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тел.: (0324) 41-04-74, факс: (03244) 3-38-77, e-mail: [halivm@yahoo.com](mailto:halivm@yahoo.com)

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Office address: Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, Ivan Franko Str., 24, Drohobych, Lviv Region, 82100. tel.: (0324) 41-04-74, fax: (03244) 3-38-77, e-mail: [halivm@yahoo.com](mailto:halivm@yahoo.com)

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**Olga SHKOLNA**

*PhD hab. (History of Art), Full Professor, Head of the Department of Fine Arts, Borys Hrinchenko Kyiv University, 18/2 I. Shamo Boulevard, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 02154 (dushaorchidei@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-7245-6010

**ResearcherID:** AAC-2613-2021

**Scopus-Author ID:** 57830012100

**Yurii TYMOSHENKO**

*PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor, Professor of the Department of Social and Humanitarian Disciplines, National University of Physical Education and Sports of Ukraine, 1 Phyzcultury Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03150 (tymoshenko-history@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-7812-5437

**ResearcherID:** AAU-6809-2021

**Ольга ШКОЛЬНА**

*докторка мистецтвознавства, професорка, завідувачка кафедри образотворчого мистецтва Київського університету імені Бориса Грінченка, бл. І. Шамо, 18/2, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 02154 (dushaorchidei@ukr.net)*

**Юрій ТИМОШЕНКО**

*доктор історичних наук, доцент, професор кафедри соціально-гуманітарних дисциплін Національного університету фізичного виховання і спорту України, вул. Фізкультури, 1, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 03150 (tymoshenko-history@ukr.net)*

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**EVERYDAY LIFE OF RZECZPOSPOLITA (COMMONWEALTH)  
NOBILITY IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES: HAIRSTYLE,  
BEAUTY TOOLS AND CLOTHES**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is: an analysis of the literature sources according to which the specifics of the fashion on wearing costumes, coating, using perfumery by the representatives of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility in the 17th and 18th centuries has been reconstructed as well as the portraits of the representatives of gentry of baroque epoch have been researched. The research methodology includes the application of a set of the following methods: dialectical, axiological, hermeneutic, idiographic, prosopographic, comparative, micro-history, biographical. Inductive and deductive methods have been also used to reconstruct certain historical events according to historiographical sources. The scientific novelty consists in introducing aspects of wearing clothes in the circles of the*



Polish and Ukrainian establishment in the 17th and 18th centuries, connected to the semantic field of “balagula”, “tężyzna”, “courteous love” and escort “chichisbeys”. The evolution of stereotypes changes in traditions of wearing representative clothes the Polish and Ukrainian Commonwealth at the Baroque epoch in the circles of old Polish gentry. Their dependence on the inherited norms and customs is characterized, estate regulations on the right on wearing bright, decorated with gold and silver kuntush, grey kuntush, belts, decorated with “positive” historical, political and socio-cultural transformations of society under the conditions of several partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century. **The Conclusion.** It was established that the institution of “balagulum”, which was known in the Ukrainian and Polish historiography of the nineteenth century, concerned not only the circles of young Poles-populists of the 1840s – 1850s, but also it was born in the late eighteenth century as a certain subculture with appropriate external indicators in costume and behaviour. It has been proved that representatives of the nobility of the Baroque era paid special attention to the concept of “tężyzna” in the sense of courage, strength, dignity and other virtues of the real elite, which they tried to demonstrate by conservative elements of clothing – most often the kuntush outfit, which was taken among the Polish aristocrats as a national costume, and in the Ukrainian circles – as belonging to Sarmatia. It has been found out that the everyday life of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility included certain markers of identity associated with the “reconstruction” according to the old Polish cultural tradition of the clothes of the Renaissance period – mannerism, as well as typical Kyiv uniform-kuntush costumes, Warsaw, Krakow customary norms, in accordance with the fashion trends of certain periods of time and certain requirements of savoir-vivre (etiquette). Frivolity in the women's tradition of mistresses and favorites of kings and representatives of the Sejm and generality in the circles of the Polish and Ukrainian aristocracy of Lviv is demonstrated at the end of the 18th century. Their references to the institute of courtesans, known in Europe from the Renaissance and appealing on the one hand to the harem culture of the Turks, the Persians, etc., and on the other, the implementation of the era of sexual emancipation and emancipation into the Polish and Ukrainian society of free tempers of France have been elucidated. Specific features of the ranks for balls, receptions, secular events and exits of ladies from the circles of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility of the Baroque era and their chichisbeys escorts, derived from the Italian culture of the Baroque epoch, have been reconstructed. A number of portraits of the Polish and Ukrainian elite of the 17th – 18th centuries have been analyzed, which represent the connection of the contemporary everyday life of models with sources of inspirations related to various traditions of including Venetian buttons, references to Spanish dresses, tightly laced German dresses. Among them there are highlighted elements of Hungarian, oriental (primarily Persian, Turkish, Chinese) costumes, fabrics or its patterns, French, Italian, Spanish, English fabrics, primarily silk; elements of hairstyles and hats (Spanish beard, French-style wigs, hijab, close to Oriental Muslim cultures, men's outfits of the Hungarian ranks, French perfumes, coating, stockings, shoes, Dutch pipes.

**Key words:** the Polish and Ukrainian Commonwealth, Nobility, clothes, hairstyles, cosmetics, the 17th – 18th centuries, silk, baroque.

## ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ НОБІЛІТЕТУ РЕЧІ ПОСПОЛИТОЇ У XVII – XVIII ст.: ЗАЧІСКИ, КОСМЕТИЧНІ ЗАСОБИ ТА ОДЯГ

**Анотація.** Метою статті є аналіз літературних джерел, за якими реконструюється специфіка розвитку моди на носіння одягу, напوماжування, парфумування представників польської та української еліти в добу XVII – XVIII ст., а також аналіз портретів представників шляхти епохи бароко. **Методологія дослідження** включає застосування сукупності таких методів: діалектичного, аксіологічного, герменевтичного, ідіографічного, просопографічного, порівняльного, мікроісторії, біографічного. Також використано індуктивний і дедуктивний методи задля реконструкції певних історичних явищ за даними історіографічних джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає у введенні до наукового обігу аспектів носіння одягу в польських та українських колах істеблїшменту XVII – XVIII ст., пов'язаних із семантичним полем понять “балагули”, “тенжизна”, “куртуазне кохання”, “ескорт”, “чічісбеї”. Простежена еволюція змін стереотипів щодо традицій носіння репрезентативних одяг у повсякденні Речі Посполитої доби бароко. Охарактеризована їхня залежність від спадкових норм і звичаїв у колах представників родів старопольської шляхти, станової регламентації щодо права на вдягання яскравих й оздоблених

золотом-сріблом кунтушів, кунтушів сірого кольору, жупанів, кунтушевих поясів киталту “позитивок”; історико-політичних і соціально-культурних трансформацій суспільства в умовах кількох переділів Польщі кінця XVIII ст. **Висновки.** Встановлено, що інститут “балагульства”, котрий був відомий в українській і польській історіографії XIX ст., стосувався не лише кіл молодих поляків-народників 1840 – 1850-х рр., а зародився ще наприкінці XVIII ст. як певна суб-культура з відповідними зовнішніми індикаторами в костюмі й поведінці. Доведено, що представники шляхти епохи бароко окрему увагу приділяли поняттю тенжизни в сенсі мужності, міцності, гідності й інших чеснот справжньої еліти, яку намагалися демонструвати консервативними елементами одягу – найчастіше кунтушевого строю, що сприймався з-поміж польських аристократів як національний костюм, а в колах українських – як приналежність до роксоланів-сарматів. З’ясовано, що повсякдення польського та українського нобілітету включало певні маркери ідентичності, пов’язані з “реконструкцією” за старопольською культурною традицією одягу періоду ренесансу – маньєризму, а також типовими київськими мундирно-кунтушевими костюмами, варшавськими, краківськими кутюмами (звичаєвими нормами), відповідно до модних тенденцій окремих відрізків часу й певних вимог *savoir-vivre* (етикету). Унаочнено фривольності в жіночій ноші коханок і фавориток королів, а також представників сейму та генералітету в колах польської й української аристократії Львова кінця XVIII ст. Розкрито їх відсилки до інституту куртизанок, відомого в Європі від епохи Відродження й апелювання, з одного боку, до гаремної культури турків, персів тощо, а з іншого, імплементації в польське та українське суспільство вільних манери Франції доби сексуальної розкутості й емансипації. Реконструйовано специфічні риси строю для балів, прийомів, світських раутів і виходів дам з кіл польської й української шляхти доби бароко і їх ескортів-чічісбеїв, похідні з італійської культури епохи бароко. Розглянуто низку портретів польської та української еліти епохи XVII – XVIII ст., котрі репрезентують зв’язок тогочасного повсякдення моделей з джерелами інспірації, пов’язаними з різними традиціями включення венеційських гудзиків, відсилок до іспанських курдибанів, туго зашнурованих німецьких суконь-ребронів й т. ін. З-поміж них виділено елементи угорського, орієнтального (насамперед, перського, турецького, китайського) костюмів або її візерунків, французьких, італійських, іспанських, англійських тканин, насамперед, шовкових; елементів зачісок та головних уборів (іспанська борідка, перуки французького типу, хіджаб, близький орієнтальним мусульманським культурам, чоловічі магерки-баторувки й чекчіри угорського строю тощо), французьких парфумів, помад, панчіх, взуття, голландських любок тощо.

**Ключові слова:** повсякдення, Річ Посполита, нобілітет, одяг, зачіски, косметичні засоби, XVII – XVIII ст., шовк, бароко.

**The Problem Statement.** Recently, domestic ethnical and cultural studies focus on the era of the formation of old Ukrainian culture – the Baroque era, when our language was affirmed, behaviour, customs, and requirements of etiquette were polished. However, if the realm associated with commoners is under active research by ethnologists, issues relating the customs of the elite, which during the above-mentioned period was represented, first, by the Polish nobility. The significant strata of the population still demands special research, since they are scattered mainly in various memoirs of eyewitnesses and are verified by prosopography and portraits of the Baroque era. The general features of the culture of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility of the Baroque period are reflected in a number of publications.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** In this sense, the classical source is “Chronicles of European Sarmatia” by Gwagnini O., an eyewitness of the traditions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries (he wrote his epoch-making work during the period of 1581 – 1611) (Gwagnini, 2007, pp. 1–1008). At the same time, the customs of wearing clothes, hairstyles, and use of cosmetics in the circles of the nobility described by him contrasted significantly with the traditions of the peasant population of Ukraine of the 18th century, described by P. Aleppsky (Aleppsky, 1897, pp. 1–202) and G. de Beauplan (Boplan, 2012, pp. 1–165).

Within the context of the considered topic, it is significant to review a number of various registers of treasure estates in Zhovkva at the times of King Jan III Sobiesky and Michal Radziwiłł Rybonka, which recorded the contemporary implements and personal belongings of these representatives of the establishment (Shkolna, 2011, pp. 207–219). There are also separate articles by researchers who recorded the customs of nobility of the Baroque period. For example, the article by Hrushevsky M. “Bar eldership. Historical Essays (the 15th – 18th centuries)”, where appeared silk zhupan in the inventory of the estates of the Karaczewsky family. It was made of medium thickness cloth, hemmed with red and blue satin, marten cap, leather boots (Hrushevsky, 1996, pp. 181).

An example of the image of such outfits of a representative of the nobility with short boots is the portrait of Kristof Korybut, Prince of Zbarazh (1579 – 1628). (Fig.1), castellan of Krakow, headman, descendant of the Ukrainian-Lithuanian family of princes, son of the Bratslav voivode.

In this sense, the nobility had almost the same needs in their everyday life (Tarasyuk, 2021, pp. 9–27) as the Ukrainian Cossack foreman, about whom the military engineer and architect Guillaume de Beauplan wrote in his notes that they preferred silk and cotton fabrics, colored silk laces, scarves, sharovars (Persian *šaravāra* – “pants”) (Boplan, 2012, pp. 1–165; Slavutych, 2013, pp. 25–26).

Yavornitsky D. clarified this issue. He described the fashion among the supervisors – multi-colored, red and green silk belts, scarves made of silk with a belt of different colors, leather belts. The scientist described bright sharovars on a lace, made of cotton thick fabric with pockets on both sides, less often leather and silk. He proved that such items were called “abundant” (Yavornytskyi, 1990 – 1993, pp. 201–206).

We could see also belts with flowers and patterns, which were not checkered or in monochromatic colors. In general, clothes were made of various fabrics using different techniques.

In other regions of ethnic Ukraine, green and yellow festive clothes were primarily the first choice for the aristocratic clothes, and there should be a red caftan made of brocade, silk, velvet, taffeta (Yavornytsky, 1990 – 1993, pp. 201–209). The symbols of power were inherited from Tatars, for example purple shades, which gave reason to call such a master noble, although the same color scheme has long been associated in the Christian tradition with the royal origin and family of King David.

The zhupan clothes were in blue or poppy colors and they were worn with a silver lace above the shirts. They were combined with leather boots, sometimes sharp-nosed under Byzantine and Iranian style influence, in red, green, yellow colors, decorated for the convenience of riding with silver or copper heels (depending on wealth) horseshoes (Yavornytsky, 1990 – 1993, pp. 202–207).

Both caftan and zhupan had more often on their sleeves so-called reversions derived from the Hungarian “hussar” ranks. A thin collar two fingers wide decorated such a costume sometimes, which was fastened to two “dragonflies”. Instead of buttons, metal hooks were used on the sleeves too.

For riding purposes, this garment was sewn with a wide hem and side pocket wallets, sometimes padded with Chinese checkered fabric, and the sleeves were made of dark-colored velvet. Short leather or cloth jackets called “skirts”, wide cloth was sometimes added to the ensemble (Yavornytsky, 1990 – 1993, pp. 202–207).

When dressing multi-layered ensembles, men tried not to merge the color of the upper zhupan and the lower caftan, but to combine, mixing the red, blue and blue colors, that were

dominant in the Turkish festive patterned combinations (on occasion, it is worth mentioning the decors of ceramics by Iznik and Kyutagya). The polychromatic clothing among wealthy representatives of the Cossack foreman was supplemented by expensive elements gapped with gold dry-fly (especially these details have been actualized since the time of Mazepa Baroque (Doba, 2007, pp. 1–1142). Hetman's mother Maria Magdalena Mazepina moved to Kyiv from Glukhov and started a new stage in the development of this elite art variety (Tairova-Yakovleva, 2017, pp. 3–175), whose roots went back to Byzantine times (Varyvoda, 2015, pp. 1–20).

In the Polish reputational traditions, even shoes, in particular women's, were decorated, which was rooted on the one hand in the tradition of decorating the skin with embossing (the so-called kurdybans-cordibans, derived from the Spanish tradition, on the other – in the Hungarian use of colored embroidery on items made of leather) (Drazkowska, 2011, pp. 1–366).

In addition, in the local baroque men's fashion, a special place was occupied by laces, collections of gold, silver or tinsel (which was made of alums, loops, braids, copper or tin skins that imitated precious metals). On the Circassia single-breasted clothes of swinging cut, derived from the Iranian-Caucasian nations, near the cuts on the sleeves, sleeves were advanced. At the same time, the gentry left their sleeves hanging down (a typical example is the portrait of Adam Kisel (1600 – 1663). (Fig. 2) in red Circassia hat on a colorful caftan). Instead, among the representatives of the Cossack foreman, these sleeves were tied behind while riding, behind his back, which gave the rider, girded with belts of bright Persian or Turkish silk wide raw (sometimes purple color) with silver silk laces at the ends of a resemblance to eastern “winged” sew (Yavornytsky, 1990 – 1993, pp. 201–208).

Some dignitaries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth posed for representative ceremonial portraits with one sleeve removed, thrown behind their backs (Biedrońska-Słota, & Molenda, 2019, p. 119) (a typical example is the portrait of Stanislaw Antony Shchuka, sub-chancellor in the second half of the 1730s). (Fig. 3). An interesting example of a satin cap of the mid 18th century is a cap embroidered with silver thread, padded with silk taffeta, from the collection of National Museum of History of Ukraine (number 2471), with an edge and traces of gold fringe (originally it was reddish in color and had a hetman's feather made of gold, decorated with rubies, pearls and quartz, carvings and minting) (Rudenko, 2020a).

Concerning to leather boots on the lands of Western Ukraine and in the Cossack community, it was also customary to wear shoes, which we do not see among the strata of the Polish establishment. Sandals, shoes, meshes, leather boots (simple, monastic, German, etc.) were also occasionally found in the everyday wardrobes of monks (Yaremenko, 2013, pp. 69–121).

Instead, representatives of nobility from the nobility meet in the period of Baroque and Rococo men's rather high and exquisite leather shoes (Sas, 2015, pp. 349–362), sometimes even from embossed colored or painted leather kurdyban (cordiban – from the name Cordova), the manufacture of which was widely mastered in ethnic Poland from the sixteenth century (Rudenko, 2020b). In particular, boots with high rectangular heels (portraits of Prince Janusz Radziwiłł 1632 in French costume works by David Bahia, and works by Daniel Schultz circa 1642 – 1654) (figs. 4.1, 4.2) or such as boots with heels in French fashion (portrait of Hieronymus Florian Radziwiłł by Jakub Wessel, 1746) (Fig. 5).

At the same time, sometimes the shoes of representatives of the nobility of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were decorated with fur. Furs were also present in hats, often padded with sable, marten, beaver, black-brown and red fox. On occasion, it is worth noting that ermine and fur squirrels were more inherent in the choice of the Ukrainian fashion followers, respectively (such elements of clothing are mentioned in the carb of Hetman Ivan

Samoilovych, the register of property of the deceased Mykyta Potapovych) (Kosmina, 2015, pp. 343, 356).

In general, the fox in the designated “fur” hierarchy in the circles of the wealthy strata of the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was considered the poorest fur, sable, respectively, the richest, which is known from the products of furrier workshops (Rudenko, 2020a). The Polish elite did not evaluate the lamb varieties of fur; they were the choice by of the lower classes of population.

In addition to caps and round hats padded with fur, from the time of Stefan Batory there have been low caps, Hungarian caps (sometimes decorated with feathers of an eagle or heron, sultans, plumes (Okhotsky, 1874, part II, p. 140), and even a few Dutch white-clad pipes) of Hungarian cut (typical examples are portraits of Stefan Batory (fig. 6) and images of a Polish infantryman from “Hlukhiv table” of the 1630s). (Fig. 7). Representatives of the nobility of the Baroque era were sometimes depicted with fur capes-ropes or coats (Rudenko, 2020a).

Since then, according to the “Notes of Jan Duklan Okhotsky” arranged by Y. Kraszewsky in two volumes it is known that in ancient times in the circles of the nobility of the Commonwealth some things were worn by several generations (Shevchuk & Markevitch, 2022, p. 13). It is clear that adherence to old fashion of persons who specially tried to dress according to the “lordship” (secular, representative, aristocratic) fashion of “old portraits”, vividly demonstrated belonging to the ancestral idea of Sarmatia (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, pp. 1–366).

In this sense, the circles of the Ukrainian and Polish elite, in particular the Cossack foreman and religious nobility, who had similar views on the roots of their pedigree, and considered themselves descendants of the glorious Sarmatia, at that period time the same ideological and aesthetic stereotypes were overwhelming. Moreover, many representatives of these circles had a double component – Ukrainian and Polish (Yakovenko, 2002, pp. 1–305). Even the legendary King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, whose lands were located within the territory of ethnic Ukraine near Lviv, Jan III Sobiesky, had the blood of both listed nations flowing in his veins.

In the Ukrainian wealthy Cossack circles, which, through dynastic marriages, occasionally intertwined with the circles of the Polish establishment, as in the time of Alexander the Great, the Greeks and the Persians, there were similar viewpoints on nurturing the idea of a somewhat exotic oriental in content of Sarmatia origin. The visual indicator – clothes, styles, cut, décor patterns, emphasized this idea and style of which reminded of ancient Iranian sources of inspirations (Niedźwiedz, 2015, p. 52).

On the other hand, this trend reminded vividly the approach of the British “forefathers” of Europeans, who still tried to wear shoes, certain elements of clothing according to the old-fashioned cut and custom dated no later than the Victorian era. In this sense the trend “preserved”, “sealed” the narratives of the glorious past, putting on display the aristocracy and creating precedents for vintage fashion.

