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HERMENEUTIC IMPLICATIONS OF
GERMAN BILDUNG TRADITION
FOR BUKOVINIAN HISTORY
EDUCATION (ON THE MATERIAL OF
MYRON KORDUBA'S AND GREGORY
KUPCHANKO'S HISTORIOGRAPHY)

ГЕРМЕНЕВТИЧНІ ІМПЛІКАЦІЇ
НІМЕЦЬКОЇ ТРАДИЦІЇ BILDUNG У
ВИКЛАДАННІ ІСТОРІЇ НА БУКОВИНІ (НА
МАТЕРІАЛІ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ МИРОНА
КОРДУБИ ТА ГРИГОРІЯ КУПЧАНКА)

Ключевые слова: Роман И., Акатрини В. Герменевтические импликации германской традиции Bildung историческое образование, философия истории, внутренняя форма, Bildung, Geisteswissenschaften, Erlebnis, герменевтика.

Роман И., Акатрини В. Герменевтические импликации германской традиции Bildung в преподавании истории на Буковине (на материале историографии Мирона Кордубы и Григория Купчанко).

На материале исследования вопросов преподавания истории в Буковинских школах конца XIX – нач. XX, проводятся исторические и методологические параллели между историографией М.Кордубы, Г.Купчанка и В.Дильтея. Показано, что герменевтические воззрения историков, унаследованные от германской традиции Bildung, порождены межкультурным диалогом, возникшим в многонациональном контексте Буковины.

Problem field of the research. To meet the challenges of the present intellectual life the humanities are constantly stimulated for improvement of the foundational categories and theories, and for selection of trustworthy scholarship, in order to represent the past in ways that might promote cross-cultural conversations recognized as useful for the future of mankind. One of the constituting factors of the cross-cultural frame of the new historical discourse is reconstruction and methodological analyses of the philosophical and ideological grounds of the national historiographies.

This article presents analysis of practical realization of “Bildung”, “Geisteswissenschaften”, “Erlebnisse”, and other important concepts of historical hermeneutics in pedagogical and scientific heritage of Myron Korduba and Gregory Kupchanko with an intention to open new opportunities of bringing Gadamer's thought more fully into the contemporary cultural dialogue.

The task and objectives of investigation. The present publication suggests a doctrinal and methodological approach to analyses of Myron Korduba's and Gregory Kupchanko's creative heritage in the context of philosophical, ideological and spiritual processes within the Ukrainian and European societies of that time.

While speaking about the hermeneutic implications in M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's historiography, it is important to keep in mind that philosophical consideration of history in the European humanitarian thought traces back to St. Augustine. The most quoted St. Augustines' citations about time are usually taken from the eleventh book of his “Confessions”. In the context of medieval and modern European philosophy of history the XXVII- th book of the eleventh chapter of “Confessions”, hence, may be treated as the appropriate locus to address the underlying causes of and factors contributing to the problem of the development of the “historical sciences” and their theory, particularly in nineteenth-century Germany. We would like to focus our attention upon the 36-th statement in which St. Augustine writes: “36. It is in you, O mind of mine, that I measure the periods of time. Do not shout me down that it exists [objectively]; do not overwhelm yourself with the turbu-

lent flood of your impressions. It is in you, O mind of mine, that I measure the periods of time. Do not shout me down that it exists [objectively]; In you, as I have said, I measure the periods of time. I measure as time present the impression that things make on you as they pass by and what remains after they have passed by – I do not measure the things themselves which have passed by and left their impression on you. This is what I measure when I measure periods of time”¹.

The upper mentioned quotation is important for our investigation as we consider the German **Bildung** tradition through the prism of St. Augustine's concept of historicity. From this point of view, Bildung, philosophy and education are virtually synonymous terms that designate an ongoing process of both personal and cultural maturation as they are regarded as realization of the “Inner Logos” on the personal or sociocultural scale.

