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РЕАЛІЗАЦІЯ ДЕРЖАВНОЇ ПРОСВІТНИЦЬКОЇ МОДЕЛІ ОСВІТИ У МІСТАХ ПРАВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ УКРАЇНИ (ПЕРША ТРЕТИНА XIX ст.)

Дослідження присвячене аналізу освітнього реформування у містах Правобережної України після приєднання цього регіону до Російської імперії унаслідок другого (1793) і третього (1795) поділів Речі Посполитої та його вплив на перебіг міського культурного життя.

Акцентується, що модель освіти, яка постала після освітньої реформи Олександра І, спиралася на проєкт Речі Посполитої, реалізований в останній третині XIX ст. Унаслідок такого підходу наявна шкільна мережа у містах правобережних українських губерній була збережена й інтегрована до нового державного організму, демонструючи ефективність функціонування аж до середини 20-х років XIX ст.

Міські школи, тримаючи високий ступінь укорінення освітніх практик уже неіснуючої Речі Посполитої, задовольняли освітні і культурні запити регіональної шляхти. Однак учнівський контингент починав набувати виразнішого всестанового характеру через наявність дітей духівництва, міщан, різночинців і навіть вихідців із селян.

Унікальним явищем міського освітнього ландшафту Правобережжя була Волинська (Кременецька) гімназія, слугуючи взірцем просвітницької моделі школи. Демонструючи еталонні норми соціальної поведінки, нові ритуали повсякденних практик, цей навчальний заклад фактично виступав головним вогнищем освітньо-культурного життя як повітового Кременця, так і всього Правобережжя.

Власний вимір культурного життя мали навіть найменші за кількістю учнів повітові училища. Саме в таких, де навчалася значно більше дітей нешляхетського походження, частіше звучала й українська мова – принаймні в міжособистісному спілкуванні.

Державному контролю підлягали і приватні школи, серед яких випереджувальними темпами зростала частка дівочих пансіонів, що засвідчувало про зацікавленість шляхти мати поміж себе освічене жіноцтво.

І все ж поширення польської культури через мережу навчальних закладів у тривалій перспективі не могло задовольнити російську владу. Реалізація просвітницької моделі освіти на землях колишньої Речі Посполитої почала згортатися, враховуючи зміни в освітній політиці Російської імперії, які передбачали остаточну уніфікацію освітньої мережі.

Ключові слова: Російська імперія, олександрівська доба, Правобережна Україна, міські поселення, просвітницька модель освіти.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STATE ENLIGHTENMENT MODEL OF EDUCATION IN THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE (FIRST THIRD OF THE 19th CENTURY)

Abstract. *The article deals with the implementation of the education model in the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine in the first third of the 19th century. This model was based on the main ideas and achievements of the Polish-Lithuanian Educational Commission and provided for a combination of state control over educational institutions with the implementation of the educational idea of universal knowledge for everyone. Because of this approach, the existing school network was preserved and integrated into the new state mechanism. This network demonstrated its effectiveness until the mid-20s of the 19th century.*

The specificity of educational institutions in the Vilnius district and in particular in urban settlements of Right-Bank Ukraine was manifested in a longer duration of study than in other districts, a wider range of curricula with teaching subjects in Polish, and a higher level of teaching schools. Maintaining to a high level the educational practices of the already non-existent Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, first of all they satisfied the educational and cultural demands of the regional nobility. In general, the educational reform in Right-Bank Ukraine in the last third of the 19th century affected the intensification of cultural life in urban areas.

Keywords: *Russian Empire, Alexander's era, Right-Bank Ukraine, urban settlements, enlightenment model of education.*

Formulation of scientific problem and its significance. The spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment in Western Europe, namely, the belief in the limitless possibilities of the human mind, power of knowledge, achievements of mechanics and technology in the last third of the 18th century covered Central and Eastern Europe, in particular, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This process coincided with the partitioning of its territories between neighbouring states.

The adherents of the Enlightenment in Western Europe – scientists, philosophers, artists – focused on the study of a human being and the world through the prism of scientific knowledge. They thought that this knowledge would inevitably lead to the understanding of the need for social progress. This required an active attitude to the world and the formation of new values in the society. The value of knowledge, and respectively, of education was among these values. The proponents of the Enlightenment believed that the state had to take care of the institutionalization of education.