Important works in the sense for understanding the visions of the elitist culture of wearing clothes of the Baroque era in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are such initial sources as “Traveling Notes” by V. Hryhorovych-Barsky (Plaka-Albov, 1819, part II: 1735 – 1747, pp. 95–101, 188, 252, 289), which described the circles of the clergy in Lviv, detailed exploration by Enzhey Kitowicz “Opis obyczajów i zwyczajów za panowania Augusta III” (“Description of customs and conduct during the reign of King August III”) on the ethnical and cultural traditions of the Polish nobility (Kitowicz, 1840, pp. 1–1041), reflected some nuances of everyday costume wearing in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the book.



V. Pototsky and V. Semenenko “Gentry, Honor and Pride: Facts, Myths, Comments” (Kharkiv, 2014) (Pototsky, 2014, pp. 1–672) is a useful source too. These works shed light on the specifics of the traditions in certain regions of ethnic Ukraine, where the centers of old Polish culture were located and impressive trends of fashion, etiquette, habits were concentrated in the circles of the local nobility.

**The purpose of the article** is to study the traditions of wearing clothes for various needs in everyday representatives of the establishment of the Polish and Ukrainian Commonwealth of the 17th – 18th centuries on the example of prosopographical information from historiographical sources of individual self-seers from the circles of the Polish-Ukrainian aristocrats and its verification based on the materials of portrait painting.

**The Results of the Research.** From the beginning of the eighteenth century according to A. Gwagnini (Gwagnini, 2007, pp. 1–1008), French fashion dominated the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, although Italian, Spanish, Hungarian (hussar), Persian, Chinese, Turkish, Cossack, some elements of Flemish, Spanish and German costume, known from numerous portraits of establishment circles, were worn. Women's fashion until the eighteenth century followed the Spanish-German, Dutch, Italian samples, subsequently radically changed (Pototsky, 2014, p. 489).

Thus, the first volume of “Notes of Jan Duklan Okhotsky” arranged by Y. Kraszewsky, in two volumes contain records on specific external features of individual subcultures of the then elite. Among the others, in the Baroque era, the so-called “balaguls” stood out, which professed a certain aesthetic cosmopolitanism. Polish mustaches, the legacy of French revolution – a Spanish beard, characterized them as well as a Jewish beard, which protruded from under the collar. In addition, these exalted young men wore a Tatar hat on their heads and a Kamchatka half-coat on their shoulders.

At the same time, on their feet, they wore curly layers of leather, or cloth, almost covered with leather in such a way that the fabric, in fact, was not visible. According to the fashion of that time, the “balaguls” wore a wallet for tobacco on the button. They kept mouthpieces with cigars and a pipe in special pockets. The ensemble of their clothes was usually complemented by Circassia whip in the right hand. These extravagant lads rode in leather pants on horseback on skinny gags with Tatar saddles. In addition, their silver horseshoes rattled merrily on red boots. The youth wore hats slightly to the side with a tricolor lace lowered to their right ear (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, pp. 7–9).

In contrast, not artificial meandering, but patriotic courage, greediness and gallantry, posturing, high-quality performance of their military duty at the end of the eighteenth century, according to Jan Okhotsky's notes in the circles of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility, was called “*teżizna*”. This term, which, according to the memoirs of this author, was firstly used by Mr. Tschotsky to characterize the dignity of opponents in a duel, was interpreted as a strength and courage and appealed to the bravery and dignity of glorious ancestors. In this sense, all the listed qualities that came to people's hearts and were associated with imitation of noble behavior in society (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, pp. 7–9).

Such a treatment of the following representatives of the elite as Joseph Poniatovsky, Eustachius Sangushko, Kazimir Sapieha, Adam Rzewusky and others of the generality and the Sejm of Poland, in fact, was associated with hereditary nobility.

Therefore, in aristocratic circles it was preferred to adhere to the customary code of conduct and honor of the times of the “brilliant” kings Stephen Batory, Sigismund III, Władysław IV and Jan III Sobieski. This was reflected in chivalrous deeds, a certain manner

of dressing somewhat conservatively or even old fashioned in Sarmatia traditions and a utopian understanding of the ideal country during its consolidation.

In particular, it should be stressed that if for the Ukrainian representatives of wealthy circles the kuntush style was associated with grandeur and ancestry, in the circles of the Polish establishment it was accepted as a national outfit. Moreover, there were certain requirements according to which it was recommended only for the noble lordship to wear elegant, expensive, bright colored kuntush with zhupan. Instead, representatives of the small (less wealthy) gentry were able to wear gray clothes of the same cut. De facto, it was forbidden to wear kuntush at all for burghers and commoners only zhupan was allowed (Golovacky, 1877, p. 474).

Aristocratic circles of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth associated the three partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century in connection with the events exclusively adhered to the Polish national costume. In 1788, when, after the first repartition of Poland, the “patriotic party” came to power and the “four-year Sejm” began, the young men and almost all the nobility of mature age returned to exclusive wearing the kuntush outfits. Moreover, it was not a shame to wear such an old kuntush, which was worn by sixteen generations before (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 47).

Such was the situation in the country that pushed people to unity according to the patriotic principle, which was demonstrated by the traditional worldview at that time. Thus, belonging to proud, unconquered people was manifested, approximately as in Ukraine today people of all regions have moved from Russian speech exclusively to the Ukrainian language and flaunt their embroidered shirts and national outfit, fully understanding the meaning of the concept of “homeland”. Thus, in 1788 in Lublin, among the privileged strata of the population, only Mr. Grokholsky and Godukhovsky from Galicia walked in tailcoats (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv – CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 614, pp. 1–260), and the following year brought no exceptions to the rule. Instead, at the same time in Warsaw, on the contrary, every year the tailcoats became more and more widespread and grasped more popularity and became an integral part of the clothing of aristocrats. At this time, the women's outfit was treated very carefully, shoes in the festive style came into fashion, and dresses were sewn from Italian silk fabrics such as Venetian satin (CSHAUL, f. 52, d. 2, c. 614, pp. 55–116).

Women's cotton stockings were in fashion, they were worn every day. The beam of fashion enlightened silk colored stockings with embroidery, which were the most valuable and kept for celebrations. The godfather of Jan III Sobiesky – Louis XIV introduced into the fashion these elements of men's wardrobe made of silk. It is well known that Marquis de Pompadour, the favorite of Louis XV, spread such style to the women's wardrobe.

For example, blue silk stockings with white arrows, which are mentioned in sources on contemporary outerwear and underwear (V-yi, 1905, pp. 43–44). Obviously, such items were imported, although it is known that silk stockings for young ladies and hussar items for men were made in Ukraine at the manufactory of Prot Pototsky in Makhnivka near Koziatyn (Shkolna, 2014, p. 67).

A particularly wealthy male lordship could afford themselves golden-cast belts, which were girded with zhupan made of corkscrew cloths (in patterns) or Lyon velvet, the pattern of which often imitated Iranian, Indian, Turkish, Syrian motives, for example Damascus ornament with large plant coupons, pomegranate flowers, paisley (Indian or Turkish cucumber) (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 116).



The country of origin of the fabric (Italy, France, and Spain) added a certain specific gloss to ready-made outfits, to which no less exquisite accessories were worn.

During this period, there was a division of the nobility into belonging to the spiritual elite, bureaucratic senatorial and military. The latter, as a rule, belonged to the entire old nobility. For every day they could dress as they wished, a certain protocol concerned only official exits. However, the indicator of tortuousness was the awards and, especially, the knight's insignia, which looked like a cane with a royal portrait on the chest (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 70), the demonstration of which was the maximum cluster of dignity in society. Primarily sabers, buttons, and cufflinks were strewn with gemstones.

Moreover, it was clear that some of the people from these circles had the nobility deserved for courage and self-sacrifice, the part hereditary or acquired by marital relations, ties. A special status also in the ensemble of men's uniform costume was in the ribbons of the Order of St. Stanislav and the White Eagle Order, as Prot Pototskyj, which he obtained from the King via Kyiv (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 179).

Later, a kind of silver and green belt with decorated ends as Slutsky called "positive" or with emblem compositions joined these markers of the nobility's identity. If firstly the kuntush belts of the Persian and Turkish types were produced on the lands of ethnic Ukraine (Brody, Stanislaviv, XVIII century). Then belts with stamps at the ends and positives in the eighteenth century were produced on the manufactories at the ethnic lands of Poland and Belarus (Shkolna, 2018, pp. 1–192).

At court, etiquette implied the following specifics: every day in the morning officials had to appear in the uniforms (Vozniak, 1914, pp. 35–55), and on Fridays and Saturdays, they dressed exclusively in all black, mostly made of dark Chinese fabric. At the same time, the so-called kuntush dress meant the obligatory presence of a saber. Along with precious kuntush-type belts, it was worn for celebrations. According to the custom, it was not allowed to wear a round hat and a sword, because with a round hat, according to the norms of that time, it was necessary to hold a stick in your hand. It was customary to wear only a confederate hat on the head (a national Polish headdress with a quadrangular top, popular in the circles of the Bar Confederates (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, pp. 41, 94, 116) since 1768, more often made of red cloth, with a turn of lamb wool in black or gray, sometimes decorated with a cockade or plume on the left side).

At the same time, judging on the production of local manufactories, such secular elements of clothing as leather gloves, sometimes with a fur edge made of marten or fox, began to gain popularity. The monks liked to gird themselves with a leather belt as a sign of the killing of the flesh. Instead, the circles of the archimandrites preferred hedonistic semi-shawl green and red, as well as chandelier with a white flower, padded with cherry gale, kuntush belts, which are found in descriptions of the property (according to Lyantskoronsky, Pankratiev).

Until the middle of the 18th century, the Ukrainian-Polish nobility, in addition to the upper kuntush and the lower fitted jupan on the buttons, wore delia (a short camisole with furs, gold and diamonds), as well as a feresia – a long coat with narrow long sleeves on a thin lining. The latter resembled a voluminous Turkish caftan, and was sewn of Venetian velvet, Italian brocade, Persian and Turkish silk (Pototsky, 2014, pp. 487–489) or their European imitations.

Among the young people, next to the kuntush ceremonial device, some nobles also wore a hussar costume of Hungarian cut with bravado. However, the latter was more often sought to be worn by those young men who were in the service of more elegant people. Moreover,

some authorities like representatives of the Pototsky family, who, after the death of the last representatives of the Ostroh family (Yakovenko, 2008, p. 308–309), practically took over the role of uncrowned kings of Ukraine, considered it a good tone to wear a uniform sewn according to the drawings of clothes of the fifteenth century in the Renaissance epoch style (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 117), as a symbol of decency, an idealized image (Znak, 2022, pp. 13–18).

In addition, some representatives of the very respectable Radziwiłł family, who were called the uncrowned kings of Belarus (Litvin, 2016, p. 40, 119), in particular Karl Radziwiłł, were published exclusively dressed in old Polish fashion style. More often, it was the uniform of the Vilna governor, which included a pomegranate-colored kuntush in combination with a zhupan, which had branches of crimson. The cut was somewhat baggy, characteristic of the old fashion in Lithuania. Gold buttons and sheaths for a saber strewn with large diamonds, a crimson-colored confederate hat and elk gloves behind an elegant belt complemented this ensemble.

Karl Radziwiłł wore a long mustache and shaved his forehead (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 127), we could see similar hairstyle and mustaches on many portraits of elite in the circles of Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian and Ukrainian magnates.

The same stereotypes of pro-Polish views on appearance were followed, apparently, by the ambassador to Denmark, Adam Rzewusky, who quartered in a palace near Radziwiłł. At his request, in order to observe the cut of ancient old fashion, many Sarmatia portraits of the aristocracy were brought. Under his supervision, styles of stretchers were developed taking into account the actual reconstruction of the costume of the good old days of Poland – 15th, 16–17th, 18th centuries – the Renaissance, Mannerism and early Baroque epochs.

Moreover, new outfits were made only from expensive brocade, velvet, silks. It was a prototype of modern fashion houses, because some noble lords could change clothes for exits and receptions four times, taking into account not only “freshness”, but also creating an impression on the society. Also, under the supervision of Adam Rzewusky, specially chosen jewelers worked, for whom precious stones were processed in the workshops of the Radziwiłłs, which decorated not only weapons, but also sometimes hats and other accessories needed to perform a full, finished replica-style suit of the old times (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 138).

Aristocratic women also wore a kuntush line of velvet, often with an outer lacing made of gold brocade. Sometimes they also wore a German tightly laced fitted dress made of thick fabric, stitched with a whalebone. The ensemble of clothes was often supplemented with fur caps made of sable with a diamond feather, chips, and embroidered pearls. The higher the status of a young woman was, the number of rings on her hand increased, golden chains were often dressed (Pototsky, 2014, pp. 489–491). At the same time, women could wear rings and wedding rings on their thumbs, men and little fingers, as we could see on the portraits of that era.

Lviv nobility appeared in elegant clothes. Here, for example, since 1763, the German Mr. Hempel regularly organized fun events of this type. In addition to representatives of the aristocracy, wealthy burghers could come to his dance evenings.

Since 1775, parties had been organized annually by entrepreneurs from Austria and Italy (Bussey and the Signio brothers). For these events, which were arranged for profitable acquaintances of representatives of aristocratic circles, the first rented halls on Market Square, 22 and on Ruska Street, numbers 10 and 12. The latter occupied a place next to 13, Market Square. In the city, about 20–25 dancing parties were organized annually during the month of January, where had to be worn in a certain way (Lvivsky, 2013).

It was in the mentioned period of time from 1772, from the day of the first partition of Poland, a new crown land of Austro-Hungarian Empire was formed called the Kingdom

of Galicia and Lodomeria. The needs of the gentry were further realized here in the dance ballrooms at casinos and theaters, which from the end of the eighteenth century became an integral part of the great world urban culture. In the same day, the fashion for a variety of coffee houses spread, where wealthy free people could also spend time, freely demonstrating everyday outfits and their companions.

They tried to dress for balls and solemn receptions according to a certain dress code. For example, men in silk-skinned corkscrews, or zhupan made of Lyon velvet and golden-cast belts with gold-woven patterns (woven in a number of the Ukrainian towns – Brody, Stanislaviv, Buchach, Kutkory, Korets) (Shkolna, 2018, pp. 123–165).

The jewelry was usually strewn with precious stones that sparkled in the sun, and heralded the owner's fortune (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 116).

Among these, Jan Okhotsky, according to his memoirs, at one of the receptions, where all the guests had to wear uniforms, was dressed in Kiev uniform. The latter then had the appearance of a blue kuntush (outerwear of a gown-shaped cut, which indicated Sarmatia origin, that is, eastern, Persian origin of the privileged nobility). At this meeting of aristocrats in Lublin, he was the only one from the representatives of Kyiv; the rest of the invitees had punch or garnet uniforms (Litvin, 2016, pp. 14–20).

The blue kuntush was embroidered with silver stars, padded with smoky Lyon matter. Before him, Jan Okhotsky wore red satin sharovars, red boots with silver forgings. The ensemble of this garment was completed by a precious Slutsky (made in Nesvizh or Slutsk) belt, a sable hat on the head with a velvet top, decorated with a thick gold lace with a sultan made of artificial glass hair (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, pp. 172–176).

The designated toilet was complemented by a diamond club and precious buttons (a gift from the governor), which distinguished this, almost perfect, costume from all those present. At the same time, the women at this time were extremely interested in bottles of perfume, the name of which then sounded like “A Thousand Colours” (“Mille fleur”), judging by the name, they had a French origin (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, pp. 172–175).

Among other things, in this edition it is mentioned that at one of the receptions, fifty-two-year-old Schensny Pototsky appeared dressed in a tailcoat (in the English manner) “disfigured”, doused with perfume smelled of him as if from French coating. At the same time, the valet at that time met him in shoes and men's stockings, which at that time had become integral elements of local fashion. Some nobles then wore fox jackets in winter (Okhotsky, 1874, part II, pp. 118–243).

During the dancing party, it was customary to change the outfit: some fashionistas could dress the same way – for example, in white zhupan, punch kuntush with gold loops (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 174). Later, the kuntush, banned by the Russian authorities, which raised the consciousness of Ukrainians, Poles and Belarusians, finally replaced the tailcoat with metal buttons, under which they wore a sword, as well as stockings and boots (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 309). Women from secular society allowed themselves some “excessive” frivolity in the fashion of that time.

If at the beginning of the eighteenth century people wore standing collars and shallow necklines, although sometimes they were “dressed” in the Persian-Turkish uniforms (sometimes we could find kuntush belts with Turkish motifs of fish, carp scales, Chinese clouds “chi”, together with sharovars in a men's stretcher; a women's suit with a short cape on the head like a hijab. A typical example is the portrait of Gertruda Pototska by Komorowsky) (Fig. 9). At the 70s of this century Queen Maria-Kazimira introduced a “fountain” with lace,

masks, wigs, flies made of black taffeta, plumes according French fashion (Pototsky, 2014, p. 490) (Fig. 10)

However, in Europe, gradually high hairstyles of the Rococo era with boats, silk garlands, fresh flowers with water bottles, ostrich feathers, herons, invented by three French masters Lasker, Dage and Legro, used by ladies with a huge amount of powder on their hair and face, went out of fashion style.

Moreover, already in the Polish and Ukrainian Commonwealth of the eighteenth century some ladies who walked barefoot were mentioned, with all their toes covered with gemstone rings that were specially made as part of the costume. They had clasps like those made for earrings, and instead of putting it over the edge of a finger with it moving into the hole, they opened and fastened on toes.

Instead of shoes, such women wore Capuchin shoes, which were attached to the foot with ribbons like sandals. Under these games with accessories, lightweight dresses were worn without underwear, which culminated in a train that, with a raised garland to the right, opened the foot to the knee (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 305).

In those days, these facts were fabulous frivolities. In addition, the designated “relaxed” dresses in a Greek style, imitating the dresses of the gods of Olympus, characters like Diana, Psyche, Venus, were suitable for completely open breasts, which no one was going to hide.

Similarly, but also with an innumerable number of diamonds from head to toe, she dressed, for example, looking at the mistresses of the French kings, the mistress of the Polish king Luli (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 305).

It should be noted here that on the one hand the fashion for emphasizing individual female charms corresponded with the concepts of free love and combined “women for love” in the harem culture of the East, in particular Turkey, where the culture of belly dancing and seduction games flourished, and on the other hand – it imitated the courtly traditions of the French society, open to new sensations, love with several partners, a developed institution of emancipated maid of honour.

Jan Okhotsky, an observer of these outfits, testified that special spots of free love covered Lviv, which has long been the cultural capital of ethnic Ukraine, in the late eighteenth century. At the specified time, frivolity with references to the French gallant century flooded the city including even visitors of the archbishop dancing parties of the city.

Deprived of chastity women also adopted the Italian custom of appearing in high society with a chichisbey – a lover and escort who everywhere accompanied charming ladies as an exotic curiosity. The city was flooded with love intrigues, which affected the requirements for a certain theatricality of the external image of a person ready to flirt. After all, according to the fashion of that time, it was even believed that the absence of a lover or mistress was a dishonour. The men dressed in all black at such parties (Okhotsky, 1874, part II, pp. 17–18).

Instead, noble well educated conservative ladies, who were official wives, more often wore large-scale dresses of the French or Italian type, covering the neckline and hands (with references to clothes in the portrait of the cousin of Jan III Sobiesky in the middle of the eighteenth century Anna Stanislavskaya) (fig. 11). Sometimes women of the Polish and Ukrainian Commonwealth of the Baroque period also wore fitted kuntush uniforms, especially with scattered sleeves with forks. In addition, their clothes could be embroidered with multi-coloured silk threads, as well as those of the king's messengers (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 140).

But striped belts, for example, with gold stripes on a punchy background, made of Lyon silk, as described by Jan Okhotsky (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 139), were more used for men's

suit, including uniform (a typical example is the portrait of the Kremenets nobleman Antonyi Mokosia-Denisko in zhupan and kuntush of the eighteenth century). In this sense, they were in the traditions of Middle Eastern and West Asian – Afghan, Pakistan, Turkish, Persian military ranks, although they were more elegant and in the European style (Shkolna, 2018, pp. 104–165).

In general, the kuntush was the national garment of the nobility until the end of the eighteenth century. For its wealthier representatives, buttons were to be made of jewelry for example we could see a Turkish costume with corals or turquoise, clothes decorated with gold embroidery (Pototsky, 2014, p. 487).

The greatest fashionistas of the second half of the 16th and the early 17th centuries decorated zhupan with buttons made of Venetian glass made as a series of gold fibulas on kuntush (typical examples are a portrait of Roman Sangushko and an unknown in a red fur coat of the middle of the sixteenth century). The buttons made of corals or turquoise on the kuntush outfit described in the monograph of Pototskyj V. and Semenenko V. in the portraits of the nobility of the 17th and 18th centuries were rare. Most likely, turquoise stones were used as inserts on metal (usually gold) buttons.