As to methodological techniques, the ideology and the pedagogical approach, as well as some expressions and theoretical generalizations by M. Korduba and G. Kupchanko, they are to a great extent akin to the upper mentioned treatment of Bildung. From their scientific and pedagogical activities there could be derived an approach which considered teaching history as a way for harmonization of the individuals' mind and heart and for a unification of society. Intentional analysis of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's texts showed that they expected harmonization of the self to be achieved through a wide variety of historical experiences and challenges to the individual's accepted beliefs. Their pedagogical intention was to impact the individual's mind with historical facts and symbols, and they expected that these challenges would entail agonizing alienation from one's “natural consciousness” that leads to a reunification and development of the self, akin to the ideas in Hegel's writings. Yet, although under the great influence of German historiographic tradition, M. Korduba and G. Kupchanko worked out an approach somewhat different – very close to Gadamerian hermeneutical reconsideration of Bildung as one of the basic concepts of European philosophy of history. As G. Gadamer wrote “If we consider the concept of Bildung, whose importance for

the human sciences we have emphasized, we are in a fortunate situation. Here a previous investigation gives us a fine overview of the history of the word: its origin in medieval mysticism, its continuance in the mysticism of the baroque, its religious spiritualization ...and finally the basic definition Herder gives it: "rising up to humanity through culture." The cult of Bildung in the nineteenth century preserved the profounder dimension of the word, and our notion of Bildung is determined by it"².

The numerous publications dedicated to the creative heritage of M. Korduba and G. Kupchanko have not paid enough attention to the upper mentioned methodological and philosophical background of their publications. This question is especially important taking into consideration the fact that both historians started their scientific career as students of the faculty of philosophy of Vienna University and only in the course of time and under the influence of different circumstances decided to major in history.

It should be mentioned that information about G. Kupchanko found in the works of M. Dragomanov, I. Jaroshynskiy, E. Jaroshynska, M. Pavlyk, P. Stezko, G. Kupchenko, L. Kovaletz does not give enough grounds to form a clear understanding of the methodological and doctrinal ground of the historian's works.

The same state of affairs is ascertained concerning publications dedicated to the historiographical and artistic heritage of M. Korduba. In publications of M. Hrushevskiy, A. Pritsak, L. Vinar, B. Golov, R. Fedoryschak, O. Kupchynskiy, O. Penishkevych, R. Fedoryschak, I. Fedoriv, J. Serkiz and other authors, the methodological and doctrinal analysis of his scientific and pedagogical work is either occasional and superficial or absent.

In any case, both from the point of view of objective description of the development of Ukrainian historiography and from the position of perceiving its methodological grounds, it is important to take into serious consideration the fact that the scientific and pedagogical activity of these historians chronologically coincided with genesis of the phenomenological and hermeneutic approaches within the German sociocultural tradition. In this respect, presence or absence of phenomenological, hermeneutic and other philosophical implications may not only contrast the individual character of the authors' contribution to the Ukrainian and European historical science but may also contribute to understanding of the mechanisms of the Ukrainian historiography of that time.

A thorough analysis of the historians' scientific and publicistic texts, approve hermeneutic implications of the German Bildung tradition in M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's approach to history education. The hermeneutic features of their approach is exposed both on the level of their expressions and theoretical generalizations and on the level of methodological approaches and techniques used for their pragmatic needs.

Along with the linguistic aspects of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's way of historical investigation, such as their special interest to onomastic and toponymical research, a lot of facts exposing hermeneutic implications of German Bildung tradition for M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's approach to history is connected with

their research of the Bukovinian ethnography. Methodological and doctrinal analyses of their interpretation of folklore, their criteria of selection of epic images, symbols and texts, their commentaries to the ethnographical materials obtained by other ethnographers, derive an approach very close to the hermeneutic concept "Erlebnis" worked out in W. Dilthey's works³.

One of the important intentions of Erlebnis is rooted in Dilthey's concept of progress defined as the growth in autonomy for the mind within the historical framework⁴. This presupposition in general coincides with M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's pedagogic approach, based on the idea characteristic to Bildung German tradition in which learning requires a passionate search for continual growth, tempered by reason that is developed through intense study of one's intellectual tradition. In many places of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's texts there could be found passages approving their belief that fulfillment comes through practical activity which promotes the development of one's talents thus directing the pedagogical effort for developing in students an ability to engage in immanent critique of one's society, challenging it to actualize its own highest ideals along with development of one's society⁵.

As it is widely accepted in the modern philosophical literature, the German term *Bildung* dates back to 16th century Pietistic theology, according to which, the devout Christian should seek to cultivate his talents and dispositions according to the image of God, which was innate in his soul (in this respect the concept of Bildung was very close by its meaning to the Russian word «образование»). By the time when M. Korduba and G. Kupchanko engaged into the Bukovinian educative processes, **Bildung** was becoming a term with both spiritual, philosophical and even political connotations.

