, p. 20-31). Researchers are also talking about a "proclamation war". On the eve of the next stage of the Russo-Swedish war, after the anathema of I. Mazepa, the tsar, writes M. Arkas, sent two manifestos to the Ukrainian people. In one respect, the monarch flattered the Ukrainians so that they would not believe the manifestos and universals of Charles and Mazepa, because, they say, there is not a single people in the whole world who live as easily and freely as the Ukrainians under the hand of Moscow; in the second, the king promised not to punish anyone for not informing about Mazepa's intentions to go over to the Swedes. Peter I urged Ukrainians not to be afraid to return to their property. Those who will not obey, the king will consider traitors and will take away their positions, signs and property, punishing them with death, and their women and children will be sent into exile... About the letter to the Cossacks from clergymen, written on the instructions of Peter I, says V Serhijchuk (Serhijchuk, 2016, p. 161).

I. Mazepa also joined the information war, sending out circulars where he explained the reasons that forced him to go against Russia. "Moscow, he wrote, wants to devastate the cities, enslave all the elders, turn the Cossacks into dragoons and soldiers, drive the people to the Moscow lands across the Volga, and populate our region with their own people." In the same way, the colonels – supporters of Mazepa, who called to disobey the tsarist manifestos and support the Hetman – distributed pamphlets. Swedes also spread their appeals in Ukraine, printing appeals to Ukrainians on a Russian printing press that happened to be in their possession. In the postcards, the Swedish king assured the Ukrainians that he had no intention of doing evil, but wanted to free them from the Moscow yoke, and also advised them to obey Hetman Mazepa. Enraged by such proclamations, Peter I even issued a decree not to believe the prints and not to keep them, and to detain and deliver those who distribute leaflets to Moscow, for which "royal mercy" was promised

(Arkas, 1994, p. 295-296; Butych, 2006, p. 411-413).

Proclamations were also used during the Haydamak movement, evidence of which has been preserved in foreign intelligence documents. Polish sources, currently researched by E. Buket, report that from the middle of the summer of 1768, after the capture of Colonel M. Zalizniak by the Moscow army near Umannaya, proclamations were spread on Ukrainian lands, which stated that "...a Muscovite is an enemy of the people, so you should not serve him, because only by freeing yourself from him, you can get unlimited freedom." (Butych, 2004, p. 222; Rolle, 1966, p. 20). Leaflets with a similar content, distributed in the territories where I. Bondarenko (under the signature "Cossack Ivan"), Ya. Sachenko, S. Maiboroda, M. Guba and other insurgents were active, were quite effective and intensified the insurgent struggle (Omel'chuk & Sinyak, 2017, p. 245).

Book collections testify to the place of books in the life of Cossack Ukraine. Large libraries were formed at educational institutions and printing houses in Ostroh, Lviv, Lutsk, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Nizhny... The book collection of the Kyiv-Mohyla collegium was famous for its collection, where, according to various sources, more than 12,000 editions of different times and countries were collected. The special storage archive consisted of handwritten works – lecture notes, chronographs, diaries, as well as various business documents. The library and archive could be used not only by teachers and students of the academy, but also by anyone.

Monasteries and churches had their book collections. Thus, according to the description from the 18th century, the Intercession Church of Nova Sich had 120 books of various contents - from liturgical to historical. Often patrons of such gatherings were the Cossacks themselves. In the library, for example, of the Samara Desert-Mykolaiv monastery, there were publications donated by the chief of the Velichkiv kuren D. Miria, the Cossack Biletsky, the last chief of the Kosh P. Kalnyshevsky, etc. (Arkas, 1994, p. 333-334; Isaievych, 2004, p. 933; Khyzhniak, 2004, p. 768).