Examples of a portrait with buttons made of corals that were not mounted in a precious metal base include portraits of the founder of Sharhorod Florian Sharoy by an unknown artist of the late sixteenth century from the Vinnytsia Regional Museum and Konstantin Korniyak the Younger (1582 – 1624) from Bilobok at the beginning of the 17th century by Mykola Petrakhnovich-Morakhovskiy.

Instead, faceted stones and cabochons of blue and red-pink colors (most likely turquoise or enamel of turquoise color, light sapphires or emeralds, rubies, amethysts and carnelians are present in decorations such as fibulas on the clasp of kuntush on the portrait of the Ukrainian foreman – in particular, V. Kochubey, dated by the first half of the 18th century, whose zhupan is richly decorated with small buttons of pearls (collection of the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg). At the same time, the coat of arms is most likely made there in the technique of hot-notched enamel. Coral as a neck ornament are found in women's portraits of the Baroque era. For example, in the portrait of the noblewoman Anna Kulchytska from the collection of the National Art Museum of Ukraine.

The harness and weapons in the Turkish and Tatar style, according to the mentions of the Polish eyewitness Enzhey Kitowich, were worn in ceremonial costumes, made in Lviv and its outskirts (Kitowicz, 1840, part XI). Although it is known that, the best samples of weapons of the Baroque era were made in Turkey.

Often the masculine image of representatives of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility (Rusyna, 2021, pp. 192–193) of the Baroque era was complemented by chubs in the form of a strand of hair, which either stuck a little upwards or lay on the forehead. The images of Yarema Vyshnevetsky's father – Mykhailo Vyshnevetsky at the beginning of the eighteenth century (died 1616), Krzysztof Zbarazhsky from the Korybut family (1579 – 1628), statesman and military leader Allbrecht Władysław Radziwiłł (1589 – 1636), Podolsk voivode Tomasz Zamojsky (1638), husband of Sofia Ostrogska Stanisław Lubomirsky (1649) are the examples of this trend (Pokhodiashcha, 2008, pp. 1–20).

At the same time, the clothes of the children copied the outfits of adults (Pototsky, 2014, pp. 451). Depending on the Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish religious traditions prohibitions on certain nuances of wearing clothes and jewelry, white wigs also changed. Important iconographic the source for studying everyday hairstyles and costumes of Kyiv residents in the 18th century, as well as drawn from foreign engravings, were drawings by the outstanding



architect of the Baroque period Ivan Hrygorovych-Barsky (Shkolna, 2015, pp. 320–354) (Fig. 12), pasted into the manuscript of the Travels of his brother Vasyl Barsky, stored in the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.

The restrictions on the wearing of gold and silver clothing by non-nobles came into force in the middle of the 18th century (Rukopys knyhy, 1720 – 1740, pp. 1–560; Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 64, d. 1, c. 1032, p. 1), and at the end of the 18th century (CSHAUK, f. 59, d. 1, c. 7714, pp. 1–12) became even more regulated regarding the dress code. At that time, the Polish and Ukrainian nobility started using tailcoats with metal buttons in combination with stockings and shoes, and they wore a sword (Okhotsky, 1874, part I, p. 309). After all, the person who rode in the carriage did not need the boots for riding and military campaigns.

**The Conclusion.** Therefore, we assumed that in the Baroque era the national costume remained one of the most striking attributes of noble identity and a way of distinguishing the social classes of aristocrats. Although gradually the feathers of the eagle and heron, yellow, red, green leather boots, camisoles, bright stockings and ribbons in hair, wigs, the Persian and Turkish kuntush woven in silver and golden fabrics, the Hungarian semi-boots, fox fur versions of hat edges were replaced by classicist and early empire stricter costumes, the fashion trend for wearing snuffboxes entered an everyday life.

Over time, tall hairstyles constructed in shuttles shape, used with a huge amount of powder on their hair, flies on their faces, wigs, came out of use; white ceramic pipes in hats in men.

Instead, Josephine Bonaparte presented the Slavonic women's dresses, which also became simpler in cut, fitted under the chest and lighter, devoid of corsets. Sometimes Polish noblewomen from the circles of mistresses and favorites, rather than respectable ladies, allowed themselves to wear thin, almost transparent, weightless dresses of light colors that appealed to the traditions of stretching ancient vestals – with bare breasts and barefoot, as if hinting at imposing imposingness and readiness for frivolity relations in aristocratic society. They put rings on their toes, and considered the absence of a chichisbey nearby to be a dishonor.

The tempers of Lviv at that time were somewhat different from Kyiv. In Lviv free relationships prevailed, which also affected the frivolity of the female costume. Men of aristocratic origin gradually moved from the kuntush outfit style, patterned on oriental prototypes, the fashion for which for the second time stirred up the society of aristocrats from 1788, to French fashion in clothing, coating and using perfumes.

There was a certain dress code in the nobility society. Burghers were allowed to wear only zhupan, small gentry – zhupan, as well as kuntush of grey shades, aristocrats from the most respected and wealthy Polish and Ukrainian families – ensembles of the kuntush outfit with bright kuntush and belts that could be decorated with silver and gold.

At this time, the Podillia nobility cared more for special insignia in the ranks of the Order of the White Eagle and ribbons from the Order of St. Stanislaw, wore punch or garnet uniforms of kuntush type. In general, in Western Ukraine and ethnic Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, the nobility gradually dressed up in fracas in the English way, instead of two or four changes of clothing from the ensemble of kuntush and zhupan at solemn events, meetings of the Sejm and parties, visits to the theater. Some conscious aristocrats continued to wear Kyiv type uniforms at the Sejm and at official receptions until the end of the century.

The outfits consisted of a blue kuntush, embroidered with silver stars, padded with smoky Lyon fabric. For example, Jan Duklan Okhotsky wore red satin sharovars, common in the Ukrainian Cossack foreman, as well as red boots with silver horseshoes. He completed the ensemble of

the kuntush outfit, considered folk clothes in the pro-Polish social layer, by an expensive belt of the Slutsk type, a sable hat with a velvet top, which was decorated with a thick lace of gold, and crowned by the sultan made from glass artificial hair. The ensemble was worn with a diamond club and precious buttons. At that time, leather boots were produced in ethnic Poland.

In the Baroque era of kuntush and zhupan some representatives of noble elite had buttons made of Venetian glass – “a thousand colors”, fasteners in the form of gold fibulas, pearls. At the same time, coral buttons and necklaces were worn more in the circles of the Ukrainian Cossack foreman, where their wearing had a long tradition in national costume. The most fashionable French women's perfumes were called “a thousand colours”. Women also used coating in fondant sloughs, powdered their hair. Obviously, the concept of coating crème did not yet exist; ointments and oils in pharmacy slugs replaced it.

Gradually, the wearing of gold and silver clothing was prohibited, after three redistributions of Poland, the Orders of the White Eagle, the kuntush outfit and kuntush belts (positivites) remained till the beginning of the nineteenth century, an indicator of belonging to the nobility and signaling to the surrounding about the attachment to the Old Polish culture and the desire for the restoration of glorious times of the Polish and Ukrainian Commonwealth. On the other hand, the kuntush outfits eventually became old-fashioned, that is why the widespread production of individual parts of such costume gradually faded away.

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**Fig. 1. Portrait of Krzysztof Zbarazhky by Unknown artist half of the 17th century. (Borys Voznytskyi Lviv National Art Gallery. Ukraine)**



**Fig. 2. Portrait of Adam Kisil, Castellan and Voivode of Kyiv, by Unknown artist. Copy by Ya. Svarychewsky (1884) from the original metal engraving 1635. (National Art Museum of Ukraine, Kyiv)**



**Fig. 3. Portrait of Stanisław Antoni Szczuka. Unknown Polish artist. (Around 1750). (Museum of King Jan III's palace at Wilanów. Poland)**



**Fig. 4.1. Portrait of Janusz Radziwill, Lithuanian voivode, who captured Kyiv in 1651, by David Bailly 1632 and portrait of Kyiv & Cracow voivode, brother-in-law of Jan III Sobieski, Dominik Zaslawsky-Ostrozhsy by Bartolomeo Strobel 1635 (musketeer style after the Dutch fashion). (National Museum in Wroclaw & Museum of the Palace of King Jan III in Wilanów. Poland)**



**Fig. 4.2. Portrait of Janusz Radziwill, son of Sophia of Ostrozhska, in a Sarmatian costume by Daniel Schultz. 1652 – 1654. (National Art Museum of the Republic of Belarus)**





**Fig. 5. Portrait of Hieronim Radziwill by Jacob Wessel (french fashion). 1746. (National Museum in Warsaw, Poland)**



**Fig. 6. Portrait of Stephen Balthor with elements of Hungarian fashion by Martin Kober. Known in multiple later iterations. 1586. (Wawel Castle, Kraków, Poland)**



**Fig. 7. Polish Infantry man painted on tablet from Goluchow castle. (Around 1620 - 1630s). (Museum of Goluchow castle, Poland)**



**Fig. 8. Portrait of Antoni Protazy Potocky by Josef Grassi (in a double-breasted tailcoat, which became a distinctive symbol of rebellious France) Late 18th century. (Museum of King Jan III's palace at Wilanow, Poland)**



**Fig. 9. Portrait of Gertruda Potocka (born Komorowska) by Unknown Polish artist (oriental fashion). Unknown date (late 18th – early 19th). (National Museum in Warsaw, Poland)**



**Fig. 10. Portrait of Maria Czimira, wife of King Jan III Sobiesky (French fashion). 1676. (Museum of King Jan III's palace at Wilanów, Poland)**



**Fig. 11. Portrait of Anna of the Stanisławsky Family by unknown artist. (Around 1670s) Dressed in Dutch fashion. (Museum of King Jan III's palace at Wilanów, Poland)**



**Fig. 12. Sketches of the citizens of Kyiv and heads from Dutch engravings by I. Hryhorovych-Barsky, inserted into the manuscript of the journey of his brother, V. Barsky. (Around 1740s). Kyiv.**



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**Lesia SMUTOK**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor of Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (smutokigor@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-8918-2258

**Yaroslav LYSEYKO**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History, Museum Studies and Cultural Heritage of Lviv Polytechnic National University, 5 Mytropolyta Andreia Street, Building 4, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79016 (lyseyko@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-3404-7221

**Леся СМУТОК**

*кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (smutoklesia@gmail.com)*

**Ярослав ЛИСЕЙКО**

*кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії, музеєзнавства і культурної спадщини Національного університету “Львівська політехніка”, вул. Митрополита Андрія, 5, 4-корпус, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79016 (lyseyko@gmail.com)*

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**THE NOBILITY AMONG THE CLERGY OF PRZEMYŚL GREEK-CATHOLIC  
DIOCESE AT THE END OF THE 18th – THE BEGINNING  
OF THE 20th CENTURIES: QUANTITATIVE PARAMETERS  
AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION WAYS**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to elucidate one of the aspects of the nobility's social evolution at the end of the 18th – the beginning of the 20th centuries, in particular, the nobility entry into the members of the parish clergy. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, scientific research, verification, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (prosopographic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods. The scientific novelty consists in reviewing and refuting of the prevailing assertions in the national historiography about the mass involvement of the nobility in the clergy members. It has been determined that their quantity was only 10 – 14% among the ordinary clergy. Social factors that prompted the nobles to choose spiritual service have been analyzed. The Conclusion. During the Austrian era, the nobility of Galicia continued to consider priesthood as one of acceptable spheres*

of activity. During the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries people of a noble origin made up 10 – 14% of the clergy. The indicator was much lower than the data, which were used previously by domestic historians, claiming that almost a third of this clergy were noblemen. Such discrepancy was due to incorrect calculations based on incorrect methodological principles. However, even the percentage of 10 – 14% was a rather significant indicator, taking into account the fact that the nobility percentage was smaller and did not exceed 3% among total population of Galicia. Hence, the nobility (shliakhta) considered church service not only as entirely possible, but also desirable for self-realization in social field. Primarily, it was due to the social evolution of the Ukrainian nobility and the clergy in the Austrian Empire. If the former declassified gradually and turned into ordinary farmers, losing their social significance, on the contrary, the latter – with the growth of public demand for education and professionalization, managed to find their niche and occupy an important great place among the elite of the modernizing Galician society. It was evidenced by unique examples from the history of individual families, in which the clergymen were invariably present alongside government officials, lawyers, doctors, and teachers.

**Key words:** nobility, Greek-Catholic clergy, Przemyśl eparchy, Galician society of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### ШЛЯХТА СЕРЕД КЛІРУ ПЕРЕМИШЛЬСЬКОЇ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОЇ ЄПАРХІЇ у кінці XVIII – початку XX ст.: КІЛЬКІСНІ ПАРАМЕТРИ ТА ШЛЯХИ СОЦІАЛЬНОЇ АДАПТАЦІЇ

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – розкрити один з аспектів соціальної еволюції шляхти у кінці XVIII – початку XX ст., зокрема її входження складу парафіяльного духовенства. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, науковості, верифікації, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (просопографічних, історико-типологічних, історико-системних) методів. **Наукова новизна:** переглянуто та спростовано твердження про масове залучення шляхти до складу духовенства, що панують у вітчизняній історіографії. З'ясовано, що їхня питома вага серед рядового кліру становила заздалегідь 10–14 %. Проаналізовано соціальні фактори, що спонукали шляхтичів обирати духовне служіння. **Висновки.** За австрійської доби шляхта Галичини продовжувала розглядати священництво як одну з прийнятних для себе сфер діяльності. Упродовж XIX – початку XX ст. особи шляхетського походження становили серед духовенства до 10–14 %. Це показник значно нижчий, аніж дані, якими попередньо оперували вітчизняні історики, стверджуючи, що ледь не третина цього духовенства були нобілями. Така невідповідність зумовлена некоректними підрахунками, опертими на хибні методологічні принципи. Втім, навіть 10–14 % є доволі вагомим показником, враховуючи обставину, що серед загальної кількості населення Галичини відсоток шляхти був у кілька разів меншим й не перевищував 3 %. Таким чином, шляхта розглядала церковне служіння не тільки як цілком можливе, але й бажане для реалізації себе на суспільній ниві. Це зумовлено насамперед соціальною еволюцією української шляхти і духовенства в Австрійській імперії. Якщо перші поступово декласувалися й перетворювалися на звичайних хліборобів, втрачаючи суспільну вагу, то другі навпаки, – зі зростанням суспільного запиту на освіченість і професіоналізацію зуміли знайти свою нішу та посіли гідне місце серед верхів галицького суспільства, що модернізувалося. Це засвідчують непоодинокі приклади з історії окремих родин, де священнослужителі незмінно присутні поряд з державними урядовцями, адвокатами, лікарями, учителями.

**Ключові слова:** шляхта, греко-католицьке духовенство, Перемишльська єпархія, галицьке суспільство XIX ст.

**The Problem Statement.** The Galician nobility within the Austrian Empire continued to remain a separate stratum with a clearly determined status. However, the Galician nobility sought for its place among other socio-professional groups actively in the process of development and modernization of society during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One of them was the clergy of the Eastern Rite in the Catholic Church at all its levels, starting with the highest hierarchs and ending

with the parish clergy. This process of interaction and social diffusion was certainly interesting, because its analysis allows us to find out or clarify a number of aspects, for example quantitative parameters of the noble origin people integration into the clergy; awareness of prestige / non-prestige of a church career among the nobility, etc. Hence, the answer to these questions will make it possible to refute or confirm stereotypes that arose in the 19th century. In particular, this is the idea of a dominant role of the nobility among the clergy, which supposedly almost completely formed its backbone and determined its behaviour and public demands largely.

In **historiography**, the issue under analysis is present to the same extent both in the papers of church history researchers of the 19th century and in the researches on the nobility of the Austrian era. The Polish historian Kr. Ślusarek did research on the nobility of the end of 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries. In his monograph, he singled out the chapter on social evolution of the petty nobility and indicated the niches it occupied or could potentially occupy (Ślusarek, 1994, pp. 127–132), although the church service was not considered among them. L. Slyvka, another scholar of the nobility history, wrote the article “Noble Origin of the Greek-Catholic Clergy of the Przemyśl Diocese (the 19th – the 30s of the 20th centuries)”, however, apart from quantitative calculations, which caused certain comments, the content of the rest of publication provisions did not correspond to its title (Slyvka, 2014, pp. 150–156).

**The purpose of the research** is to elucidate one of the aspects of the nobility’s social evolution at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, in particular its entry into the parish clergy members.

**The Results of the Research.** The pastoral activity was one of the few spheres that the nobility regarded as a worthy nobility in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the 18th century the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) nobility did not shy away from a priestly path. Their representation among the parish clergy of the Przemyśl eparchy numbered up to a hundred families. They usually headed parishes in family settlements, as well as in the royal villages of Sambir economy, Drohobyttskyi, Stryiskyyi, Peremyshl’skyi, Horodotskyi, and Lviv starostv (Smutok, 2017, pp. 369–386).

During the Austrian era, the church service was not out of the nobility’s focus, and it replenished the composition of the white clergy actively. Hence, in 1831, according to the schematism data of the Przemyśl eparchy, out of seven hundred and fifty parishes in 32 deaneries, there were priests of a noble origin whose characteristic surnames were Kulchyt’skyi, Yavorskyi, Chaikiv’skyi, etc., and there were 70 people. It was 9% of the entire composition of the white clergy (Schematismus, 1831, pp. 21–197). In the following decades, their number increased gradually, although not too much. For example, in 1856 their number reached about nine dozen of people (12 %) (Schematismus, 1856, pp. 15–151), and in 1887 it exceeded one hundred (109) and made up 14% of the total number of the parish clergy of the Przemyśl Diocese (Skhymatysm, 1887, pp. 24–283). Geography of parishes, where there were people of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) nobility, had not undergone significant changes either. At the beginning of the 19th century the majority of them were concentrated (up to 30%) in Vysochanskyi (6 parishes), Starosambir’skyi (9), Drohobyt’skyi (5), Zhukotyn’skyi (5), and Mokrianskyi (2) deaneries, where the greatest number of the noble families were concentrated. In several decades, there was a tendency to expand geographic characteristics. Obviously, this trend was caused by permanent moving from one parish to another, which was practised by the consistory in the 19th century widely. However, despite this trend, the leadership in the number of priests of a noble origin remained in Saryi Sambir (14), Mokriany (7), Drohobych (7), and Vysochansk (4) deaneries.

L. Slyvka, calculating the nobility percentage among the parish clergy, noted that their number was much higher and made up to a third of the clergy (Slyvka, 2014, p. 152). Hence, the scholar tried to substantiate the opinion, predominant as early as the middle of the 20th century, that the majority or a significant percentage of priestly families originated from a privileged status (Sokhotskyi, 1951, p. 31). L. Slyvka's method of calculations was also based on identifying surnames that may indicate belonging to the nobility. Consequently, the following question arises: what is the reason for such difference in the percentages obtained by us (9–14%) and by L. Slyvka (32%)? In our opinion, the researcher's calculations have several drawbacks, which ultimately reduced their significance. In particular, L. Slyvka included a number of priestly families names that were not part of the nobility. At least it is not indicated by any documents of both the Old Polish period and the Austrian era. These are the surnames of priestly families, in particular, the Barvynski, the Kordashevychi, the Lysiaky, the Maksymovychi, the Yaroshevychi, the Bilevychi, the Chekhovychi, the Hornytski, the Karpynski, the Kotovychi, the Vankovychi, etc. (Slyvka, 2014, pp. 152–153). Another part of surnames, indeed, was recorded among the Galician nobility, but they could be also used among other strata of population, in particular among the clergy, so their presence does not automatically indicate a noble origin.

For example, let's consider the following family surnames: the Fedorovychi and the Levytski. The first family surnames were known among the nobility of Przemyśl since the end of the 1720s (CSHAUL, f. 13, d. 1, c. 233, p. 61; c. 237, p. 165; c. 243, pp. 57, 59; c. 248, p. 31). In 1782, the Fedorovychi family, represented by Anton and the brothers Luka, Pavlo, Matzei and Blazhey confirmed their nobility at Lviv and Terebovlia Town Courts (Smutok & Smutok, 2016, p. 438), and Gabriel – in the Estates Department in 1799 or 1819 (Smutok & Smutok, 2020a, p. 66). There were also two families the Fedorovychi Yatskovski, who received legalization at Lviv Zemstvo Court in 1782. Those were Matzei, Joseph and Sebastian (Smutok & Smutok, 2016, pp. 495–496). During the following decades, the descendants of Gabriel, Blazhey, Matzei renewed their noble status many times in the Estates Department in Lviv. According to the documents, it was the Polish family that was quite wealthy in the 19th century. For example, Jan, the son of Andriy Fedorovych, owned the estates of Okna, Chernihivtsi, and Verniaky. His son Vladyslav Valentyn owned 9 villages and was an ambassador to the State Council. None of the family member was mentioned as a clergyman at the parish level (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 40, pp. 4, 186; c. 43, pp. 41–43; c. 44, pp. 481–485, 523; c. 45, p. 142; c. 46, pp. 199–204). Thus, several priests of the Fedorovychi family had no relation to the nobility with a similar surname. It can be assumed that there were many families with the surname the Fedorovychi on the territory of Galicia and they were present both among peasants, townspeople and other layers of society.