Yet the specific feature characteristic for M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's style is an appeal to the intertextual semantic structures of Bukovinian culture, which in terms of Humboldtian tradition would be called "the inner form" of Bukovinian culture. And this constitutes another special point for comparison of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's approach and the concept of "Erlebnis" in W. Dilthey's hermeneutics. To make this idea more clear it is important to drive some historical parallels between the sociocultural conditions in which M. Korduba's, G. Kupchanko's and W. Dilthey's conceptions of history had been worked out.

Evidently, while tracing back the sources of Bildung implications for W. Dilthey's hermeneutic concept of history and historicism we should not disregard the ideas of Johann Gottfried Herder. In a series of works, Herder developed and defended the conception of history that implanted hermeneutic principles at the very heart of the German **Bildung** tradition. Many hermeneutic ideas and principles are found in his works "To a Philosophy of History for the Formation of Humanity" (1774), "Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity" (1784-91) and his "Letters for the Advancement of Humanity" (1793-1797). G. Herder profoundly influenced such intellectuals as Hegel, J.S. Mill, and W. Dilthey. G. Herder developed fundamental ideas about the dependence of thought on language that today are re-

garded through the prism of Wilhelm von Humboldt's works. On the one hand, these ideas are widely viewed as the foundation of modern linguistics, but at the same time, Herder developed the methodological foundations of hermeneutics, or the theory of interpretation, that Schleiermacher later built upon.

In case of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's approach to history there should be mentioned the influence of Herders' ideas upon anthropology and its methodology. We should also take into consideration that both G. Kupchanko (who started his career as student of the Faculty of Law and soon entered the faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna) as well as M. Korduba (who passed his doctorate in philosophy at the same university) were surely aware of theoretical ideas and approaches derived from the German Bildung tradition.

Of course, while speaking about the sociocultural context of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's scientific and pedagogical activities, we should distinguish between the stylistic forms and approaches coming out of the "inner logos" of the Ukrainian history or of historians' personal experience on the one hand, and from stylistic or methodological approaches produced as a reaction to their socio-cultural contexts and the official demands or ideological tasks enacted by the Austrian authorities on the other hand.

In order to have a better understanding of the factors that influenced the configuration of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's historiographic efforts it is important to say a few words about the historical context of their creative work.

The education system at Bukovina was being constituted gradually within the period from the late XVIII-th early XX-th centuries being gradually enriched with new elements, modified and undergoing different kinds of reforms. The Bukovinian educative institutions were part of the general system of Austrian education and subject to its regulations, however, maintaining its own special features.

In 1780 the province had 382 priests, 89 deacons, 427 monks and 87 nuns. Educated people were prepared mainly in monasteries. In 1774, there were three schools – the Metropolitan in Suceava, the archbishop's school in Radautsi and the school of the monastery in Putna, the last being the most famous among them. By the year of 1780 - in Bukovina there were 5 schools, of which two in Suceava (the Moldavian and the Greek), one in Radautsi, one in Putna and one in Chernivtsi. Supervision of schools was under the control of the Bishop of Radautsi while the financial support was provided through a special tax - 1 ducat from every priest and deacon⁶.

From the point of view of the religious background of sociocultural conditions in which M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's approach to history was worked out, the upper mentioned situation, strange as it might seem, was resembling to the sociocultural context of early German Romanticism which is important for understanding W. Dilthey's hermeneutic interpretation of historicity and historical consciousness⁷.

Speaking about W. Dilthey's interest to German romanticism, Gadamer noticed that: "Romanticism began with the deep conviction of a total strangeness of the tra-

dition (as the reverse side of the totally different character of the present), and this conviction became the basic methodological presupposition of its hermeneutical procedure. Precisely in this way hermeneutics became a universal, methodical attitude: it presupposed the foreignness of the content that is to be understood and thus made its task the overcoming of this foreignness by gaining understanding".

The situation in which M. Korduba and G. Kupchanko had to work out their own way in Bukovinian historiography was also preconditioned by the deep conviction of the occupied population of a total strangeness of the German Bildung tradition and this conviction became the basic methodological presupposition of the hermeneutical procedure in M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's historiography. Friendly to official ideology or not, the historians had to take into consideration the intentional prestructure of the Bukovinian intellectual context of these times. The titles and the content of G. Kupchanko's works give much evidence to the general impulse for self-identification in the semantic fields of the Russian, Romanian and Austrian imperial ideologies⁸.