At that time, the Enlightenment ideas were also recognized by the ruling elite of the Russian Empire. In particular, during the reign of Catherine II, imperial policy acquired distinct features of enlightened absolutism. Without setting the task of limiting absolute power, the empress sought to demonstrate concern for the national welfare. This was seen as the duty of the state to its people. At the same time, the interests and needs of the central government remained a priority. The introduction of the educational reform of 1786 on the basis of the «Charter of Public Schools» with the intention of opening main public schools in the provincial cities and small public schools in the district towns was dictated by state needs. After all, there was a shortage of well-educated officials in the empire. In addition, the desire to achieve the rise of production and trade required the spread of education among all segments of the population, including common people. In fact, it was a question of transferring education to the service of the state.

Such an educational model, capable of combining state control over educational institutions with the implementation of the Enlightenment idea of the universal access to knowledge for all who needed it, covered Left-Bank Ukraine (former Cossack Hetmanate). A new element in the

spread of education in the region, inspired by the Enlightenment ideas, was the opening of schools by individual local landowners¹.

However, this model did not actually extend to Right-Bank Ukraine. In Right-Bank cities and towns, between the first and second divisions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1773–1794), the state educational project of the Education Commission (Commission on National Education) was quite successfully implemented. Its advantages were the provision of education of a secular and public nature. The proposed three-level system of education provided for the hierarchical subordination of academic schools (district and sub-district) to the University of Krakow as the main school of the country, and parish schools made the lowest level.

Despite the ban on the Jesuit order (1773), in fact the network of former Jesuit schools and educational institutions of other monastic orders was preserved and subordinated to the Commission on National Education.

In contrast to the concept of Jesuit education, which no longer met the requirements of the Age of Reason, the Education Commission undertook to bring education closer to practical life. All educational institutions began to work according to the unified curricula that had undergone radical changes. Natural sciences and elements of physical education were introduced into the curricula, and teaching in the Polish language was approved. Preference was given to educating conscious citizens in the spirit of Christian morality and patriotism².

As for the organization of primary schools, or control over home and private education, in particular for girls, this did not happen. The Education Commission failed to make education accessible to the general population.

As time showed, this educational project in Right-Bank Ukraine demonstrated its efficiency even in the first third of the 19th century.

Analysis of recent research. At the turn of the 20th – 21st centuries, a significant contribution to the study of the history of education in Right-Bank Ukraine in the first third of the 19th century was made by French researcher Daniel Beauvois³. This stage of education development was analyzed in the monograph of the Polish historian Leszek Zashtowt, devoted to the Polish education in the Lithuanian and Rus lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second third of the 19th century⁴. Among the publications of modern Ukrainian researchers on this issue, we can single out the works of Valentyna Shandra⁵, Oksana Karlina⁶, Svan Sesak⁷, Viktoriia Kolesnyk⁸, Anatolii Filiniuk and Alla Bondar⁹. The Volyn (Kremenets) gymnasium/lyceum as a phenomenon of the enlightenment model of a school close to the higher type was the research object of the collection of scientific works edited by Stanislav Makovskyi and Volodymyr Sobchuk¹⁰, and of a monograph of modern Polish scientist Andrzej Szmyt¹¹.

The aim and objectives. The aim of this article is to analyze the educational reform in the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine after this region became part of the Russian empire due to the second (1793) and third (1795) partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its impact on urban cultural life.

Presenting main material. Before the incorporation of Right-Bank Ukraine into the Russian Empire (1793), 16 schools of higher level functioned in its urban settlements. They met the needs of education primarily of the nobility that due to high social status continued to dominate the society.

The organization of working schooling in the urban settlements of Right-Bank Ukraine during the reign of Alexander I was to be ensured by the educational reform, which was based on the main ideas and achievements of the Education Commission. As a result of this approach, the existing school network was preserved and integrated into the new state mechanism. It effectively functioned until the mid-20s of the 19th century.

At the same time, the educational, methodological and control functions of education authorities in Right-Bank Ukraine were concentrated in Vilnius University, which was the

centre of one of the six created educational districts with subordinate educational institutions. Legislatively defined types of educational institutions ensured the continuity and gradual transition from primary education (parish schools) to secondary (district schools and gymnasiums), and then higher education, which was obtained at universities. The legislation also substantiated the universal nature of education¹². However, as it turned out, it was impossible to implement this system within the existing feudal serfdom¹³.