There was also a fairly common surname the Levytski. In 1782 and later, 9 representatives of the above-mentioned family confirmed their nobility at Lviv, Bets, Buzky, Chkhivsky Zemstvo and Town Courts (Smutok & Smutok, 2016, p. 252). Subsequently, the materials of the Estate Department for the 19th century recorded only the two Levytski families who were involved into the clergy activity. It was a priest Jan, whose sons lived in Mokriany and received confirmation of the nobility in 1834 (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 41, p. 34), and Iliia – a parish priest in Shchavny, Jan's son in Rosokhachi, Hryhoriy – a grandson's priest in Vysotske Verkhnie, who, together with his son Jan, received the nobility certificate in the Estates Department in 1890 (Viddil Staniv) (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 45, pp. 66–67). The rest of the Levytski families of the coat of arms of Rohalia and Pravdych were of the

Polish origin and quite distant from the Greek-Catholic clergy (Smutok & Smutok, 2020b, pp. 8–11). The surname Levytyskyi (derived from a word “levyt”, which was used to nominate the priests among the Jews of the Old Testament period) was widely used among the Greek-Catholic clergy and indicated a hereditary belonging to a spiritual rank. Hence, L. Slyvka managed to find out fifty representatives of the Levytyskyi family among the parish priests of the Przemyśl eparchy. The majority of them originated from old priest families, which, in fact, should be evidenced by the surname they used, and only a few representatives of this family community managed to become ennobled.

A similar situation could be traced among the Litynskyi family, in which only Jan, a parish priest from the village of Chukva, who came from Bilyna Velyka, belonged to the Litynskyi Piskorovychi family and received the nobility certificate in 1906 (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 46, pp. 299–301). The rest thirteen people with the Litynskyi surname, mentioned by L. Slyvka, were probably the families of a priest or burgher origin. This group should also include the following family surnames: the Krynytski, the Polianski, the Leshchynski, the Borkovski, the Yanovski, the Kachkovski, the Kozlovski, the Savytski, the Vyslotski, the Volianski, etc. (Slyvka, 2014, pp. 152–153).

Hence, the nobility representation among the clergy of Przemyśl eparchy did not reach 30% or more. Obviously, it was much lower, between 10% and to 14%. However, even the following ratio – every tenth to seventh priest was a nobleman – indicates a considerable concentration of the nobility among the Greek-Catholic clergy. The data on the ratio of the nobility to the rest of the population illustrate the above mentioned. According to the calculations of Kr. Ślusarek, based on the military conscription, adult noble men made up only 3.0 – 3.7% of the rest of the inhabitants of Galicia at the end of the 18th – the beginning of the 19th century. During the following decades, until the middle of the 19th century, the increase among the nobility amounted to only 5%, while the population of Galicia increased by 60%. (Ślusarek, 1994, pp. 139–140). Hence, the amount of the nobility among the population was several times lower than the amount of the nobility among the Greek-Catholic clergy of Przemyśl Diocese.

It is obvious that priestly service attracted the Ukrainian nobility and was considered as one of the possible means to increase one’s social capital and occupy a worthy position in society. The above-mentioned attitude became more distinct during the 19th century, which was due to the gradual social evolution of both states. The authorities, under the Austrian rule, made efforts to raise the educational level of the Greek-Catholic clergy, and it paid off. Under the conditions of the Galician society modernization, when the demand for educated people engaged in intellectual work increased and they began to rise in the social hierarchy, the clergy also found themselves in this upward trend and despite the fact that the clergy’s material support remained modest (Himka, 1984, pp. 426–452; Kolb & Mysak, 2022, pp. 39–49; Pakholkiv, 2014, pp. 59–70; Kolb, 2015, pp. 34–54). At the end of the 19th century, from the point of view of social stereotypes, among “successful” professional groups, priesthood occupied its place alongside government officials, doctors, lawyers, and educators. The contemporaries stated about it the following: “at that time, relatives thought only that their son would finish High School studies, would pass the matriculation exam, would go to university and “make one’s way in life”, would become a priest, or a High School Professor, or a doctor, a judge, a lawyer, or in the end – a provincial government official, i.e. a government official in the imperial royal administration” (Shukhevych, 1991, p. 137; Godsey, 1999, pp. 73–77).

On the other hand, the Greek-Catholic nobility evolved in the opposite direction. Being not too wealthy, the Greek-Catholic nobility was declassified during the 19th century and at



the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century turned into ordinary farmers. They were distinguished from the peasants only by certain elements of an everyday life, which among those around them were received rather as curiosity and anachronism (Ślusarek, 1994, pp. 127–132; Smutok & Lyseyko, 2019, pp. 69–70).

Hence, a priestly path was considered by the ordinary nobility as one of the means of improving their social position. Indirectly it was indicated by the fact that in noble families, where there were priests, as a rule, there were also lawyers, civil servants, teachers, military personnel, etc. A vivid example could be the Litynski Piskorovychi family from Bilyna Velyka. By the middle of the 19th century it was a typical Ukrainian noble family, one of hundreds of such families that lived in the noble estates in Sambir, Stryi and Przemyśl districts. They were engaged in agriculture, having at their disposal, according to the land cadastre of the 1780s, three hectares of land for two farms (CSHAUL, f. 19, d. XIV, c. 207, pp. 24–348). In the 1820s, their land ownership increased by several more hectares. Since that time, Yakym, John's son, had 6 hectares, and Mykolai, Hryhoriy's son – 3.5 hectares (CSHAUL, f. 20, d. XIV, c. 91, pp. 19–350). In the 1850s, the family was represented by Ivan (1797 – 1858) only (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 41, p. 301; f. 201, d. 4a, c. 6250, pp. 4, 34). He had two sons, Mykhailo and Petro, and was married to Sophia Uyeiska, a Catholic. Mykhailo was known as a deputy of the Regional Diet in 1877 – 1882 (CSHAUL, f. 146, d. 4, c. 3172, p. 23). In 1878 – 1881, 1901 – 1903 Petro was elected as a deputy in the povit (district) department in Sambir, (Szematyzm, 1878, p. 266; Szematyzm, 1881, p. 261; Szematyzm, 1901, p. 329; Szematyzm, 1903, p. 352).

The next generations continued society career. Mykhailo had two sons. There was Boleslav among them, who studied for five years at the Faculty of Law at Lviv University in 1886 – 1891, and obtained Degree in Law. During the next two decades, his activities were one way or another connected with jurisprudence, he held various positions at the Povit (district) Courts in Sambir, Dolyna, Zhovkva, Kolomyia (Szematyzm, 1894, p. 71; Szematyzm, 1901, p. 86; Szematyzm, 1903, p. 89; Szematyzm, 1914, p. 147).

Petro's sons chose a priestly path. Joseph and Ivan studied at Sambir gymnasium, both received theological education later. Joseph died suddenly on September 2, 1885, while he was a third-year student of either seminary or university (CSHAUL, f. 201, d. 4a, c. 6250, p. 46). Ivan graduated from the seminary, in 1883 he received priestly ordination and was sent to the parish in the village of Kamiana, Hrybivskiy deanery, where he served as a church administrator for three years. In 1886, Ivan was sent to the village of Hanchovy in Horodotsky deanery. In 1886 – 1887, he performed the duties of a church administrator, and from 1887 to 1897 he was appointed a pastor of a church in Hanchova. In 1897, Ivan moved to the village of Chukva of Sambir deanery and remained a parish priest in Chukva until his death (he died on April 15, 1908) (Blažejovskij, 1995, p. 747). Petro's third son, Mykolai, was the head of the community (gmina) in Bilyna Velyka (Szematyzm, 1911, p. 365; Szematyzm, 1914, p. 408).

The example of the Litynski Piskorovychi family is far from unique. For instance, Petro Bachynskiy Pukshyn, a parish priest in Voyutichy in the 1780s, had two sons, who also chose a priestly service: Basil became a parish priest in Tysovytsia, Mykolai – in Zhashkiv. Mykola had three sons in his marriage with Karolina Shpakovska. Among them, Emilian continued the career of his father and grandfather, and Ferdinand became a “conductor of regional roads”. Basil's son Hilarion studied law and was an attorney in Stryi (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 42, pp. 393, 487; c. 44, pp. 65–67; c. 45, p. 89). Hryhoriy Kulchytskyi Kolodchak, “a counter-inspector of the administration of excise taxes in Lviv” had two sons. Timotei Jan became a parish priest in Zadviria, and Mykolai

worked in the Regional Treasury Directorate (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 46, pp. 353–356). Andriy Krynytskyi, a priest in Kryvyi, had a son – Lucian, the President of the District Court in Ternopil, and a son Bohdan Yulian Onufriy, a Doctor of Law and adviser to Lviv Regional Court in Stanislaviv (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 46, pp. 192–194). The two sons among the descendants of Yuriy Topilnytskyi, a parish priest in Isaiyi, who chose the priesthood: Stefan was a parish priest in Topilnytsia, and Basil – in Rabchytsi; his third son, Jan, became a civil servant. Teofil Stefanovych was known from the next generation, who became an official at the Povit (District) Treasure Directorate. Basil's son Yakub was a teacher, and his brother Anton performed pastoral duties in the village of Yanchyni of Berezhansk district. Jan's son Ignatius was a government official of Lviv-Chernivtsi-Iaska railway. In the fourth generation of this family, Henryk Yosif, Anton's son, stood out, who served as a povit (district) judge in Khodoriv (CSHAUL, f. 165, d. 6a, c. 42, p. 326; c. 43, p. 63; c. 44, p. 613, 685–687, 706–708, 885–888, 916).

**The Conclusion.** During the Austrian era, the nobility of Galicia continued to consider religious service as one of the spheres of life that were very important for them. During the 19th and early 20th centuries people of a noble origin accounted for 10–14%. The indicator was much lower than the data, which were used by domestic historians previously, claiming that almost a third of this clergy were the noblemen. Such a discrepancy was due to incorrect calculations based on the incorrect methodological principles. However, even 10–14% was a rather significant indicator, taking into account the fact that the nobility percentage was smaller and did not exceed 3% among the total population of Galicia. Hence, the nobility (shliakhta) considered church service not only as entirely possible, but also desirable for the self-realization in a social field. Primarily, it was due to the social evolution of the Ukrainian nobility and the clergy in the Austrian Empire. If the former declassified gradually and turned into ordinary farmers, losing their social significance, on the contrary, the latter – with the growth of a public demand for education and professionalization, managed to find their niche and occupy a great place among the elite of the modernizing Galician society. It was evidenced by unique examples from the history of individual families, in which the clergymen were invariably present alongside government officials, lawyers, doctors, and teachers.

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**Svitlana ORLYK**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Professor of Department of History, Archeology, Informational and Archival Affairs, Central Ukrainian National Technical University, 8 Prospekt Universytetskyi, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25006 (svitlana.orlik@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-6280-9273

**Researcher ID:** C-1033-2019

**Scopus-Author ID:** 57222035842

**Viktoria PAVLENKO**

*Graduate Student of Department of History, Archeology, Informational and Archival Affairs, Central Ukrainian National Technical University, 8 Avenue Universytetskyi, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25006 (darkinavo@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-8160-8629

**Researcher ID:** IAM-3407-2023

**Світлана ОРЛИК**

*докторка історичних наук, професорка, професорка кафедри історії, археології, інформаційної та архівної справи Центральноукраїнського національного технічного університету, пр. Університетський, 8, м. Кропивницький, Україна, індекс 25006 (svitlana.orlik@gmail.com)*

**Вікторія ПАВЛЕНКО**

*аспірантка кафедри історії, археології, інформаційної та архівної справи Центральноукраїнського національного технічного університету, пр. Університетський, 8, м. Кропивницький, Україна, індекс 25006 (darkinavo@gmail.com)*

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**MONEY ISSUE IN THE LIFE OF THE POPULATION OF KYIV PROVINCE  
(1797 – 1917)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to do research on the issue of spending money in an everyday life, which is one of the promising areas of scientific studies that are little researched in modern Ukrainian historiography. The article is written in the context of two sub-disciplinary areas of historical research: historical regionalism and economic history. The authors combined a number of methodological approaches, in particular, the use of general scientific methods, historical methods, numismatic methods, methods of historical regional studies, as well as methods of historical anthropology. The scientific novelty of the study consists in the fact that for the first time in historiography, the money issue in the life of Kyiv province population (1797 – 1917) has been analyzed comprehensively, in particular, several aspects related to the money issue, which played a significant role in the life of population of Kyiv province, have been highlighted. The Conclusion.* *It has been proved that each population had its own*

segment of the money market, in particular, the possibility of using and accumulating different types of currency and denominations, as well as different possibilities of access to financial resources. Due to the unavailability of financial services for representatives of taxable estates, especially during the pre-reform period, hoarding of savings in the form of coin treasures became widespread. The analysis of the treasures found within the boundaries of Kyiv province during the 19th and the beginning of the 21st centuries showed certain trends, in particular, the hoarding of copper coins was typical of rural areas, while silver and gold coins – in cities and towns. Accordingly, a different relationship to money was formed, for inhabitants of rural areas, metal money, in particular silver coins of large denominations, became not only means of payment or accumulation, but were also used as ornaments for public demonstration of property status by transforming them into the traditional Ukrainian ornament “dukach”. During the pre-reform period another component of financial services market inaccessibility for representatives of taxable estates was transformation of money into a commodity, which was sold by various categories of usurers. One of the aspects of relations of Kyiv region residents with currency was existence of counterfeiting, which had not only a legal dimension – a criminal offense, but also a social one – the desire of fraudsters to get extra profit from deceiving other members of society.

**Key words:** money, population, peasants, townspeople, treasure, coin, assignment, credit note, loan, usurer, credit institution.

## ГРОШІ У ЖИТТІ НАСЕЛЕННЯ КИЇВСЬКОЇ ГУБЕРНІЇ (1797 – 1917)

**Анотація.** *Мета статті* – дослідження проблем використання грошей у повсякденному житті населення, що є одним із перспективних, однак мало досліджених у сучасній українській історіографії напрямів наукових студій. *Стаття* написана в контексті двох субдисциплінарних напрямів історичних досліджень: історичної регіоналістики та економічної історії. Авторками поєднано низку **методологічних підходів**, зокрема, використання загальнонаукових, історичних, нумізматичних, а також методів історичної регіоналістик, історичної антропології. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії комплексно розглядається питання грошей у житті населення Київської губернії (1797 – 1917), зокрема, висвітлено декілька аспектів, пов'язаних із проблемою грошей, які відігравали значну роль у житті населення Київської губернії. **Висновки.** Доведено, що у кожній з верств населення був свій сегмент грошового ринку, зокрема, можливості використання та накопичення різних типів грошових знаків і номіналів, а також різні можливості доступу до фінансових ресурсів. Через недоступність фінансових послуг для представників податних станів, особливо у дореформений період, значного поширення набула тезаврація накопичень у вигляді монетних скарбів. Аналіз скарбів, знайдених у межах Київської губернії протягом XIX – початку XXI ст., засвідчив певні тенденції, зокрема тезаврація мідних монет була характерною для сільської місцевості, а в містах у скарбах ховали срібні та золоті монети. Відповідно їй формувалося різне ставлення до грошей, для мешканців сільської місцевості металеві гроші, зокрема срібні великих номіналів, ставали не лише засобами платежу чи накопичення, а й використовувалися як прикраси для публічної демонстрації майнового стану шляхом перетворення на традиційну українську прикрасу “дукач”. Іншою складовою недоступності ринку фінансових послуг для представників податних станів у дореформений період, стало перетворення грошей на товар, який реалізовувався різними категоріями лихварів. Одним із аспектів взаємовідносин мешканців Київщини із грошовими знаками було існування фальшивомонетництва, яке мало не лише правовий вимір – кримінальний злочин, а й соціальний – бажання шахраїв отримати надприбуток від обману інших членів соціуму.

**Key words:** гроші, населення, селяни, містяни, скарб, монета, асигнація, кредитний білет, позика, лихвар, кредитна установа.

**The Problem Statement.** In Ukraine, the issues of everyday life history are at the stage of forming an independent direction of historical research, which “is of a multidisciplinary nature, covers material and everyday issues, reflections on them” (Orlyk & Pavlenko, 2020, p. 42). The famous Ukrainian historian O. Udod emphasizes that the history of an everyday

life is “primarily the history of the process of humanizing everyday life, psychologization of an everyday life, attitude of a person to everyday problems, government, state and society as a whole through the prism of personal reception of everyday life conditions” (Udod, 2010, p. 7). Doing research on the issues of spending money in an everyday life of population is one of the promising areas of scientific studies, but, unfortunately, it is little researched in modern Ukrainian historiography. We fully support the thesis of the French historian F. Brodel' that money “was layered on all economic and social relations. As a result, it is an excellent “indicator”: the way it circulates, what difficulties money circulation encounters, how monetary system is complicated, or the fact that there is a lack of money, you can confidently judge all the activities of people, down to the most modest phenomena of their life” (Brodel', 1995, p. 373). The above mentioned caused the authors to do research on money issues in an everyday life of Kyiv province population (1797 – 1917) and write this article.

**Analysis of Sources and Recent Research.** In modern Ukrainian historiography there are no papers that directly focus on the study of money issue in an everyday life of population, including population in Kyiv province. However, certain aspects of this issue have been covered in scientific studies. These are, first of all, papers which deal with the history of monetary circulation (Kotlyar, 1971; Boyko-Haharin, 2020), fiscal relations of various strata representatives with the imperial authorities (Orlyk & Orlyk, 2019; Orlyk, 2007) and research papers on the standard of living of population (Molchanov, 2008; Molchanov, 2012; Vodotyka, 2020; Hubyts'kyy, 2013; Mochernyuk, 2018; Orlyk & Shportun, 2021 and other).

**The Methodology of the Research.** The article is written in the context of two sub-disciplinary areas of historical research: historical regionalism and economic history. Closely related to the latter are numismatic and bonistic studies, in which coins and banknotes are the main research object. However, a brief description of money issue does not give any opportunity to understand its role in the life of population. On the other hand, in the studies on economic history issues, there is no research on the money circulation as it was, there are mentioned figures only. Thirdly, neither in studies on economic history issues nor in a brief description of the money issue, usually, there is no focus on the subjects of monetary relations – people. Taking into account all these factors, in the article there are combined a number of methodological approaches, in particular, the use of general scientific methods (analytical, logical, retrospective, illustrative), historical methods (comparative and historical, problem-chronological, synchronistic, diachronic, historical and typological), numismatic (visual analysis, identification and typology of coins, topography of coin finds), methods of historical regionalism (local retrospective analysis, micro-history), as well as methods of historical anthropology (micro-historical analysis, semiotic and reconstruction), which, according to the authors, made it possible to implement the research objectives.

**The Results of the Research.** In August of 1797, after the Third Partition of Poland on the basis of the Russo-Austrian and Russo-Prussian Treaties of 1795 and the St. Petersburg Convention of 1797, by the decision of the imperial government (Doklad Senata, 1797) Kyiv province was created as a separate administrative and territorial unit of Right Bank Ukraine which consisted of 12 poviats: Kyiv, Vasylkiv, Zvenyhorod, Radomyshl, Skvyra, Kaniv, Lypovet, Berdychiv, Cherkasy, Chyhyryn, Tarascha, and Uman. The population of Kyiv province varied both in terms of ethnicity and social composition. The bulk of population consisted of the Ukrainians, and as for the main social stratum, during the entire period of existence of this province, despite the processes associated with the technical revolution, development of industry and urbanization, peasants constituted the largest stratum of



population. After the abolition of the imperial division into provinces by the Central Council, the territory of Kyiv province, in accordance with the Law on Division of Ukraine of March 6, 1918, became part of new administrative units, in particular, Bolokhivska, Drevlianska, Porossia, Bratslavshchyna, Kyiv and its suburbs.