Separately, we can talk about private Cossack book collections of the XVII–XVIII centuries. For example, according to sources, the estate of General Military Judge G. Myloradovych contained 16,000 books, the Bunchuk comrade of the Starodub Regiment S. Lukashevich had 12,000 books, Colonel V. Kochubey in Zhuky in



Poltava region had 5,000 books etc. One of the largest and most sophisticated libraries was collected by I. Mazepa in Baturyn. Remembering her, the General Scribe, and later Hetman of the Zaporozhian Army in exile, P. Orlyk wrote: "...Precious frames with Hetman coats of arms, the best Kyiv editions, German and Latin incunabula, many illustrated ancient chronicles. Not without sighing, in my current poverty, I remember all the book riches, which were unmatched in Ukraine...". The "Peresopnytsia Gospel" was known among the hetman's gathering. M. Khanenko, the General Military Coroner in 1741–1760, had a large collection of various publications. According to stories and personal diaries, he always had books with him that he read on the road, and the main library was set up in one of his estates, let's say in Horodysch. Books, according to the author of the notes, were an important element of his communications as well – Khanenko often gave publications and exchanged them (Tytova, 1896, p. 151-196).

The aforementioned scribes occupied a place of honor in Cossack Ukraine. Prominent state and political figures came from among scribes. So, the scribe was the first official Hetman of the Zaporizhzhya Army, B. Khmelnytskyi. I. Vyhovskiy, who researchers consider the founder of the Ukrainian secret service, began his state ascension as a personal, "private" scribe of the Hetman. He spoke several languages, was an excellent calligrapher, co-author of important universals of B. Khmelnytskyi, and "often wrote them himself at the behest of the hetman." In 1650, Vyhovskiy was appointed Military Clerk, which position he "turned into the most influential in the Ukrainian government" (Zhytar, 2009, p. 83; Kovalenko, 2007, p. 56).

Already after the death of Khmelnytskyi's patron and friend, Vyhovskiy was elected Hetman by the decision of the Chigyrna September Council in 1657. In the future, Vyhovskiy continued to take care of the information sphere, including the Cossack publishing house. This is evidenced, in particular, by the articles of the Hadiac Treatise signed by him with Poland in 1658. It stipulates that in Ukraine "colleges, schools and printing houses, as many as they are needed, can be freely founded, freely engage in science and print various books" (Khyzhniak, 2004, p. 754). One of the steps of the former scribe's rule was the termination of the alliance agreement of 1654 between Ukraine and the Muscovite kingdom, which led to a war with the Muscovites and the removal of Vyhovskiy from power, and later to his murder.

The Hetman of the Zaporizhzhya Army in exile, a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, P. Orlyk, who began his rapid career in 1690 as the cathedral scribe of the Kyiv Metropolitanate, and then in the Poltava Regiment, also tasted Pisarsky bread. A capable young clerk attracted the attention of the Hetman of Zaporizhzhya I. Mazepa, who in 1702 became the godfather of Orlyk's eldest son, Hryhor. Soon P. Orlyk assumed the post of General Clerk of the General Military Office. Loyal to Mazepa until the end of his days, Orlyk continued the cause of the Hetman, becoming the leader of the first Ukrainian political emigration and the organizer of Ukrainian liberation struggles. After the election of the Hetman of the Zaporizhzhya Army in April 1710, Orlyk published the famous "Pacts and Constitutions of Laws and Freedoms of the Zaporizhzhya Army" in Bendery (Orlyk, 2006, p. 5-25). In one of the first European constitutions, the idea of Ukraine's independence, the persistence of the Ukrainian state-building process, and the declared goal of the Cossacks – the liberation of Ukraine from the supremacy of Muscovy – were substantiated.

Under P. Orlyk, for the first time since the time of B. Khmelnytskyi, the Ukrainian issue was placed at the epicenter of European politics on the international arena, and an international front of support for Ukraine's aspirations was created. One of the important works that attracted the attention of the community was the manifesto to the European monarchs "Excerpt of the Rights of Ukraine", probably written in 1712. In the treatise, Orlyk outlined his vision of Ukrainian-Russian relations, pointing out the inexorable absorption of the Cossack state by Russia. Calling on European governments to support Ukraine in its quest for independence, the author warned that if the Europeans do not interfere in negative processes, the invasion of the Russians may eventually spread to other countries, that is, it is about the security of states (Matiakh, 2004, p. 444-447).