History Education was under the control of government regulations so the educative process was vectored in the direction to the standards of German Bildung tradition. The curriculum of 1835, exposes the humanitarian prerogative of the secondary education with the focus upon humanization of the individual, linguistic erudition, literacy and formation of philosophical religious world-outlook. Here is a list of compulsory disciplines recommended in the Act of May 14, 1869: religion (Law of God), language, calculus, basics of the science of nature, geography and history, physical training.

In accordance to the upper mentioned act the main intention of teaching history was to cultivate among students knowledge about important events, especially of Greek and Roman history, some important facts of local history with special underline upon the cultural elements along with constitution and political trends in the empire. In secondary schools history was originally combined with geography. In the lower classes children studied history in three sections: the ancient world, the middle ages, modern history of Austrian state and ethnography. In higher classes ancient Greek and medieval history was mastered thoroughly. Thus Schools of Bukovina carried out a comprehensive study of history, literature and culture: both of their native land and other nations. By the end of XIX century these subjects were completely separated. Speaking methodologically, the mentioned principles corresponded to the fundamental concept of Bildung worked out within the philosophical tradition of German Enlightenment. According to Enlightenment philosophy the nature of Bildung was predominantly social: education was considered as necessary not only for an individual, but mostly for the state. In this respect as soon Bildung was taken as an upbringing of the civil and social qualities of personality, the educative effort of such historians as M. Korduba and G. Kupchanko converged with the official policy of the Austrian state. Here is one of the characteristic mottos published in a local pedagogical periodical: "the history of the native land and people is the

science that makes us human”⁹. When Bukovinian historians decided to achieve the pedagogical effect not through descriptions of bloody battles but by stories of people who served their country not with sword and fire, but through sincere and thorough work, this, evidently, was also quite pertinent to the German Bildung tradition. The same could be said about the demand to avoid politicizing history while directing studies on national education.

However, it should be mentioned that in the conditions of imperial policy the declared principles not always coincided with the real motives of the authors. For example, in the Bukovinian schools history for a long time was taught on the basis of the textbook "Pictures of world history for folk and preparatory schools" written by M. Korduba, where the author pays considerable attention to the disclosure of Ukraine's history, from ancient times to the modern era. The author of the textbook finishes his narration by the history of Bukovina, with especially detailed description of the Austrian period. In this respect it is worth mentioning that special attention to the Austrian period of the Bukovinian history as well as inclination to comparative analyses of Bukovinian ethnocultural traditions and the achievements of the German speaking world is characteristic both for M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's publications. Today it is difficult to say whether this was just a tribute to the ruling class of the society or a complex cluster of predispositions acquired during the long period of studying in the German speaking educative environment and in the University of Vienne. In our case the important fact is that scholarship in the Austrian institutions of higher education was the point of intersection of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's approach with the hermeneutic concepts of German Bildung tradition. It was not the search of philosophical or theological theories that urged the Ukrainian humanitarians to search the aspects of social cultural life that participated in structures other than the state and over which the state had no authority or control. In this search for new semantic spaces the talented Ukrainian writers, journalists and historians like I. Franko, M. Dragomanov, M. Hrushevskiy, M. Korduba and G. Kupchanko and other intellectuals found the narratives and symbolic forms which touched the most subtle cords of ethnic mentality connected with the inner logos of national cultures not visible for official censorship, usually these were the semantic field closely connected with the sacral archetypes of culture.

In this respect W. Dilthey's vision of hermeneutic situation resembled to the approach the Bukovinian historians worked out in their relation to the regulations of the official ideology. As W. Dilthey used to say: "No matter how deeply the strong hand of the state reaches into the living unity of the individual and lays hold of him, still the state obligates and subjects individuals only partially, only relatively; there is something in them which is only in the hand of God"¹⁰.

Turning back to the parallel between the intellectual context of German romanticism and the Historical Education in Bukovina by the end of XIX-th. beginning of XX-th. centuries, their situation was compatible. In case of German Romanticism the hermeneutical universe of

Erlebnis arose from its aspiration to preserve their spiritual identity under the dogmatic press of scholastic dogmatism. In case of Bukovinian Historical Education the hermeneutic situation arose due to the historians' strive to preserve their cultural and spiritual identity under the press of official regulations of the governments' cultural policy. It is just the case about which G. Gadamer spoke when reckoning about hermeneutic situations or situations when historical consciousness is born: "This observation indicates the special circumstance in which the hermeneutical problem appears. The problem clearly does not arise as long as one is involved directly in taking up and continuing a specific intellectual tradition. ... The hermeneutical problem only emerges clearly when there is no powerful tradition present to absorb one's own attitude into itself and when one is aware of confronting an alien tradition to which he has never belonged or one he no longer unquestioningly accepts"¹¹.