After Right-Bank Ukraine became part of the Romanov Empire, the circulation of coins of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, “the Prussian-Brandenburg State, the Baltic possessions of Sweden, etc., practically stopped on its territory. Western European silver coins” (Kotlyar, 1971, p. 155). At the beginning of the 19th century the basis of monetary circulation in the territory of Kyiv province were the Russian paper bills and coins minted from silver and copper, in particular, “silver coins with a denomination of 1 rub., poltynik (50 kopicks), half kopicks (25 kop.), 10 and 5 kopicks, as well as copper coins: 10, 5, 2 and 1 kopicks and smaller fractions – money ( $\frac{1}{2}$  kop.) and poluška ( $\frac{1}{4}$  kop.)” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 45). Since 1825, a new denomination of silver coins – 25 kopicks – appeared in monetary circulation. In the 30s and 40s of the 19th century, coins minted for the Kingdom of Poland after 1832, which had double denominations of “1 zl – 15 kopicks, and then 40 hroshiv – 20 kopicks” became widespread among the inhabitants of Kyiv province (1842), 50 hroshiv – 25 kopicks (1842), 2 zl – 30 kopicks, 5 zl –  $\frac{3}{4}$  rub (1833), 10 zl –  $1\frac{1}{2}$  rubles (1833) and 20 zl – 3 rubles (1834)” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 49). In October of 1844, the ban on such coins circulation outside the Kingdom of Poland caused a shortage of circulating coins in Kyiv province, as evidenced by the complaint of Kyiv merchants “about the lack of small circulating both Polish and Russian coins due to the ban on their circulation” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 49).

Gold coins did not become widespread almost until the end of the 19th century, moreover, the imperial legislator did not determine the place of a gold coin in the monetary system of Russia in the first half of the 19th century. Only in the “Coining Statute of 1857, the presence of a gold coin was legally restored, although the ratio of the ruble and poltyna to bank coins remained” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 47). However, if Russian copper and silver coins were monopolists in their sector at the money market, the situation with gold coins was significantly different, because, in addition to the Russian gold coin, the Dutch and Austrian ducats were common among the population (Kotlyar, 1971, p. 155). However, not all “Dutch” ducats were actually Dutch, because, as M. Kotlyar observed rightly, “the popularity of the Dutch gold coins in Russia was so great that the Russian government even issued ducats identical to the Dutch ones in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Dutch ducats of the Russian origin, the so-called “lobanchiki”, were extremely difficult to distinguish from the original ones” (Kotlyar, 1971 p. 155). Thus, for example, in the treasure found in the neighbouring Kyiv province – Podilska province, “together with 14 real ducats of the United Netherlands Provinces, there were as many as 76 made in Russia” (Kotlyar, 1971, p. 155). One of the unsuccessful financial experiments of the imperial government was the appearance of a line of platinum coins with denominations of 3, 6 and 12 rubles at the money market in 1828. Firstly, the nominal value of such coins was much lower than the real one, which caused them to be exported outside the empire for sale at a favourable price, and secondly, the appearance of such coins caused distrust among population (Boyko-Haharin & Korpuseva 2020, pp. 31–34).

In general, it should be noted that during almost the entire period of its existence the financial system of the Russian Empire was chronically ill, because the incurable problem was the deficit of budgets as a result of waging constant wars for the expansion of territories

or spheres of influence, maintenance of a huge army and bureaucratic apparatus, as well as emission of paper money, especially bonds, the issues of which were uncontrolled (Gurzhiï & Orlyk, 2012, p. 121). Neither, the reform of Ye. Kankrin in 1839 saved the imperial financial system including the monetary one (Orlyk, 2006) with the transfer of monetary settlements to silver and introduction of credit notes, instead of completely discredited bills of exchange, nor the reform of M. Reiter of 1862 – 1963 (Orlyk, 2013).

As a result of the monetary reform of 1897, the monetary system of the Russian Empire switched to gold monometalism, which provided for almost complete provision of the monetary mass of credit notes with gold reserves, and accordingly, gold coins became a means of payments and savings. At the beginning of the 20th century cash circulation in the Russian Empire as a whole, and in Kyiv region in particular, was represented by a wide range of denominations of copper coins ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1, 2, 3 and 5 kopicks), silver (5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 50 kopicks and 1 ruble) and gold (5 ruble, 7 ruble 50 kopicks, 10 and 15 ruble) coins (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 45).

However, the monetary reform of 1997, which seemed to be successful, turned out to be as essentially a bubble as the previous efforts of the Russian government officials, and did not withstand the test of World War I. It was natural, because, in addition to the factors that negatively affected the state finances of the Romanov empire, and which we have already mentioned above, this state had another chronic disease – the imitation of infinite wealth and power.

With the beginning of World War I, the government of the Russian Empire adopted a corresponding law that stopped the exchange of paper money for gold, which caused panic among population. Disappearance of gold coins from circulation contributed to their settling in chests and hiding places for “a rainy day”. At the same time, disappearance of gold coins, as a natural reaction, outlined a tendency “to oust” silver and then copper coins from circulation. Since the spring of 1915, there was a critically insufficient amount of small change in circulation, which made it difficult for population to make retail trade settlements. Population was so dissatisfied with this state of affairs that riots broke out in certain settlements on market days. The facts of forced demand from a seller of the balance from 1 ruble in a small coin when buying products for 2 or 5 kopicks were rare cases. In the reports of gendarmerie offices, it was noted that “peasants who arrived in a town from nearby villages and farms, as a result of the fact that trade was concentrated in the hands of the Jews, openly showed malice against the latter, considering them to be the culprits of the situation that had arisen”, there were imminent “major riots, which would probably end with the pogrom of the Jewish shops and the Jewish population in general” (CSHAUK, f. 1439, d. 1, c. 1657, pp. 347–347v). In cities and towns, at plants and factories workers put forward demands to employers that the wages be paid from 30 to 50% of the amount due to them in coins (Orlyk, 2018). The “exchange crisis” only intensified with the introduction of exchange stamps in the denomination of 10, 15, and 20 kopicks in the autumn of 1915, and by the beginning of 1916, exchange stamps in the denomination of 1, 2, 3, and 5 kopicks, which were supposed to compensate for the shortage of silver and copper coins. Exchange stamps had an unusual appearance for money – in the form of postage stamps, which did not prepare population to consider them seriously as money psychologically. Small format and thin paper on which the severe images of the tsars were printed were inconvenient to use, they crumpled in pockets, got wet and stuck together in the rain, and flew out of hands during the wind. People said about money stamps that “they do not circulate, but fly” (Orlyk, 2015, p. 145). On this situation, population mocked, and in Kyiv region girls sang a song:

“There used to be silver money, now – stamps,  
There used to be nice guys, now they're just scumbags...”  
(Orlyk, 2015, p. 145).

As we can see, during the 19th and early 20th centuries the monetary system of the Russian Empire experienced a number of upheavals, a number of reforms that tried to save it, however, the hostages of these financial experiments were ordinary people, including residents of Kyiv province.

The population of Kyiv province was heterogeneous in terms of a social composition, and its financial capabilities differed significantly not only within the province, but even within the same settlement, therefore the role of money in a daily life of Kyiv province residents was different for different states and social groups, as well as the very attitude to money was different. There were different opportunities to earn money, spend it or spare it, and of course – to spare it. Even for the most numerous social stratum – the peasants, these opportunities differed significantly depending on the status: free, estate, landlord, those having a plot of land. The vast majority of Kyiv province peasantry lived impoverished and in an everyday life, especially during the pre-reform period, they mainly used copper coins, and silver coins were partially accumulated and used for the manufacture of women's jewelry. Copper coins were also the main means of payment for small payments among townspeople. It was in copper coins and assignments that payments of taxes were accepted until the reform of Ye. Kankrin in 1839, and if a representative of the taxable estates had savings in silver coins, then in order to settle with the state, such peasant or citizen had to exchange silver coins for assignments or copper coins, by paying the corresponding commissions, which increased the already significant tax burden (Speranskiy, 1895, pp. 23–24). By the way, even after the reform of 1839, one of the components of which was the establishment of a new monetary rate for copper coins that corresponded to the value of this metal and the introduction into circulation of new coins with denominations of 3, 2, 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  “silver kopicks” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 51), there were problems with exchange of copper and silver coins and paper money (credit cards). Thus, for example, a merchant Knudson complained to Kyiv governor-general that “in the city of Kyiv, when carrying out operations for purchase of goods in shops, they demand small coins, for which the money changers take high commissions” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, pp. 51–52).

A rather difficult problem for representatives of taxable estates was the lack of a market for financial services during the pre-reform period, in particular, financial institutions where savings could be kept or loans could be obtained if necessary. The Ukrainian ethnologist of French origin Dominique Pierre De la Flise, describing the peasants of Kyiv province in the middle of the 19th century, pointed out that “those who, owing to their work or some occupation, saved certain funds, do not know what to do with them and do not create for themselves better prosperity, so they hide money, and sometimes even bury it in the ground, without telling the children about it, and there are many such examples” (De la Flise, 1996, p. 152). The result of this attitude to money was accumulation of available funds. For the sake of justice, it should be noted that this phenomenon was characteristic not only for peasants, but also for townspeople, as evidenced by the corpus of coin treasures discovered in the territory that was part of the administrative boundaries of Kyiv province. What is remarkable is that city and town residents were wealthier and hoarded mainly silver coins (at the beginning of the 20th century – gold coins), and rural residents – copper coins. For example, in 1857, in Kyiv, during the construction of the Chain Bridge, a treasure of

157 Russian coins of 1752 – 1801 was discovered (Belyashevskyy, 1889, p. 16). A treasure of the Russian silver coins of 1817 – 1912 (denominations – 1 ruble, 50 kopicks, 20 kopicks and 10 kopicks, total weight about 2 kg) was discovered on the territory of the “Ancient Kyiv” reserve in 2018 (Arkhitekturno-arkheolohichna, 2018). Treasures with silver coins were also found in other cities and towns of Kyiv province. Thus, in particular, in 1888, in the town of Makariv, a treasure with large silver Russian, Polish and Prussian coins of 1728 – 1792 was found on the territory of a local church (Belyashevskyy, 1889, p. 61). In 1887, in Pavoloch, the treasure of about 200 coins was found: “Russian – rubles of Catherine II and Paul I, Polish – of Stanislaus Augustus, mainly one- and two-zlotniks from 1787 to 1794, and Prussian – Friedrich V. ½, ⅓ thaler of 1771 – 1775” (Belyashevskyy, 1889, p. 99).

Concerning gold coins treasures, in 1988, 2 such treasures of coins from the time of Nicholas II were found in Kyiv. The first included 240 gold coins, in particular, 5 rubles of 1897 (7 coins), 1898 (46 coins), 1899 (17 coins), 1900 (6 coins), 1901 (14 coins), 1902 (1 coin), 1903 (1 coin), 1904 (1 coin); 7 rubles 50 kopecks. 1897 (7 coins); 10 rubles 1899 (69 coins), 1900 (10 coins), 1901 (1 coin), 1902 (9 coins), 1903 (1 coin), 1904 (3 coins), 1911 (3 coins); 15 rubles of 1897 (3 coins) (NMHU, № ND-932-1123). The second included 60 gold coins, in particular, 5 rubles of 1897 (6 coins), 1898 (19 coins), 1899 (6 coins), 1900 (5 coins), 1901 (1 coin); 7 rubles 50 kopicks of 1897 (1 coin); 10 rubles of 1898 (1 coin), 1899 (17 coins), 1900 (3 coins), 1901 (1 coin), 1902 (1 coin), 1911 (1 coin); 15 rubles of 1897 (2 coins) (NMHU, № ND-1125-1184).

But the treasures found on the territory of the villages of the former Kyiv province have a completely different composition – copper coins. Thus, in particular, as part of the treasure found in 1852 in the village of Buhavka, there was 1 pood of 10 pounds (20.47 kg) of copper coins, unfortunately, a complete description of this treasure has not been preserved, but there is information only about 53 coins (1724 – 1811), which were selected for the Mint Cabinet of St. Volodymyr University (Belyashevskyy, 1889, pp. 103–104). In the 20th century in the village of Mykolaivka-Rubezhivka there was found the treasure of Russian copper coins (885 units) issued in 1758 – 1803 (NMHU, No. AE-9748/1-74). In 1961, the treasure of Russian copper coins minted in 1777 – 1911 was discovered in the village of Rohizna, only 9 coins from this treasure are kept in the National Museum of History (NMHU, № AE-9891). The treasure of the Russian copper coins of the 18th – 19th centuries (150 coins) was found in the village of Hlevakha in 1963 (NMHU, № AE-9927). As we can see, the peasants of Kyiv province kept their savings in copper coins, which indicates a low level of prosperity of their families.

In general, it should be noted that the inhabitants of Kyiv province used silver coins not only as a means of savings, but also in the form of women’s jewelry – dukach<sup>1</sup> (Shust, 2004, p. 492), which could indicate a family property status of such woman or girl. It is true that for the production of dukach, as a rule, coins that had already gone out of circulation or earlier issues (of previous rulers) that were hardly used in monetary circulation were used. Dukach was hung separately on a chain, ribbon, string or on tiers among necklaces. In Kyiv province, dukachi with bobs were occasionally found, mostly among immigrants from the Left Bank of the Dnieper,

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<sup>1</sup> Dukach is a medal-like metal ornament, a part of girls’ and women’s decoration village clothes. During the 2nd half of the 17th – the beginning 20th century D. were made in Ukraine by jewelers-goldsmiths on the model of Western European, Polish, and later – Russian coins and medals. The majority of D. are anonymous and undated. They consist of a medallion and a bob brooch. Original silver and gold coins (ducachs, thalers, rubles, etc.) and medals were often used as medallions. The most widespread D. were in Left Bank Ukraine (Poltavshchyna, Chernihiv region), Slobidska Ukraine, as well as in Kurshchyna and Voronezh region (nowadays – the Russian Federation).

which were hung on two or three chains to a manufactured bob-brooch (Samkov, 2010, pp. 11, 19). A famous Ukrainian ethnologist P. Chubinskiy, describing Ukrainian women's neck jewelry, noted: "between a necklace, on a chest, crosses are placed – small metal icons and "dukachi"; the latter, in particular, are quite rare and even among wealthier people" (Chubinskiy, 1877, p. 426). Thus, only women of wealthy peasant families of Kyiv province, especially its southern part (modern Right-Bank part of Cherkasy and the northern part of Kirovohrad region) could allow a silver coin to be transformed from a means of payment and accumulation into a status ornament, so that everyone could see to which family its owner belonged.

Dukachi, or, as they are also called, were made of silver coins and differed significantly in terms of artistic value and cost of raw materials for coins production, because they were made of high-quality silver coins with a denomination of 1 rub., 50 kopicks. (half a coin), 25 kopicks (a quarter), and billon coins with denominations of 5, 10, 20 kopicks emissions of 1867 – 1917. In some regions of Kyiv province (from the town of Smila to the town of Uman) there were necklaces in which, among beads, silver karbovanets and poltynnyky were strung on soldered lugs alternating with crosses (an image of such necklace from Zhashkiv region is given in the book by O. Samkov) (Samkov, 2010, p. 50).

The tradition of using coins as women's jewelry – dukach also existed during the period after World War I. Due to the financial problems of the Russian Empire in this war, the government introduced paper exchange money instead of bullion and silver, which were distrusted by population (Orlyk, 2015, p. 145), who tried to accumulate bullion and silver coins for savings. Later, after the fall of the imperial regime and the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine, such coins lost their circulation function and were widely used for the manufacture of women's jewelry, in particular dukachi. However, such dukachi were also used as a means of savings. This is particularly evidenced by the treasure from the village of Karapyshchi, Myronivsky district, Kyiv region, found during agricultural work in 1950. There were 3,186 items in this coin-object complex: a silver glass, silver crosses, silver Russian and Soviet coins, as well as 475 dukach coins. The accumulation of this treasure could have been during the years of 1931 – 1933 – after the monetary reform of 1931 and until 1933, when the estate changed the owner. Dukachi were made from coins decorated with "the so-called openwork bob made of silver wire rectangular in cross-section" (Yakusheva-Omel'chyk, 1996, p. 26).

As it was mentioned above, savings of coins or using of coins as ornaments was associated with the lack of financial services market in the region. During the pre-reform period, monetary relations were of great importance in Kyiv province, as the most developed trade and economic centre of entire Transdnier Ukraine, however, during this period, the banking system was in its infancy, and only the wealthiest strata of population had access to bank credit resources, who received loans secured by real estate (buildings), residential properties, precious things, etc. Therefore, peasants, merchants, small landowners and the others who wanted to get a loan turned to moneylenders, whose presence was most represented in large cities and towns. Innkeepers, owners of inns, wealthy landowners, etc., granted deferment in payment for food and various services (in debt with interest) to common people (Orlyk, 2019, pp. 6–14). Despite huge interest that people paid to their "benefactors", to lenders, often falling into hopeless financial bondage to them, usurious loans remained popular among population during the period under analysis our. The image of a miserly, greedy and gluttonous usurer who profits from needy people was mentioned in of T. Shevchenko's works (Shevchenko, 2008), M. Hohol's works (Gogol', 1994), I. Karpenko-Karyy's works (Karpenko-Karyy, 2014) and the others.



In the second half of the 19th century there appeared new opportunities for obtaining short-term loans of money against collateral in the form of loans from pawnshops. Such loans were popular in big cities among low-income population mostly. In Kyiv province, there were institutions of this type only in the city of Kyiv. The first pawnshop was opened in the city, in July of 1889 – it was a branch of the Capital (St. Petersburg) joint-stock pawnshop, which provided loans for 8 months at 1% per month for the loan itself and an additional 1% for the storage and insurance of the collateral. The profitability of this pawnshop contributed to the opening of new private pawnshops by local merchants.

As for banking services, in addition to the Office of the State Bank in Kyiv, the Kyiv Land (Joint) Bank was established in 1872, the activity of which extended to Kyiv, Chernihiv, Podilska and Volyn provinces. It should be taken into account that the loans of this institution were available to wealthy borrowers mostly (Orlyk, 2019a). Credit resources were unattainable for the majority of peasants who had the opportunity to buy land and purchase means of production for its cultivation. The problem of small agricultural credit began to be solved by self-organization in the creation of loan and savings banks, village banks, secular loan capital, village banks, etc. As of 1899, 151 rural public institutions of small credit of various types were established in Kyiv province, the number of which was increased to 284 by 1912 (Orlyk, 2021, p. 171). In addition to the mentioned public institutions, mutual credit societies (TVC) gained popularity, the basis of which was the principle of making a share contribution and mutual surety of the society members for their credit obligations (Orlyk, Palchevich, & Orlyk, 2021, p. 423). In general, the founders of the TVC were mostly representatives of a small and medium trade and industrial class, landowners, artisans and other people who needed additional working capital. Wealthy merchants and industrialists also became members of the TEC in order to obtain convenient short-term loans such as a specially opened current credit account. Kyiv TVC, one of the first in the empire, was established in 1868, and by January 1, 1914, there were 2,389 members. As of January 1, 1914, a total of 50 TECs were operating in Kyiv province, including 9 in the city of Kyiv.

However, credit cooperation in the form of savings and loan, credit societies became the most widespread among ordinary farmers (Orlyk, 2020). The popularity of these institutions increased especially at the beginning of the 20th century. If as of January 1, 1897, there were only 8 savings and loan societies in Kyiv province, which united only 5,582 shareholders and provided 146,000 rubles (Svodnyy balans, 1898, pp. 8–15), as of January 1, 1912, 126 savings and loan societies were established in Kyiv province, uniting 108,367 members, which provided loans for 7,161.2 thousand rubles, the average loan increased to 77.7 rubles (Svodnyy balans, 1898, pp. 8–15). This method of lending was quite convenient and affordable, which allowed peasants, small artisans and merchants to get a loan depending on their needs. Most often, short-term loans were taken for purchase of seed materials and breeding livestock, agricultural equipment, fertilizers, livestock feed, payment of lease payments, etc. Long-term loans for acquisition and construction were the largest in size. Willingly artisans took loans to purchase goods for sale, and merchants – to purchase materials and raw materials for handicrafts. In some places, credit resources were also used to pay workers who were hired by the newly created landowners in the season for cultivating land and other work and even for paying current debts and refinancing (Statisticheskiy sbornik, 1922, p. 412).

In big cities, merchants and industrialists initiated the creation of urban credit societies. Accordingly, only wealthy citizens who owned real estate within city limits could be members of such societies. On April 15, 1885, in particular, the Kyiv City Credit Society began its

activities, which, secured by liquid city real estate, provided long-term loans to members of the society in the amount of at least 1,000 rubles, with an interest rate of 4.5% and 5%, with a term of 20 years and 7 months and 38 years and 4 months (Orlyk, 2021, pp. 204–205).