At the beginning of the Russian educational reform of 1802, about two dozen educational institutions functioned in Right-Bank Ukraine. Most of them (13) were concentrated in Volhynia (Zhytomyr, Kremenets, Lutsk, Mezhyrich Koretskyi, Ovruch, Volodymyr, Dubrovytsia, Liubar, Zaslav, Berdychiv, Olyka, Zhydychn, Derman). Four Polish schools were preserved in Podillia province: in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia, Nemyriv, and Bar. In Kyiv region, the reformers made use of only two district schools under the auspices of Basilians (in Uman and Kaniv)¹⁴.

As during the time of the Education Commission, the Roman Catholic and Uniate clergy continued to play an important role in organizing the educational process. In particular, the monasteries of the Piarists, the Barefoot Carmelites, and most of all the Basilian monastic order provided shelter and organized training in more than half of the existing educational institutions. Education here was carried out according to the same programs with secular schools, which emphasized their public character.

The first headmaster of the Vilnius educational district, Adam-Jerzy Czartoryski, and especially the Visitor of the three Ukrainian provinces, Tadeusz Czaski, did the most to preserve the educational traditions of the Education Commission in Right-Bank Ukraine. These high-ranking officials, together with other officials of Polish descent, managed to involve the gentry, the Catholic and the Uniate clergy in the financial support of educational institutions. Thus, children of the poor gentry were given access to education, and the chances of acquiring the knowledge necessary both in everyday life and for preserving their own identity increased.

During the first third of the 19th century, the total number of district schools in the right-bank provinces did not increase significantly. New educational institutions of this type were founded in Makhnivka in Kyiv region, Klevan, Berdychiv, Teofipol in Volhynia, and Medzhybizh in Podillia. Although the authorities did not realize the intention to open gymnasiums in the provincial centres, this highest type of school with Polish language of instruction was established in the district towns of Kremenets (1805, reorganized into a lyceum in 1818), Vinnytsia (1814), and in 1825, the sixth-grade district school in Mezhyrich Koretskyi, which was still maintained by the Piarists, acquired the rank of a gymnasium¹⁵. Finally, the Russian gymnasium was opened in Kyiv in 1809, because Polish influence did not dominate there.

It was not possible to open schools in every district town of the Right Bank due to the lack of finances and proper material base. It should be emphasized that district schools, maintaining a high level of educational practices of the already non-existent Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, satisfied the educational and cultural demands of the regional nobility.

Unlike the Education Commission, the educational reformers of the Alexander era tried to pay more attention to primary schools. Financial and material support of Roman Catholic parish schools by landowners and clergy proved to be effective in the towns. In 1818, there were already 127 such schools¹⁶. Children from Ukrainian families could also attend these schools, but they had difficulties studying in the Polish language. The Uniate clergy also engaged in charity, in particular, the monks of the Order of St. Basil the Great. Thus, through their efforts, the parish school was opened in Kremenets at the local Basilian monastery¹⁷. On the other hand, schools opened by the Orthodox clergy were the least represented in the educational network¹⁸. The opening of parish schools of various denominations contributed to the education of the poor among urban population.

The specificity of educational institutions, which were the legacy of the educational traditions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in Vilnius district and in particular in towns of Right-

Bank Ukraine was manifested in a longer duration of study than in other districts and a wider range of curricula. At the same time, the Russian language was taught in the volume of foreign languages. For example, in the gymnasiums of Vilnius educational district, the education lasted six to seven years, and in the Volhynia gymnasium – ten. This was in contrast to the total duration of four years of gymnasium education in the rest of the educational districts in the Russian Empire.

In particular, Polish and Latin grammar, geography and arithmetic were studied in the first two grades at Podillia Gymnasium (in Vinnytsia); the curricula were adjusted to the curricula of district schools, which provided preparation for mastering a larger amount of knowledge in these disciplines and mastering new subjects. In the next four grades, the teacher of mathematics taught higher arithmetic, geometry and logic; the teacher of physics also taught science and chemistry; the teacher of law taught morality, history, and geography. In addition, two more teachers introduced students to literature – general, domestic (Polish) and ancient¹⁹.