In Diltheian interpretation, *Erlebnis* is an experience with an intense effect on one's inner life, but not necessarily externally. *Erlebnisaufsatz* is an essay based on personal experience. *Erlebnisse*, lived experiences, are especially important in Dilthey. They are inner states, activities and processes that we are aware of or 'live through', but do not usually make objects of introspection. The connection with life is explicit: "Starting from 'life' itself as a whole, Dilthey tried to understand its 'lived experiences' in their structural and developmental inter-connexions". In the same manner M. Korduba emphasized that the study of history "begins with the immediate environment of the child, village, county, province, in order to develop patriotism and desire to serve its own country awakened by the history of its native places ... Hence, local history should be considered not as a way of national isolation, but as a means of awakening interest to the history of other nations"¹².

While exploring the different ways the concept of *Erlebnis* manifested itself in Dilthey's hermeneutics, Theodor Plantinga¹³ notices that Dilthey viewed individuals as the basic historical units of study, because they interacted with society and were historically conscious. It was in this context that Dilthey thought that the biographical approach was the most fundamental tool of history. For Dilthey, though, biography meant much more than the recitation of the events in a specific person's life. Dilthey's definition of biography reflected as much the study of institutions that interconnected in the person's life as the individual life itself.

Akin to Dilthey's treatment of biography as a manifestation of history through *Erlebniss* was the M. Korduba's approach to bringing students to understanding their history through biographies of prominent personalities like Yaroslav the Wise and his successors after collapse of Kievan Rus, Alexander the Good and Stephan the Great, the Great Martir St. John of Suceava, and other representatives of the Orthodox Church in the history of Ukraine in general and of Bukovina in particular.

Speaking about hermeneutic implications and compatibility of M. Korduba's and G. Kupchanko's approach with Dilthean *Erlebniss*, there could be driven many other parallels, yet, the purpose of our publication

is not to enumerate their detailed list, but to attract the historians' attention to the evolution of hermeneutic paradigm in the European historiography and its heuristic potential in the pragmatic problems of history education once again approving G.Gadamer's idea that: "Geisteswissenschaften were the starting point ... precisely because they related to experiences that have nothing to do with method and science but lie beyond science – like the experience of art and the experience of culture that bears the imprint of its historical tradition. ... The modern social scientists, ... insofar as they recognize hermeneutical reflection as unavoidable, nevertheless advance the claim ... of raising understanding up out of a prescientific exercise to the rank of a self-reflecting activity by "controlled alienation" – that is, through "methodical development of intelligence"¹⁴.

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Роман І., Акатріні В. Герменевтичні імплікації німецької традиції Bildung у викладанні історії на Буковині (на матеріалі історіографії Мирона Кордуби та Григорія Купчанка). Публікація присвячена проблемам викладання історії в Буковинських освітніх закладах кінця XIX – поч. XX століття. Обґрунтовано необхідність методологічного і доктринального аналізу історіографічної спадщини Г.Купчанка та М.Кордуби. Показано спільні і відмінні риси науково-дослідницьких програм істориків. Показано спорідненість методологічних принципів Г.Купчанка та М.Кордуби із герменевтичною концепцією Erlebnis В. Дільтага. Простежено органічний зв'язок між світоглядними настановами Німецького романтизму, німецької освітньо-виховної традиції (Bildung) і герменевтичними тенденціями у філософії і методології історії. Розкрито світоглядні і культурно-історичні обставини та проблемогенні фактори, що сприяли наближенню методологічних і педагогічних підходів згаданих мислителів до герменевтичної проблематики. На матеріалі теоретичних і прагматичних проблем історіографічної діяльності М. Кордуби і Г. Купчанка аналізуються герменевтичні імплікації вітчизняної історіографії на початку XX ст., успадковані від європейської інтелектуальної традиції завдяки специфічним обставинам, пов'язаних із викладанням історії на Буковині. На основі проведеного доктринального і методологічного аналізу, робиться оцінка евристичного потенціалу герменевтичної ситуації, яку породив міжкультурний діалог у Буковинському освітньому середовищі.

Ключові слова: історична освіта, філософія історії, внутрішня форма, Bildung, Geisteswissenschaften, Erlebnis, герменевтика.

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