In 1883, Kyiv branch of the State Peasant Land Bank began its activities. The lending period ranged from 13 years to 55 years and 6 months (Ustav, 1899). It should be noted that after the Stolypin agrarian reform implementation, which began in 1906, the specific weight of loans granted to individual households began to grow rapidly (beginning in 1908), and loans to peasant communities and credit unions began to decrease (Orlyk, 2021, p. 143).

In 1885, the State Noble Land Bank with a branch in Kyiv was opened especially for the nobility. During different periods interest rates on loans at the Noble Land Bank were discriminatory lower from 0.5% to 1.5% than for peasants at the Peasant Bank. Broken nobles often used cheap loans and used the funds not for the purchase of land, “but for various speculative adventures that went as far as playing at the stock exchanges” (Orlyk, 2021, p. 149).

Analyzing the money issue in an everyday life of Kyiv province population, one cannot ignore the issues related to fraudulent actions regarding money, in which the residents of this region became participants both in the role of victims and in the role of fraudsters. A fairly common type of fraud was counterfeiting, in particular financial diversions of other states, and private forgeries, the authors of which were also residents of Kyiv province. As for the former, the most widespread in terms of currency counterfeiting was the financial sabotage of the French government during the Napoleonic Wars (Orlyk, 2012), when in order to cover the costs of maintaining the French army, which was on the territory of the Romanov empire, and undermining the Russian economy, fake Russian bills were issued (Kotsur & Boiko-Haharin, 2019). Forgeries of the Russian money were produced in France in the second half of the 19th century, from where they also entered the territory of Kyiv province. Thus, in particular, in Volkovynskyi povit in the summer of 1872, the noblewoman Josephina Ivanova Dobrovolska, a resident of the city of Vilno, was detained, “who, at the request of the Parisian princess Oginskaya, was involved in the importation of large amounts of counterfeit 10 and 50 ruble credit bills of a new model into the Russian Empire” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 77). With regard to private forgeries of banknotes and their spread in Kyiv province, it is worth noting that fraudsters forged both copper, silver and gold coins, as well as paper banknotes. For example, in October of 1833, Vasylykiv Zemstvo Court heard the case of Aron Shmul Pavlovsky forging a silver coin with a denomination of 25 kopicks, which was discovered by Isidor Tomashevych when Pavlovsky’s wife exchanged a counterfeit coin for a copper coin at Bilotserkivska fair (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 98). A. Boyko-Haharin, a Ukrainian scholar and researcher of counterfeiting in Eastern Europe, came to the conclusion that “the 20-kopick coin was most often used as a sample for counterfeiting” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 106). Counterfeiting became the most widespread at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Thus, for example, in 1893, several cases of attempts to spread counterfeit money were recorded in Kyiv. In particular, two forgeries of credit cards with denomination of 3 rubles, on one of which, instead of the original inscription “For forgery of credit cards, those guilty are subject to deprivation of all rights and property and sent to hard labour”, it was indicated: “Forgery of credit cards should be rewarded”, and in October of the same year, “a branch of the Office of the State Bank discovered qualitatively forged 100 rubles with No. 198.053, made with the help of a photograph” (Boyko-Haharin, 2020, p. 104). During World War I, prototypes for production of money counterfeits were “gold and silver coins, credit cards issued during the war according to the pre-war model (distinguished by a cashier’s

signature on a banknote), exchange stamps and treasury signs, various monetary surrogates” (Orlyk & Boiko-Haharin, 2017, p. 145). Thus, in particular, in 1916, in the columns of the Kyiv edition “Vechirnia Hazeta”, there are regular reports about the appearance in the city of counterfeit 20-kopick exchange stamps, which was connected with the operation of Yakovlev Typography on Zavorotska street, in Kyiv, where, during a search by the police of the Starokyivska precinct, “a rectangular typographical stone, which could be used to print 100 stamps at a time” was found (Orlyk & Boiko-Haharin, 2017, p. 148).

The victims of counterfeiters were representatives of various strata of population, because almost all denominations and types of currency were counterfeited. A clear case of fraud is connected with the spread of counterfeiting, although in this case pseudo-counterfeiting, described by a contemporary of those events, a classic of Ukrainian drama Ivan Karpovych Tobilevych (a pseudonym Ivan Karpenko-Karyy) in the tragicomedy “One Hundred Thousand” (Karpenko-Karyy, 2014).

**The Conclusion.** Thus, in the article, we analyzed several aspects related to the money issue, which played a significant role in the life of Kyiv province population, because money was layered on all economic and social relations in the region. Each stratum of the population had its own segment of the money market, in particular, opportunities to use and accumulate different types of currency and denominations, as well as different opportunities to access financial resources. Due to the unavailability of financial services for representatives of taxable estates, especially during the pre-reform period, accumulation of savings in the form of coin treasures became widespread. The authors’ analysis of treasures found within Kyiv province during the 19th and early 21st centuries showed certain trends, in particular, the saving of copper coins was typical of rural areas, while silver and gold coins were typical of cities. Accordingly, a different relationship to money was formed, for the inhabitants of rural areas, metal money, in particular silver coins of large denominations, became not only means of payment or accumulation, but were also used as ornaments for public demonstration of property status by transforming them into the traditional Ukrainian ornament “dukach”. During the pre-reform period another component of the inaccessibility of financial services market for representatives of taxable estates was the transformation of money into a commodity, which was sold by various categories of usurers. One of the aspects of relations of Kyiv province residents with currency was the existence of counterfeiting, which had not only a legal dimension – a criminal offense, but also a social one – the desire of fraudsters to get extra profit from deceiving other members of society. As for other aspects of the role of money in the life of Kyiv province population, the authors believe that **further research** into the use of money in trade in Right Bank Ukraine in general and Kyiv region in particular is quite promising: what money was used in small transactions at village fairs and markets, what money was used in cities, which types of money and in which denominations merchants settled, and for which transactions, etc.

In general, the issue of spending money in an everyday life of Kyiv province population and its relationship to money is extremely complex and multifaceted, which requires further scientific research.

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**Hennadiy Linyevych**

Seeker, National Scientific Agricultural Library of the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences of Ukraine, 10 Heroiv Oborony Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03127 (frp@ukr.net)

**ORCID:** 0009-0007-5078-0817

**Iryna Vergunova**

Doctor of Habilitation, PhD Physics and Mathematics, Professor; Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, 4d Glushkova Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 03680 (vergunova@hotmail.com)

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-3052-9143

**Researcher ID:** HZM-1993-2023

**Scopus-Author ID:** 57216160327

**Геннадій Лінєвич**

пошукач Національної наукової сільськогосподарської бібліотеки Національної академії аграрних наук України, вул. Героїв Оборони, 10, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 03127 (frp@ukr.net)

**Ірина Вергунова**

докторка габілітована, кандидатка фізико-математичних наук, професорка Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, пр. Глушкова 4д, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 03680 (vergunova@hotmail.com)

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**STATISTICAL STUDIES OF ZEMSTVOS OF THE TERRITORY OF MODERN UKRAINE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE (THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY – 1918)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of publication is to analyze the experience and achievements of agricultural statistics of the provincial zemstvos of the territory of modern Ukraine and to clarify their significance for modern branches of agrarian science. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, systematicity and complexity. There have been used general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, typology), historical (periodization, problem-chronological) and methods of source and archival analysis. The Scientific Novelty.* The research by provincial statisticians led to results that became important factors in the rapid development of agricultural science at the beginning of the 20th century, contributed to the achievement of a qualitatively higher level of practical development of the region's agriculture and the development of a local type of intensive agricultural system. The presented work reveals and summarizes the main achievements of provincial statisticians in the territory of modern Ukraine in the main fields of agrarian science. **The Conclusion.** There have been illustrated the following issues: the application of statistics, as the latest scientific methodology, in

agricultural research allowed the zemstvo institutions to analyze and justify the results, to set and solve new actual practical tasks. There has been analyzed the experience of the statistical works of provincial zemstvos of modern Ukraine territory in the agricultural sector; has been found out their significance for modern branches of agrarian science and identified the main stages of their activity in the study of agriculture in the region. This led to the conclusion that the statistical institutions of the zemstvos have turned into scientific institutions in their activities. It has been determined that the search by provincial statisticians for new research methods to achieve a qualitatively higher level of development of the region's agriculture, based on adherence to scientific methodologies, got to outstanding scientific results. The achievements of Zemstvo statisticians in the fields of soil science, agriculture, agronomy, crop production, research work, and agricultural economics establish the power of Zemstvo statistics in shaping directions of research in various branches of agrarian science and prove the importance of the contribution of statistical research to the development of agrarian science.

**Key words:** accounting and statistical works, land use statistics, continuous observation, average values, zemstvo statisticians.

## СТАТИСТИЧНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ЗЕМСТВ ТЕРИТОРІЇ СУЧАСНОЇ УКРАЇНИ ДЛЯ РОЗВИТКУ АГРАРНОЇ НАУКИ (ДРУГА ПОЛОВИНА XIX ст. – 1918 р.)

**Анотація.** Метою статті є аналіз досвіду та досягнень сільськогосподарської статистики губернських земств території сучасної України і з'ясування їх значення для сучасних галузей аграрної науки. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, об'єктивності, системності та комплексності. Залучалися загальнонаукові методи (аналіз, синтез, типологія), історичні (періодизація, проблемно-хронологічний) та методи джерелознавчого й архівного аналізу. **Наукова новизна.** Дослідження губернських статистів привели до результатів, які стали важливими чинниками бурхливого розвитку сільськогосподарської науки на початку XX ст., сприяли досягненню якісно вищого рівня практичного розвитку сільського господарства краю та розвитку місцевого типу інтенсивної системи землеробства. Пропонована робота розкриває та узагальнює основні досягнення губернських статистів на території сучасної України в основних галузях аграрної науки. **Висновки.** Показано, що застосування статистики як новітньої наукової методології в сільськогосподарських дослідженнях дало змогу земським установам аналізувати й обґрунтовувати результати, ставити і розв'язувати нові актуальні практичні завдання. Проаналізовано досвід статистичних робіт губернських земств на території сучасної України в аграрному секторі, з'ясовано їхнє значення для сучасних галузей аграрної науки, визначено основні етапи їх діяльності у вивченні сільського господарства регіону. Це дало підставу для висновку, що статистичні установи земств у своїй діяльності перетворилися на наукові установи. Ми показали, що пошук обласними статистиками нових методів дослідження для досягнення якісно вищого рівня розвитку сільського господарства регіону, заснованих на дотриманні наукових методологій, дав видатні наукові результати. Досягнення земських статистиків у галузі ґрунтознавства, землеробства, агрономії, рослинництва, науково-дослідної справи та економіки сільського господарства встановлюють потужну роль земської статистики у формуванні напрямів досліджень у різних галузях аграрної науки, доводять важливість внеску статистичних досліджень у розвиток аграрної науки.

**Ключові слова:** обліково-статистичні роботи, статистика землекористування, суцільне спостереження, середні значення, земські статистики.

**The Problem Statement.** For our country, as well as for many European countries, the level of agriculture plays an important role in the society development. Even in the imperial era, under the conditions of a great variety of forms of private ownership of land, the government's tasks always included issues aimed at developing measures to promote or help the owners to achieve a higher productivity in the leading branches of agriculture. However, to provide effective decisions, state institutions and zemstvos needed reliable statistical information. The provincial zemstvos, which performed the functions of local self-

government bodies, organized collection, processing and analysis of data on the agricultural life of the provinces. They studied the state and drew conclusions about the development prospects of localities. To study agricultural life, zemstvos established statistical institutions, which carried out special studies according to their own developed programmes based on the latest scientific achievements. Statisticians did research on methods of increasing the productivity of agricultural industries, worked on scientific substantiation of methodological problems and provided a scientific support for industry research.

Today, in the search of modern solutions to support an effective functioning and further development of agricultural science, the study of historical experience, initiatives and achievements of statistical institutions of provincial and district zemstvos on the Ukrainian lands is relevant. The importance of statistical methods for modern methodology of agricultural research also determines the relevance of studying the historical experience of their implementation in a general development of agricultural science.

Significance of statistical methods for the needs of modern agricultural science and practice, fragmentation of relevant historical research led to the choice of the topic of the presented paper.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** Many researchers from the end of the 19th century to the present day studied statistical works of provincial zemstvos on the territory of modern Ukraine. The first to be published at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century were generalizing works (Veletsckyi, 1894; Veletsckyi, 1899; Rusov, 1914) and popularizing works (Sbornik Khersonskogo zemstva, 1890; Kasperov, 1890) of the statisticians about the performed statistical research.

With the weakening of the pressure of the Soviet authorities, interest in studying the activities of provincial and district zemstvos as local self-government bodies was renewed. A. M. Zubko (1988) studied the research of zemstvo statistical institutions on the issue of socio-economic development of Ukraine.

During the years of Ukrainian independence, numerous scientific publications appeared in which researchers tried to impartially analyze the development and achievements of national scientific thought. O. A. Makiyenko (2002) studied the organization and activity of the statistical bureau of the Kherson Zemstvo. O. O. Petrov (2002) studied the organizational aspects and general activity of statistical institutions of the Katerynoslav Zemstvo. V. V. Bobkov (2003) studied the historical aspects of statistical research in the Tavrichna province. V. A. Kulikov (2004) considered general aspects of zemstvo agrarian statistics in Kharkiv province. L. M. Mekshun (2008) studied the activities of statisticians of the Chernihiv provincial zemstvo in the field of public education. N. A. Doroshok (2013) studied the historical and regional aspects of the statistical activity of the Chernihiv provincial zemstvo. T. Kuznets (2022) carried out a superficial analysis of published information on current statistics (namely, weather conditions, yield and grain prices) in the Uman county and tried to trace the peculiarities of grain farming in the region, but her research needs further development and deepening.

E. V. Halytska (2019) reviewed the outstanding figures of statisticians of provincial and district zemstvos and their activities on Ukrainian lands. V. Shandra (2020) showed the role of the zemstvo as an institution of local self-government and the importance of engaging specialists (statisticians, agronomists) for professional performance of work in provinces. V. A. Vergunov (2022) determined the issue of statistics which played an important role in the formation and development of agricultural experimental work. M. S. Poedynok (Poedynok, 2014a;

Poedynok, 2014b; Poedynok, 2015) studied the agrarian statistical activity of zemstvos in Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv and Kherson provinces, analyzed the evolution of statistical research, but his periodization of formation and development of agricultural statistical activity of Kherson zemstvo provinces needs clarification.

However, a meaningful analysis of zemstvo statistics achievements in the field of agriculture, establishing their contribution to various branches of modern agricultural science has not been done yet.

**The purpose of the article** is to analyze the experience and achievements of agricultural statistics of provincial zemstvos of the territory of modern Ukraine and to clarify their significance for modern branches of agrarian science.

The subject of the research of this work is the results of statistical work in the field of agriculture performed by provincial and district zemstvos of the territory of modern Ukraine. Taking into account the fact that the main achievements in agricultural statistics were obtained by zemstvo institutions of Chernihiv, Poltava, Kherson and Kharkiv provinces, in the work we rely only on the results of zemstvo statisticians' work of these provinces.

**The Results of the Research.** The main source of funds for the activity of zemstvo institutions, as is known, were local fees, which were collected taking into account the value of real estate and its profitability. For this, zemstvos needed statistical data on local farms, which the Central Statistical Committee did not receive. Since zemstvos had the right to invite specialists (statisticians, agronomists, etc.) for their activities, if funds were available, they began to create their own statistical institutions and to invite statisticians to collect and develop information.

In the 70s of the 19th century, the country's population lived mainly in rural areas or small towns and lived off agriculture, which was the leading branch of the economy. That is why, in their research zemstvo statisticians focused on the agricultural sector, and the provincial zemstvos recognized that the level of development of agrarian practice is of great importance to a further development of society.

It is generally accepted that Chernihiv provincial zemstvo was the first zemstvo on the territory of modern Ukraine, which organized a statistical bureau (1876) (the fact that Kherson provincial zemstvo established a statistical bureau back in 1873 is not taken into account, since the bureau never became operational). Although its activity was interrupted in 1878 – 1880, Chernihiv immediately became one of the main centres of land statistics in imperial Russia. Numerous scientific and historical studies confirmed this conclusion. They consider the activities of the Zemstvo Statistical Bureau of Chernihiv province in terms of demographic (Mekshun, 2000), educational (Mekshun, 2003), agricultural (Poedynok, 2014a) and other directions.

Report of the member of the Administration N. A. Konstantinovich (1876) contains information on the following facts: in 1876 the statistical department began its work with the study of existing programmes and methods of collecting statistical information. Statisticians chose the system of indicators developed in the work of M. I. Sieber Experience of the statistical and economic data collection programme (1875) for the implementation of the balance method and the grouping method. He pointed out that the first research programmes of the department were drawn up and the first description was made according to the methodology of M. I. Zieber. The main method of collecting information was the expeditionary method, data were collected by seconded statisticians for small territorial units (dachas). Before the expedition surveys, the territory of the description was divided into strips and sections. Statisticians used direct



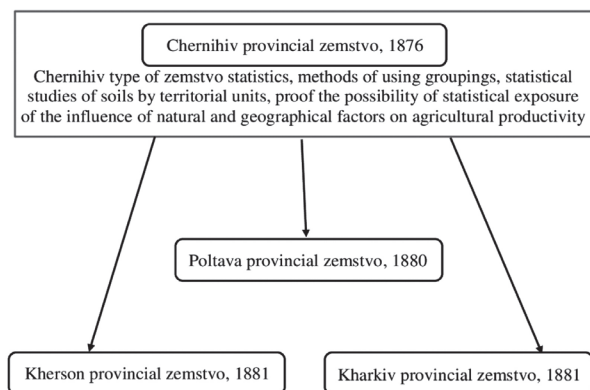
observation, surveys and documented records (in counties councils, zemstvo administrations, etc.). Already in 1877, the first research results were published (Proceedings of the Statistical Department, 1877). They contained descriptions of land ownership in Saltykovo-Divvytska, Redkivska and Dovzhytska counties. Subsequently, descriptions of Chernihiv, Borzhnyn, Nizhyn and Novozybkiv counties were obtained. The issue of land ownership, namely the quantity and quality of land, was the focus of statisticians' research, therefore, in 1881, a generalizing Agricultural programme adapted to the collection of agricultural agreements compiled by P. P. Chervinsky (Chervinsky, 1881) was published.

Descriptions by counties made it possible to compare them and obtain a summary description for the entire province. They surveyed land, soils, climate, etc.

In the description of the Novozybkiv county, V. E. Varzer (Materialy, 1880) first carried out a statistical study of soils. The results of his research allowed O. P. Shlykevych to make a map of the province's soils. O. O. Rusov (Rusov, 1914) claimed that the descriptions of Novozybkivsky and Ostersky counties by V. E. Varzer were considered as a model for conducting evaluation and statistical work. Characteristic for the presentation of the research results of Chernihiv statisticians was a single structure of division into sections: Territory and Population, Land Ownership and Agriculture, Agricultural Lands and their Productivity, Summary of Estimated Data. They contained statistical data on the classification and methods of land use, assessment of the influence of soil quality, farming systems, meteorological phenomena on the dynamics of crop yields, determination of the degree of profitability of natural resource exploitation. The last section had indicators for assessing the profitability of land property based on land productivity, rental prices, production costs, etc.

The approach developed by statisticians took into account natural, geographical, social, living and other conditions with the peculiarities of regional production resources. It envisaged a comprehensive study of a separate region in space and time. The results of such approach were the proof of ability to reveal the impact of natural and geographical factors on the productivity of agriculture and formed the Chernihiv type of statistics.

The achievements of zemstvo statisticians of Chernihiv province and the research needs of the province inspired the zemstvos of Poltava, Kherson and Kharkiv provinces to create their own statistical institutions (Fig. 1). They took into account both the experience of Chernihiv zemstvo statisticians and local features of the province.



**Fig. 1. Inheritance of statistical institutions of provincial zemstvos**

The fragmentation of farms and increased plowing led to the impossibility of proper farming. Therefore, soil depletion was characteristic of all provinces. The question arose of finding ways to increase land productivity. That is why, the zemstvos established statistical institutions in the provinces. The Poltava provincial zemstvo together with the Poltava agricultural society established a statistical bureau (1880), Kherson – statistical bureau (1881), Kharkiv – statistical committee (1881). From the beginning of 1882, active work of zemstvo statisticians began in almost all provinces, from that time the active development and establishment of zemstvo statistical institutions took place.

V. Bortnikov & Ya. Yarosh (2022) showed the reasons behind the lag of Volhynia, Podilska, and Kyiv provinces in the development of zemstvo institutions. This delay did not allow zemstvos of these provinces to carry out statistical work for their own needs until the beginning of the 20th century.