The Ukrainian word was dangerous for those who wanted to rule Ukraine. And that is why the Muscovites, seeing it as a threat to their rule, limited it in every possible way – politically and administratively – by banning and repressing it, subjecting it to censorship (Andrievsky, 1888, pp. 61-63). Thus, after the destruction of first Zaporizhzhia, and then the Pozaporizhchi sichts, all property and archives of the Cossacks were taken to Russia, as a result, many cultural assets of Cossack Ukraine, including book works, were lost. With the actual loss of the Ukrainian book, the Ukrainian society ultimately lost its

statehood, being on the verge of denationalization.

Conclusions

Ukraine is an ancient state with a rich and majestic history, however, more than 300 years of being under colonial Russian oppression actually erased the true history of their people from the public information flow of entire generations of Ukrainians. Practically all available achievements were kept silent by the metropolis, and archival materials were either destroyed or are inaccessible even to the scientific community. The desire to destroy Ukraine and the Ukrainian people remains a dream of the imperial metropolis to this day. Studies of the history of the Cossack state are based mainly on the found foreign archival materials of Warsaw, Krakow, Stockholm, Munich, etc. and the priceless treasures of the national archives that have been preserved.

During the days of the Ukrainian early modern state, the foundations of the vision of the state information policy, focused on ensuring national interests in various spheres of life, were formed. A well-thought-out information policy, the position and participation of the leaders of Cossack Ukraine in information processes contributed to securing national interests and protecting the state from foreign encroachments.

Publishing was important for Ukrainian superiors. The publishing centers of Cossack Ukraine were numerous monasteries, churches and other religious institutions where printing houses were organized. A prominent place among such publishing centers, often initiated by Cossack elders, belongs to the printing house of the Kyiv Lavra, which, having absorbed the achievements of other Ukrainian publishing schools, as well as the experience of publishing houses of the European Renaissance, for many years became the most powerful publishing center of its time, a trendsetter in Ukrainian publishing, having determined the direction of its development.

Literary writers, leading figures of education and culture gathered around the publishing centers, who understood publishing, including as a means of establishing Ukrainianness and statehood. Representatives of the Cossack community not only took care of the protection and development of the Ukrainian publishing industry, but were often themselves skilled publishers-practitioners who enriched literature with original works about the achievements of Ukrainians, contributed to

the spiritual development of readers, the formation of national consciousness and the formation of the Ukrainian "educated state".

In the times of the Cossacks, a wide network of schooling and higher education emerged, various sciences and arts - philosophy, literature, linguistics, etc. - developed and spread. The so-called fraternal movement and, in particular, fraternal schools, which became the centers of education of the national elite and, more broadly, the Ukrainian national worldview, with the help of enlightenment and publishing activity, wrote their distinctive page in the development of the publishing house of Cossack Ukraine.

Evidence of a respectful attitude towards books in the days of Cossack Ukraine are numerous libraries and archives that were formed at various institutions, educational institutions, printing houses and were centers of enlightenment. The leaders of Cossack Ukraine also left behind rich book collections, testifying to the respect for books and the high education of Ukrainians of that time. The education of Ukrainians during the time of the Cossacks was also manifested in the institute of scribes, which were an important link in the system of state and public administration and from which outstanding Ukrainian statesmen emerged.

The publishing practice of Cossacks provides examples of the use of publishing products as a means of socialization, promotion of ideas and views, as well as a means of informational struggle. Such use of the publishing house is typical, in particular, for the periods of the unfolding of the national liberation struggle of the 17th and 18th centuries, during armed confrontations, when propaganda products were an element of the "information war" and were used to attract supporters to one's side and for discredit the opponent.

The cultural achievements of Cossack Ukraine and subsequent times were subjected to the destructive influence of imperial Muscovy, which pursued a policy of Russification, persecuting independent expressions of national culture in every possible way. During the entire period of domination over the Ukrainians, Russia did everything possible to take away, or at least blunt, their weapons against enslavement - the national word and publishing house.

However, Ukrainians found the strength to avoid the national death that seemed to be looming over them. Historical justice consisted in the fact that it was the "semantic code" of the Cossacks that

became the lever of a new rise of the Ukrainian spirit, which sought liberation from the imperial desire to subjugate Ukrainians mentally by "dissolving" them in the empire, including with the help of information policy.

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