Teachers and students demonstrated an example of the importance of education both for personal spiritual growth and for the implementation of the program of imperial power to train educated citizens. In the conditions of reforming all aspects of life, the state urgently needed such people. In district schools of Right-Bank Ukraine, in 1802–1817, there were up to 150 teachers (137–144), which was 45% of the total number of teachers in the entire Vilnius educational district. If we take into account the teachers of parish schools, then, at least, 230 people were engaged in teaching²⁰.

The high professional level of many educators was ensured by their long-term pedagogical experience, which they gained during the times of the Education Commission. At the same time, there was a rejuvenation of the teaching staff. Along with the experienced teachers, junior colleagues worked, among whom were many graduates of Vilnius University. This is how the continuity of the teaching profession was ensured. Although the corps of teachers failed to outline their own professional identity and was only in search of it, it still led to the formation of a professional urban intelligentsia – a group of people of book culture, who received a monetary reward for their work²¹.

The spread of education in the towns of Right-Bank Ukraine is evidenced by the growing number of students in educational institutions. If in 1802–1803 in three provinces, their number in district schools did not exceed 4 thousand people, in 1816–1822 more than five thousand children studied in schools of all types²². While inspecting Dubrovysia School in Volhynia in 1803, T. Czacki recorded the following: among its 150 students, children of noble origin predominated (80%), the rest (up to 30 people) were from other classes (townspeople, Uniate clergy). Thus, accepting for education mainly children from the nobility, this school through education attracted more and more townspeople to social communication²³.

Volhynia (Kremenets) gymnasium was a unique phenomenon of the urban educational landscape of the Right Bank. It was a model Enlightenment school, demonstrating the standard norms of social behaviour and new everyday practices. This educational institution was in fact the main centre of educational and cultural life of both the district town of Kremenets and the entire Right Bank²⁴.

In the first third of the 19th century, home education and private educational institutions were in constant demand among the citizens of Right-Bank Ukraine from the privileged strata of the society. If state control over homeschooling was still difficult to organize, private schools were already under government supervision. The imperial government took control of private educational initiatives. The main type of private schools was boarding schools. The share of girls' boarding schools grew at a faster pace, which testified to the gentry's interest in having educated women²⁵.

The educational institutions that emerged during the implementation of the state educational model of education changed the cultural face of the cities and towns of Right-Bank Ukraine.

Educational institutions became centres of urban cultural life. Attracting the townspeople, they also «poured out» their cultural potential beyond their walls. The distribution of books played an important role in school cultural communication. Textbooks, gift books, books borrowed from the school library were gradually becoming available to not only teachers and students, but also to those who were in contact with schools in various ways. Gymnasiums and schools of Right-Bank Ukraine for a long time used old textbooks approved for teaching during the activities of the Educational Commission, and if necessary, reprinted them²⁶.

Through the distribution of books, the provision of tutoring services, the organization of town wide cultural events, etc., educational centres were involved in the formation of urban educational and cultural environment.

Even the smallest county schools, such as Volodymyr-Volynskyi school, had their own dimension of cultural life. Due to the fact that they had more children of non-noble origin, the Ukrainian language was used more often, at least in interpersonal communication²⁷.

Conclusions. The emerging network of educational institutions was primarily aimed at the spread of Polish culture. This, in particular, provided for the inclusion of the Ukrainian people of the Right Bank in the Polish educational tradition, as stipulated by the language strategy in education during the Education Commission. In the long run, this could not satisfy the state power, interested in another cultural perspective, namely, the spread of the Russian culture. From the mid-20s of the 19th century, the changes started in Russia's policy. The implementation of the imperial enlightenment model of education in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth began to collapse. Moreover, this provided for the final unification of the educational network. In general, the educational reform in Right-Bank Ukraine in the last third of the 19th century affected the intensification of cultural life in urban areas.

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²⁶ О. Прищепа, *Основні канали поширення навчальної літератури у містах Волині (перша третина XIX ст.)* [Main Channels of Distribution of Educational Literature in the Towns of Volyn (First Third of the 19th Century)], in «Волинська книга: історія, дослідження, колекціонування», Острог, Острозька Академія», 2015, вип. 3, с. 159–167.

²⁷ О. Левицкий, *К истории Владимир-Волинского базилианского училища* [On the History of Vladimir-Volynsky Basilian School], in «Киевская старина», 1892, октябрь, т. XXXIX, с. 121–122.

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