As for other zemstvos in the territory of modern Ukraine, it should be noted that statistical institutions in them were created later and were poorly financed. Therefore, the zemstvos sometimes took data obtained by the Central Statistical Committee, which were collected by the police and county administrations and often did not meet the needs of the zemstvos (this, for example, happened in the Kyiv, Volyn, and Podolsk provinces (Osadchy, 1899)). The Statistical Bureau of the Tavriysk Provincial Zemstvo also initially took information from official statistical publications (the Central Statistical Committee, the Department of Agriculture and Rural Industry), some scarcely available works (Werner, 1889). But the statistics of Tavria province under the leadership of K. A. Werner received a fairly complete picture of the region. Later, they also collected data independently. Focusing on the work of statisticians in the Kherson, Poltava and Chernihiv provinces, they compared the territories of the province according to fluctuations in the average monthly temperature, precipitation, etc.

The Statistical Bureau of the Katerynoslav provincial zemstvo began to carry out surveys from the second half of the 1890s. At the end of the 1890s, its statisticians used forms for information on crops and grain harvests for the agricultural year, made according to the model of the forms of the Kaluha statistical bureau. The forms were sent to the county administrations, village elders, and landowners (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1898). At the end of the 1890s, seconded persons also collected some data. However, the information was developed by the statistical department, which in 1897 consisted of one statistician. The same situation with the number of employees of the statistical department took place in the Kyiv province, where a statistical department with 3 employees was established only in 1910 (Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenij, 1910). As a result of a constant poor financing of statistical work by the provincial administration, Kyiv province was the worst examined. Almost until 1910, there was no statistical soil survey in it. A completely different situation occurred in the provinces selected by us for consideration.

According to the characteristics of the terrain and soil, the statisticians of Chernihiv province introduced a division into natural districts. Areas of counties were divided into strips and districts. Much attention was paid to the study of the province soils. Taking into account the heterogeneity of soils in the provinces, soil maps were created based on statistical studies. These maps were further refined. According to the results of the research of Novozybkivsky county in 1880 statisticians created a new map of the county's soils, which more clearly substantiated harvest conclusions (Materialy, 1880). Using the scientific developments of V. V. Dokuchaev, statisticians of the Chernihiv Region conducted a study of the soils of the province and based on it, identified six main types of soils of the province, obtained their

characteristics and determined the territorial distribution (Materialy, 1882). Moreover, the performed statistical studies of the soil allowed the statisticians of the Chernihiv region to draw up a map of the province's soils in the 1 verst scale (Table 1). The statisticians of the Chernihiv province indicated: "the diversity of soils and terrains requires more microscopic studies" (SAKhr, f. 5, d. 1, c. 63, p. 3). Therefore, in the provinces with a greater diversity of soils, they obtained more detailed soil maps. Statisticians of the Poltava region took into account characteristics from soil studies by V. V. Dokuchaev and M. I. Arandarenko when creating own soil maps (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1888) (Table 1). This allowed them to be the first to show the distribution of land and moisture supply for districts based on the characteristic features inherent in a specific county. Statisticians of the Poltava province, based on soil characteristics and measurement data for the 26 districts into which they divided the province, carried out zoning into food, fodder and construction districts, developed a map of the province. The resulting map corresponded very precisely to the existing soil distribution and geological structure in the province (Table 2). Statisticians of the Kharkiv Provincial Zemstvo carried out a land description using the classification of soils with physical and chemical characteristics (Kasperov, 1890) (Table 1).

In the description of the Borzna county (Materialy, 1877), the statistics of the Chernihiv province obtained the characteristics of the soils from the point of view of productivity, as well as the influence of climatic conditions on productivity. This gave them the opportunity to establish the general trend of dependence of soil productivity on precipitation in the district.

At the beginning of the 1890s, statisticians began to analyze the distribution of precipitation, average temperatures and other factors. Initially, as, for example, in the description of Lohvytsky county of Poltava province, distributions of precipitation and average temperatures (for 15 years) were studied only based on the information of correspondents (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1892). Information from correspondents mainly contained qualitative characteristics. Subsequently, with the emergence of weather stations, more and more data from weather stations were involved in the analysis. At the beginning of the 1890s, the issue of the correct setting of meteorological observations was considered by the statisticians of the Poltava province. Statisticians immediately drew attention to the need for data from a sufficient number and evenly distributed weather stations. Based on meteorological data, statistics also compiled descriptions for long periods. Thus, the statistician Baranovych, in the description of Lohvytsky county of the Poltava province, compiled a statistical description of spring and autumn in the district based on twenty-year meteorological observations (Digital data, 1899).

The statisticians of the Kherson region used the data of 2 meteorological observatories (temperature and precipitation) in the description of the first district (Odesa county) and calculated the monthly average, monthly maximum and minimum, seasonal averages and annual averages. Based on observations for 16 years, they presented the general characteristics of the climate in the county. In 1885 – 1891, the statisticians of the Kherson region provided information on precipitation in the district based on the data of 17 rain gauge stations, obtained the monthly average and average for each year and analyzed the distribution (Poedynok, 2014b).

The economic description of the Volchansky county of the Kharkiv province by statistician I. Klingen (1882) included a geographical description of the district, water resources and soil moisture, soils, geological structure, climatic characteristics of the district (long-term temperature measurements, winds, precipitation and their distribution throughout the year, climatic features, etc.) (Klingen, 1882). In the description, the statistician first paid attention

to the movement of heat in the soil and its distribution by periods of the year (Table 1). I. Klingen (Klingen, 1882) pointed out the usefulness of studying the dependence between the time of ripening of grain plants at different points, under relatively similar soil and topographical conditions, and the amount of heat and moisture received at the corresponding time (Table 2). However, he limited himself only to setting the problem.

In order to obtain correct statistical characteristics in each county, the statisticians considered the structure of land ownership and the distribution of land by agricultural land for farms of different ownership types and sizes. The zemstvo statisticians of the Poltava province began to provide characteristics of farm types by categories of their capacity (Table 2). From the obtained values of arable areas for peasant farms, the statisticians of the Poltava region came to the conclusion about the need to use more intensive systems than the three-field system and a conclusion about the need for harvesting fodder for livestock based on the introduction of grass seeding, root crop cultivation, and corn sowing (Veletsckyi, 1899) (Table 1). Statisticians of the bureau studied the relationship between the farming system and natural conditions, began studying the main places of crops, respectively, their predecessors, the time of sowing, crop rotations in tilled and tilled-free farming systems. They began to do research on usefulness of soil fertilization and showed the consequences of irregular crop rotation.

As a next step, the statisticians of the Chernihiv Zemstvo began to use more precise settings of the method of determining the amount of yield, mandatory accurate recording of soil and climatic data affecting productivity of the land of the studied dacha, accurate determination of crops proportion (Rusov, 1914).

In those times, the concept of land productivity was widely used, which influenced the assessment of land. That is why, the statisticians conducted research on determining the yield of fields. Thus, in the first descriptions of the counties, the Kherson statisticians received gradations of productivity levels for the tithes of the same field depending on the year of cultivation of this field (attention was not paid to the soil quality, if it was considered uniform in the county). They paid attention to the economic system, which determined the different land productivity. This approach caused difficulties in determining the average productivity of the land in the presence of the influence of climate features. However, statisticians showed that in order to determine the average productivity of land in the county, it is necessary to have observations and accurate records for at least 10 years for all crops grown in different points of the county (Table 2). In the description of the last county (Kherson county) there was a sufficient amount of data to determine the average yields (Statisticheskoe Otdelenie, 1890) but with the introduction of constant use of fertilizers, the statisticians of the Chernihiv province showed the needlessness of the concept of natural land productivity.

Due to the action of natural factors, each province was characterized by a large unevenness of the obtained harvests by districts and even individual fields. Therefore, statisticians of all provinces studied the reasons for such disparities. Analyzing the difference in yields, the statisticians of the Kherson province not only showed the reasons for this situation (different varieties, farming culture, etc.), but also came to the objective of studying the behaviour of varieties under different weather conditions (Selsko-hozyajstvennyj obzor, 1893). They proved that the grain yield strongly depends not only on sufficient and timely precipitation, but also on soil cultivation and crop rotation. They called the strongest dependence on the method of tillage and crop rotation (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1890) (Table 2).

Since the 1890s, statisticians began to study the technical aspects of agriculture: the use of tools to perform various stages of crop cultivation, taking into account the influence of

soil conditions (preparation of arable land for sowing, etc.), the insufficiency of the action of shallow plowing, types of plows, harrows, etc. (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1892). Obtaining a sufficient amount of data allowed them to begin a statistical study of the main characteristics of crops varieties in the province, their advantages and disadvantages (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1890; Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1892; Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1893) (Table 2).

Statisticians made the conclusion that agriculture required determining the quantity and quality of land, the number of workers and livestock. The study of the relationship of these factors led to the study of methods of land cultivation, forms of land ownership, customs in agriculture management. Statisticians of the Kherson Zemstvo recognized that when dealing with phenomena that change every year, the description, which cannot be repeated every year, should choose such statistical factors that appear to be the most stable (Rusov, 1914), A. M. Zubko (1988). Such invariable factors according to Rusov (Rusov, 1914) are: the quantity and quality of land, determined by productivity; population distribution, provision of land and labor force; yield of land plots; the general situation of farms and the nature of their activity, which determines the existing methods of land exploitation (Table 2).

In 1882 I. Klingen was the first to perform an economic calculation of the average peasant economy (agricultural work, cattle breeding, etc.) (Kasperov, 1890). He described the complete sequence of performed operations for various methods of growing agricultural plants and economically evaluated the results of the performed actions for spring crops for farms of four types (Klingen, 1882). Also he described the technology of growing sugar beet in the county (seed preparation, sowing, care, digging), its possible place in crop rotations and differences in land cultivation, as well as the main varieties of sugar beet. I. Klingen gave economical evaluation of all operations on the cultivation of this crop (Table 2).

I. Klingen in 1882 also considered the main operations of animal husbandry and obtained economic evaluations separately for care, keeping in summer, keeping in winter, fattening of livestock. Based on the obtained results, he concluded that the farms of the region need reorganization so that fodder is produced in the fields and harvested (Klingen, 1882) (Table 2). Improvements require an increase in inventory, working livestock, and working capital. Then the land in the fields will be enriched and it will become profitable to establish a more intensive system, which requires increased exploitation of the soil, but will give high payments for invested capital and labor (Klingen, 1882).

Using the results of Klingen's works, statisticians of the Kharkiv provincial zemstvo conducted an analysis of methods of obtaining income from land, productivity and product prices (Table 2).

At the time of transition to the next stage of activity of zemstvo statistical institutions, activity as scientific institutions, statisticians revealed significant changes in various branches of agricultural life of the province. A well-established implementation of current statistics allowed the zemstvo statisticians to have data for conducting an annual review of the state of agriculture.

In 1905, the statistics of the Chernihiv zemstvo revealed, according to current statistics, significant changes in the structure of land ownership and in the field of farming techniques (methods of plowing, etc.). Changes in agriculture were manifested in a systematic increase in productivity: the productivity of the main grain crops increased significantly on peasant and privately owned lands in 24 years (a reliable and homogeneous material, 1885 – 1908) (On the issue of general grounds for land valuation, 1910). However, the economic conditions



and character of the peasant-type economy became completely different from those of 1876 – 1883. Paying attention to this point, statisticians proved that old materials can't be supplemented with data from current statistics, since tasks of current statistics do not include tasks of basic statistics of the economy (Rusov, 1914).

The constant study of the dynamics of crop yield was characteristic of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th. However, it should be noted that in Chernihiv province, for the statistical comparison of the harvest of 1910 and the previous year of 1909, for the main crops grown on large and small farms, the work of statisticians of Poltava province has already been used as a model.

The assessment and statistics bureau of the Chernihiv province constantly continued to survey the soil. Their result was the receipt by 1911 of detailed soil maps of Nizhynskiy, Kozeletskiy, Osterskiy, Chernihivskiy, Sosnytskyi, Horodnyanskiy, Borzneskiy counties on a 1 verst scale (Rusov, 1914) (Table 1).

The statisticians of the Chernihiv Zemstvo in their work mainly carried out a selective survey of the object of observation with the involvement of various types of groupings. They considered the methodological issues of conducting research based on the data of selective observations. They showed how to compare materials obtained from different sources as a result of the processing of sample data, to study and build methods of collecting such statistical data in order to obtain conclusions of high reliability. However, the statisticians of Chernihiv region developed a methodology for calculating the average yields of crops, which began to be used by statisticians of other province (Table 2). They set the objective of researching the amount of the obtained harvest, its quality depending on the types of soils (Rusov, 1914; On the issue, 1910).

The statistical institutions of the Poltava provincial zemstvo were the most powerful of all in the Ukrainian lands in terms of the number of employees and funds allocated by the zemstvo. In 1907, there were 181 rain gauge stations in the Poltava province (of which 98 had the devices of the provincial zemstvo), which provided information about the weather (About works, 1908).

While carrying out work on current statistics, the zemstvo statisticians of Poltava province introduced the division of counties into localities, which they called "seeded districts" (About works, 1908, p. 10). In the province, they were able to identify 49 such localities that had their own special character and took into account natural and economic conditions (Table 2).

In 1911, the statistical bureau of the Poltava provincial zemstvo was divided into two departments, each of which had a rather complex organizational structure, and there were district departments (About the, 1909). The provincial zemstvo highly appreciated the scientific level of statisticians' work and their significance for agricultural science (Appropriations, 1911). Based on this, a proposal was created in 1909 for the organization of a higher agricultural institute in Poltava (About the, 1909). The proposals indicated that the Poltava province is the best scientifically studied region. Moreover, the long-term works of statisticians of the provincial zemstvo are rich sources for scientific work of the department of economics and statistics of agriculture and for study by future students of the institute. (About the, 1909) (Table 2).

Table 1

**Main Achievements of Zemstvo Statisticians  
in the Study of Soils and Agricultural Experimentation**

Provincial zemstvo	Main achievements and improvements of statistical institutions of the province during the period	
	Formation and development	Activities and current statistics
Chernihiv	<b>From 1876</b> (cessation of activity in 1878 – 1880). Groupings in agricultural investigations; statistical studies of soils by territorial units; <b>construction of maps of the province's soils</b> ; initiation of methods of current agricultural statistics (1888) <b>Chernihiv type of zemstvo statistics</b>	<b>1903 – 1918</b> . Methodological issues of conducting selective research for agriculture
Poltava	<b>From 1880</b> . Characteristics of soils based on the results of research under the leadership of V. V. Dokuchaev; <b>conclusion about the dependence of the harvest on the nature of the soil, the method of management, fertilizer, tillage and the number of workers</b>	<b>1895 – 1918</b> . Regional soil maps of the province; statistical study of the characteristics of varieties of the main cultivated crops; statistical study of the use of artificial fertilizers (phosphates, potassium and nitrogen fertilizers)
Kherson	<b>From 1881</b> (unsuccessful initiation attempts in 1863, 1873). <b>The technique for detecting the dependence of one factor on others</b> (the influence of climatic factors on the crop, weather factors on the development and yield of the main crops)	<b>1899 – 1918</b> . Implementation of statistically obtained normal values of indicators and analysis of deviations of actual values of indicators from normal values (temperature, precipitation, etc.); <b>multifactorial research</b> (the analysis of the impact of precipitation on the amount of crop yields, taking into account the action of other weather factors; <b>study of changes in various agricultural indicators according to functional dependence</b> (linear))
Kharkiv	<b>From 1881</b> . Adding data on soil moisture, geological structure and soils, climatic characteristics (long-term measurements of temperature, amount and distribution of precipitation, winds, climatic features, heat movement in the soil and its distribution throughout the year, etc.)	<b>1908 – 1918</b> . <b>Analysis of the issue of the smallest number of experimental fields for the province</b> ; statistical works for conducting collective experiments on the study of the effect of mineral fertilizers and testing varieties (at the same time, on a large territory, a large number of experiments under the same program gave a huge amount of data under different weather, soil and other conditions)

The scientific setting of objectives in the studies of the statistical bureau allowed in 1914, in cooperation with the Poltava Agricultural Society, to start solving the task of organizing the economy with a predetermined level of economic productivity (Table 2). To create such economy, a preliminary study and analysis of local soil, physical and geographical, economic

and other conditions were required. In addition, statisticians proved the need for typicality in the soil-climatic relationship of experimental field and identity of the soil properties of the site and the entire district (Duvin, 1913, p. 16) and found a field with such properties in the newly formed farm. Using the concept of typicality and developed methods, the statisticians of Poltava province were the first to statistically study the use of artificial fertilizers (phosphates, potash, and nitrogen fertilizers) (About the, 1909) (Table 2).

However, not all the results of research in cooperation with the Poltava Agricultural Society were so successful. Thus, D. Korzun (2021) in his research exposed an example of obtaining incorrect results of statistical processing of research data based on research works carried out by order of the Kyiv Society of Agriculture and Agricultural Industry at the Poltava Experimental Field in 1899 – 1903. The reason was the incorrect method of measuring soil moisture in the experiments, i.e. the inaccuracy of the experimental data, which caused the statisticians to obtain an incorrect conclusion.

In the statistical review of 1905, the zemstvo statisticians of the Kherson province processed data on the harvest of 5% of all peasant farms by counties and groups of farms using the methods of a sample survey. As a result, they found that the yield of bread decreased from the northwest to the southeast and reached a difference of 140% (due to a significant difference in soil and climatic conditions). Therefore, statisticians calculated normal average yields for individual districts and compared the yields of different parts (SAKhR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 63, 57 p.). Analyzing the harvest in counties and provinces, they showed its closeness to the average level in almost all counties. Next, they formed a general idea about the results of the harvest based on grouping according to 5 different groups of signs and the use of relative values (the ratio of the annual harvest to the average harvest for 10 years) (SAKhR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 63, 57 p.).

In 1897 – 1898, V. F. Arnold conducted a sample survey of the budgets of peasant farms in the Kherson province and introduced functional dependencies of the selected type into use. Using the formula of a linear equation, he constructed dependencies for the main factors of the economic well-being of the peasant economy (Meeting of representatives, 1899). This made it possible to recognize the need for periodic budget surveys of various types of farms with the aim of providing agro-technical assistance to farms. Introducing functional dependencies into the statistical and economic analysis of the peasant economy, he made additional theoretical studies on the analysis of statistical dependencies (using the example of the relationship between the size of the sown area and the number of livestock (Assembly of representatives, 1899; Makiyenko, 2002). According to their results, he proposed a method of data analysis, which became a practical basis for the implementation of regression data analysis in agricultural research, and proved that the obtained relationships between factors, expressed mathematically, allow designing the main types of farms in the district based on minimal data (Table 2).

In reviews of agriculture, statistics of the Kherson province provided a detailed description of weather conditions throughout all seasons. Based on the statistically obtained concept of normality of the indicator value, they determined the average (normal) values of weather factors, calculated deviations from the norm, temperature and precipitation fluctuations, winds, measurements of soil freezing, etc. The revealed large unevenness of precipitation by season prompted statisticians to study, based on long-term data, the impact of precipitation on the amount of harvests of various crops, taking into account other weather factors (Table 2). It should be noted that the data were collected from the rain gauge stations of the districts. As of 1912, there were many stations (for example, 34 stations worked in the Kherson district). Although in 1912, the number of stations that provided observation data in one or another month was no more than 32, and in January only 20 (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1914).

In the annual reviews of statistics, temperature data and amounts of precipitation for the autumn and winter were given in order to reflect the influence of weather on fieldwork, and they gave a complete description of the development and growth of the main crops. And in the review for 1908, when studying the influence of weather conditions on the development of plants, they cited the results of experiments of the Kherson experimental field regarding the density and bushiness of cereals. The presented results related to the study of the density and bushiness of cereals during the growing season under different cultivation options and for three plowing depths (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1910).

Since 1904, a new section was introduced in the annual surveys of the Kherson province of statistics, which included the processed and summarized results of observations on the Kherson experimental field (Statistical and economic survey, 1904). In the section, the zemstvo statisticians analyzed the influence of the method of land cultivation and its predecessors on the amount of the harvest. They concluded that the main influence on the harvest in the province is the amount of precipitation, namely soil moisture, and the very method of field cultivation affects the preservation of moisture in the field (Table 2). Statisticians analyzed the experiments results of the Kherson experimental field for the entire period of research (up to 21 years). Among the findings were, for example, increasing the plowing depth beyond 4 inches did not greatly affect wheat yield, and plowing depth above 6 inches did not greatly affect rye yield.

As you can see, the research was repeated over many years and became more complicated. With the development of management systems, statistics began to consider experiments on the influence of predecessors in 9-field, 6-field and 4-field crop rotations (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1910). According to the results of the processing and analysis of the experimental data, the statisticians of the Kherson province proved that the accumulation and conservation of moisture through appropriate soil cultivation is very important for the province. When surveying the province in 1909, they analyzed vegetative laboratory experiments with various crops grown in the laboratory on various soil samples. Since 1910, statisticians began to analyze the data of experiments on determination of the content of nitrogen, humus, sulfuric and phosphoric acids for seven settlements of the Kherson province (as average of 2-4 determinations) and laboratory experiments on the use of fertilizers (Statistiko-ekonomicheskij obzor, 1914) (Table 2).

In 1908, statisticians of the Kharkiv province developed a programme (Doklady, 1908) for collecting information from district agronomists, which consisted of six sections and included questions about crop rotations and grass sowing, improvements, forms of land use, number of strips in the field, grouping of strips into larger uniform sets, obstacles to the transition to four fields, crop sizes, equipment and much more. The experience of work on obtaining the characteristics of the province “on the basis of meteorological data” (Reports, 1908, p. 151) allowed the zemstvo statisticians to formulate and solve the problem of the smallest number of experimental fields for the Kharkiv province (Table 2). Moreover, they singled out 3 regions according to the amount of precipitation (north-western, central and southeastern (Reports, 1908, p. 151) and showed that, in accordance with the data on moisture, data on yield for 10 years were distributed. According to the results of the statistical study of the Akhtyr county, the Evaluation and Statistics department carried out districting of the county and compiled the location map of organizational and industrial districts and plots (“Reports”, 1908). Obtaining a large amount of data from collective experiments in the province allowed the statisticians of the Kharkiv province to start work on the study of the effect of mineral fertilizers and variety testing (Reports, 1908).

Table 2

## Main Achievements of Zemstvo Statisticians in Crop Farming and Economics

Provincial zemstvo	Main achievements and improvements of statistical institutions of the province during the period	
	Formation and development	Activities and current statistics
Chernihiv	<b>From 1876</b> (cessation of activity in 1878 – 1880). Proof the possibility of statistical exposure of the influence of natural and geographical factors on agricultural productivity; production of research in crop farming (study of crop rotation, fertilization). <b>Chernihiv type of zemstvo statistics</b>	<b>1903 – 1918</b> . Research on the size of the harvest depending on the type of soil; <b>methodology for calculating average harvests</b>
Poltava	<b>From 1880</b> . Characteristics of farms by capacity categories; study of the degree of intensity of agricultural work; livestock feeding research and a conclusion on the need to introduce grass seeding and root crops for fodder harvesting; research in crop farming (tillage, crop rotation)	<b>1895 – 1918</b> . Study of farming systems and crop rotations, technical aspects of farming (various tools, taking into account the influence of soil type, tillage methods, plowing depth, field operations); <b>zoning of the province</b> (food, fodder and construction areas) for the development of economic activity in accordance with the natural conditions of the area; <b>selection of sowing areas</b> , taking into account natural and economic conditions; proposal for the organization of a higher agricultural institute in Poltava (1909) with the department of agricultural economy and statistics; <b>solving the problem of organizing the economy with a predetermined level of economic productivity</b>
Kherson	<b>From 1881</b> (unsuccessful initiation attempts in 1863, 1873). Proving the need to study soils, land ownership, forms of labor of all strata of the population to study the state of agriculture	<b>1899 – 1918</b> . Analysis of the unevenness of the obtained harvests due to the influence of weather, the amount of precipitation, differences in land cultivation; study of varieties of main crops; <b>proving the decisive role for the development of plants in the province of moisture conservation by appropriate soil cultivation</b>
Kharkiv	<b>From 1881</b> . Formulation of the task of studying the dependence between the time of ripening of crops under fixed soil and topographic conditions and the amount of heat and moisture, the time of sowing; research on farming systems (crop rotation); economic assessment of the sequence of operations in the cultivation of agricultural crops for different types of farms; economic assessment of productive cattle breeding; <b>economic calculation of an average peasant farm</b> ; analysis of characteristics of beet farms	<b>1908 – 1918</b> . <b>Obtaining organizational and production districts and districts according to the proportions of agricultural crops</b>

**The Conclusion.** As a result of the conducted research, it has been determined that the application of statistics, as the latest scientific methodology, in agricultural research allowed



the zemstvo statistical institutions to analyze and justify the results, to set and solve new actual practical tasks. The paper analyzes the experience and achievements of the statistical work of the provincial zemstvos of the territory of modern Ukraine in the agricultural sector and finds out their significance for modern branches of agricultural science. Establishing the importance of the results of the zemstvo statisticians' work for agricultural science was carried out on the example of statisticians' work of Chernihiv, Poltava, Kherson and Kharkiv provinces, since these provinces had the most powerful statistical institutions.

The analysis of the work of the provincial statisticians made it possible to identify the main stages of their activity in the study of agriculture in the region. It also allowed us to conclude that the statistical institutions of the zemstvos turned into powerful scientific institutions in their activities. It has been shown that the search by provincial statisticians for new research methods to achieve a qualitatively higher level of practical development of the region's agriculture, based on strict adherence to scientific methodologies, led to outstanding scientific results.

The highlighted achievements of the Zemstvo statisticians in the fields of soil science, agriculture, agronomy, crop production, research work, and agricultural economics establish the power of Zemstvo statistics in shaping directions of research in various branches of agrarian science and prove the importance of the contribution of statistical research to a rapid development of agrarian science in the 20th century.

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**Lidiia LAZURKO**

PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Professor of the Department History of Ukraine and Jurisprudence, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (lazurkol@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-9748-9249

Researcher ID: D-4089-2019

**Inna TURYANITSYA**

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Hungary and European Integration, Uzhhorod National University, 14 Universitetska Street, Uzhgorod, Ukraine, postal code 88000 (inna\_t12@ukr.net)

ORCID: 0009-0000-5192-2994

**Лідія ЛАЗУРКО**

докторка історичних наук, професорка, професорка кафедри історії України та правознавства Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100(lazurkol@gmail.com)

**Інна ТУРЯНИЦЯ**

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри історії Угорщини та європейської інтеграції ДВНЗ “Ужгородський національний університет”, вул. Університетська, 14, м. Ужгород, Україна, індекс 88000 (inna\_t12@ukr.net)

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## HISTORY OF LITHUANIA IN AUTHORS' RESEARCH IN "KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY" LVIV MAGAZINE (1887 – 1939)

**Abstract.** *The purpose* of the study is to trace the evolution of authors' research interests in history of Lithuania in the "Kwartalnik Historyczny" magazine during the Lviv period of its activity (1887 – 1939). **The research methodology** is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special historical (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time, on the basis of historiographical sources, the development of Lithuanian studies is traced in the studies of scholars focused on the Polish specialized historical journal "Kwartalnik Historyczny", which was published in Lviv during the period of 1887 – 1939. **The Conclusion.** The magazine "Kwartalnik Historyczny" – the printed organ of the Lviv Historical Society was the intellectual centre around which professional researchers of history gathered. The priority areas of interest of the authors of this edition were the past of the Red rus, with the ambitious goal of covering all printed products of the history of



Poland. One of the important thematic areas of the magazine was also the history of Lithuania, in particular those issues related to the common Polish-Lithuanian past. Both during the first and second periods of the periodical's existence, on its pages there were discussed issues of the ancient history of Lithuania, Polish-Lithuanian relations, and socio-economic development of territories. The topics of the Polish-Lithuanian unions as decisive for the history of both states were the most debatable. These studies, written in the spirit of positivism, lacked broad generalizations, demonstrated mastery of source criticism and a certain micrographicism. In the interwar twenty years, with Poland gaining independence, these themes took on a new tone. In particular, the problem of researching the history of the Jagiellonian era, which is relevant for the Polish society, and in it the idea of joint political coexistence of the Poles with the Lithuanians, reached new stages of development.

**Key words:** scientific press, history of Lithuania, Polish Historical Society, historiography.

## ІСТОРІЯ ЛИТВИ У ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯХ АВТОРІВ ЛЬВІВСЬКОГО ЧАСОПІСУ “KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY” (1887 – 1939)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – відстежити еволюцію дослідницьких зацікавлень авторів часопису “Kwartalnik Historyczny” у вивченні історії Литви впродовж львівського періоду його діяльності (1887 – 1939). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об’єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на підставі історіографічних джерел простежуються розвиток литuanістики у дослідженнях науковців, зосереджених довкола польського фахового історичного часопису “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, що впродовж 1887 – 1939 рр. видавався у Львові. **Висновки.** Часопис “Kwartalnik Historyczny” – друкований орган львівського історичного товариства був тим інтелектуальним осередком, довкола якого згуртувалися фахові дослідники історії. Пріоритетними напрямками інтересів авторів цього видання було минуле Червоної русі, з амбітною метою охопити усю друковану продукцію з історії Польщі. Одним з важливих тематичних напрямів видання була також історія Литви, зокрема питання, що стосувалися спільного польсько-литовського минулого. Як у перший, так і в другий періоди існування часопису на його сторінках порушувалися проблеми давньої історії Литви, польсько-литовських стосунків та соціально-економічного розвитку окремих земель. Найбільш дискусійними були теми польсько-литовських уній як визначальні для історії обох держав. У цих дослідженнях, створених у дусі позитивізму, були відсутні широкі узагальнення, демонструвалися майстерність критики джерел та певний мікрографізм. У міжвоєнне двадцятиліття, зі здобуттям Польщею незалежності, ці теми отримали нове звучання. Зокрема, на нові витки розвитку вийшла актуальна для польського суспільства проблема дослідження історії ягеллонської доби, а в ній – ідеї спільного політичного співіснування поляків з литвинами.

**Ключові слова:** наукова преса, історія Литви, Польське історичне товариство, історіографія.

**The Problem Statement.** In the 2nd half of the 19th century, since scientization of history scientific journals began to play the role of a kind of tribune, from which actual achievements of science about the past were announced, around which the most heated discussions that entered a public sphere took place. Therefore, the scientific press is interpreted as a separate phenomenon by modern historiography, which in a concentrated form contains a reflection of scientific progress. Such a separate historiographical phenomenon is the magazine “Kwartalnik Historyczny” – the official spokesman of the first all-Polish Historical Society, which was published in Lviv in 1886. The authors of this professional journal of a universal nature focused on the issues of Lithuania’s past as a state that had been key in Polish history for a long time before the establishment of the Commonwealth of Both Nations.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research.** In the 60s and 80s of the 20th century the first specialized studies devoted to the journal appeared, but there was only analyzed the problem of understanding of authors' and editors' contribution to the formation and professionalization of the Polish historical science (Śreniowska, 1960; Maternicki, 1996). As for the past of Lithuania, the era of the Polish People's Republic historiography was not too favourable to this topic (Ochmański, 1961). The situation changed at the turn of the 20th – 20st centuries, when the activity of "Kwartalnik Historyczny" began to be considered as a separate historiographical phenomenon, which reflected the progress of historical thought (Telvak, 2005). At the same time, individual historiographical problems in the coverage of the magazine's authors become a subject of interest (Telvak & Telvak, 2018; Lazurko & Dikhtiiievskiyi, 2021). At the current stage, we observe a growing interest of researchers in understanding the contribution of individual historiographic centres and institutions to the study of Lithuania's past (Kutsyi, 2010; Vinnychenko, 2015), as well as understanding of some scholars' research in the study of this topic (Gmerek, 2016; Sierżęga, 2020).

**The Purpose of Publication.** The purpose of the article is to trace the evolution of authors' research interests of the journal "Kwartalnik Historyczny" in the study of the history of Lithuania during the Lviv period (1887 – 1939).

**The Results of the Research.** A significant part of the contents of the magazine "Kwartalnik Historyczny" (hereinafter – "KH") dealt with the history studies of the north-eastern lands of the divided Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Long and complex Polish-Lithuanian relations were always at the centre of focus of the Polish researchers of antiquity. "KH" was no exception, on the pages of which we can see many publications devoted to these issues, in particular the analysis of the first attempts at a synthetic understanding of Lithuania's past, the problems of ancient history, the issue of legal and political relations with Poland, the study of features of a socio-economic development of the region, etc. A. Prochaska, V. Kętrzyński, A. Lewicki, A. Kopystiański, and V. Nowodworski presented their vision of the specified issues in their papers on the pages of "KH". Among the reviewers of the magazine who worked on the history studies of Lithuania, we find the names of Ya. Jakubowski, A. Lewicki, A. Prochaska, I. Linniczenko, O. Halecki, and V. Nowodworski.

A great interest of the magazine's authors was aroused by the ancient history of Lithuania. In particular, the issue of the first Lithuanian Duke Mindog's apostasy was analyzed by A. Prochaska, who sought to revise the established views on the Duke's renunciation of the Christian faith. Traditionally, the case of the Duke's apostasy was associated with breaking of peace agreements with the Crusaders. The author, on the contrary, defended the opinion that the return of Lithuania to paganism and a subsequent slowdown of the Christianization of this land for the whole century was connected precisely with the apostasy of the Grand Duke (Prochaska, 1906, pp. 58–73). The issue of localization of the ancient capital of Lithuania, where Prince Mindog ruled, was analyzed on the pages of the magazine by V. Kętrzyński. It is noteworthy that while analyzing the information of the oldest chronicles, the author also referred to the achievements in the field of archeology of Lithuanian ancient researchers (Kętrzyński, 1906, pp. 604–611).

The Polish scholars focused on the issues of legal and political relations between Lithuania and Poland during the Middle Ages. Thus, A. Lewicki's research published on the pages of the magazine focuses on finding out the time of Vytautas Keistutovych receiving the title of Duke of Lithuania. This made it possible for the Polish king Jagiełło to extinguish the flames of the struggle for the throne and retain the supreme power in Lithuania under the title of Grand

Duke of Lithuania. A. Lewicki, in particular, assumed that Vytautas was appointed general elder of Lithuania in 1392. He was titled in just a few years and took a fief oath to Jagiełło. The author concluded that at the end of the 14th century the Polish-Lithuanian relations took on the character of a union of two states, and only after the death of Vytautas the Principality of Lithuania was to become part of Poland again (Lewicki, 1894, pp. 424–436).

The research on the last years of the reign of Kiejstut, the uncle of King Wadysław II Jagiełło, was published on the pages of the magazine by A. Prochaska. The crusaders, seeking to seize Žemaitia and take Lithuania under their protectorate, took advantage of its split into pagan and Christian and created such situation that provoked confrontation between Jagiełło, who was leaning towards Christianity, and his uncle Kiejstut, a supporter of preserving the old faith (Prochaska, 1909).

The Ukrainian scholar A. Kopystiański presented the research on the life and activities of the Lithuanian prince Mikhail Sigismundovich on the pages of the magazine. This work was published as part of a historical seminar at Lviv University, which was directed by L. Finkel. The hero of A. Kopystiański's research was the late Vytautas Keistutovych, whose biography was presented against the background of historical events in Lithuania after signing the Union of Krewo (Kopystiański, 1906, pp. 75–165).

The authors of the journal "Kwartalnik Historyczny" attached special importance to the critical assessment of scientific research, and from the beginning of its activity, "The Reviews" section occupied up to half of the publication's issues. Reviewers of the magazine analyzed the works on the history of Lithuania carefully, which were of a synthetic nature. At the end of the 19th century the Polish historians pointed out that due to greater opportunities for the Russian researchers to access archival materials on the history of Lithuania, which were kept in Moscow, it was they who led the way in the study of Lithuanian studies. Despite the fact that historians such as A. Lewicki, S. Smolka, A. Prochaska, F. Papeč also dealt with these issues, their research was primarily concerned with political history and was not of a synthetic nature. In this context, critics on the pages of the magazine noted the works of Moscow University professor M. Liubavskiy on the history of the Lithuanian-Russian state before the Union of Lublin, which summarized the historiographical work on this topic up to that time (Jakubowski, 1911, pp. 295–298). "KH" also monitored the work of Ukrainian scholars on this topic. For example, we meet A. Lewicki's review of the "History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" edited by O. Barvinskyi. It was a compilation from V. Antonovych's work "Essay on the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" and D. Illovayskyi's "History of Russia". A. Lewicki noted that V. Antonovych's skillfully, critically and objectively written work, which was published as early as 1878, was practically unknown in Galicia, and he used the opportunity to introduce the readers of "KH" to its main features in the review (Lewicki, 1888, pp. 132–135).

Publications of a popular nature also fell into the field of view of the magazine's authors. Thus, one cannot fail to mention a small critical review of P. Briantsov's textbook on the history of the ancient Lithuanian state. This book, written in a lively, figurative language, was intended for a wide range of readers (J.A.M., 1890, pp. 352–353). Reviewers also noted the introductory essay on the history of Lithuania by Konstanzia Skirmunt, created as a textbook for schoolchildren. A. Prochaska drew the readers' attention to the fact that in this work the author skillfully overcame the obstacles associated with the lack of monographic works, showing remarkable historical and popularization skills (Prochaska, 1887, pp. 312–313).

A short review of sources for the history of Lithuania in the Middle Ages, made by A. Barabashev, also received favourable reviews from the magazine's authors. Russian,

Lithuanian, Livonian and Prussian chronicles were included in this work, which was not an independent study and was interpreted rather as a bibliographic work. In general, the mentioned short review was characterized as very useful for novice researchers of Lithuanian history (Linniczenko, 1889, pp. 554–555).

The works devoted to the study of the Lithuanian chronicle received positive feedback on the pages of the journal. Published by I. Danylovyh in 1823 – 1824, his Suprasl List was long forgotten among researchers of antiquity. Of course, it was used, but no one dared to critically examine it. The first Polish historian to address this question was S. Smolka, who divided the text of the chronicle into its components and analyzed them in detail (Prochaska, 1890, pp. 574–577). Subsequently, A. Prochaska proposed his own study of this problem. And if S. Smolka used only the text of the annals published by I. Danylovyh, A. Prochaska also had at his disposal a facsimile of one of the manuscripts of this annals from the Poznań library, which gave him additional arguments for polemics with S. Smolka (Lewicki, 1891, pp. 164–166).

The work of Oskar Stavenhagen was also dedicated to the beginnings of the reign of Prince Vytautas in Lithuania. Critics of the journal favourably received his research, which related to the reasons for the worsening of Polish-Lithuanian relations due to the rapprochement of Lithuania with the Crusaders in 1398. At Congress of Lithuanian and the Order representatives on Lake Salina, Vytautas concluded an agreement with the Order, by which he announced the transfer of Žemaitia to the latter in full possession. As a result, the Polish-Lithuanian Union was disrupted (Prochaska, 1909, pp. 407–409).

According to critics, the reign of Sigismundt Keistutovych is one of the least covered topics of Lithuanian history, which is important for learning about the past not only of Lithuania, but also of Poland and Ukraine. That is why, the work of the Ukrainian researcher B. Barvinskyi, who, using the latest material, presented a thorough analysis of the ruler's activities and based on this, presented a vivid image of the rule of the rightful successor of Vytautas and Svydrygail. The work was distinguished by its clarity and systematic presentation. Its value, as noted by A. Prochaska, was not only in the fact that it was the first attempt to analyze the activity of the above mentioned person, but primarily in the fact that it "promoted historical science a step forward" (Prochaska, 1906, pp. 339–345). Subsequently, on the pages of the journal, we also find reviews of documents published by B. Barvinsky in "Notes of the National Academy of Sciences", related to the times of Lithuanian princes Svydrygail and Sigismundt Keistutovych (Halecki, 1915, pp. 324–327).

The research conducted by I. Lappo was aimed at recreating social and political structure of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1569 – 1586. Critics of the magazine drew readers' attention to a low scientific level of this compilative work. However, they also noted that the author raised issues that were not often the focus of the Polish historiography of that time and were insufficiently developed. In particular, V. Nowodworski wrote the following: against the background of the lack of a monograph on the Lublin Union of 1569 at that time, the lack of comparative studies on structure peculiarities of Lithuanian state institutions and a number of other problems, this work stood out quite favourably from among the other topical issues discussed (Nowodworski, 1902, pp. 331–341).

Great importance was attached to "The Miscellanea" column in the "Kwartalnik Historyczny" magazine, which published small source materials. Accompanied by comments, often discussed, these materials were a kind of example of the critical method application in history and were presented on the pages of the publication as a standard of skills of a professional historian.

In this column, A. Prochaska analyzed the issue of documenting the oath of loyalty that Vytautas took to King Jagiełło and the Polish state. The researcher presented in a chronological order and summarized the content of five known oath texts. A. Prochaska added another text to this list, which he found in the codex “Ratificacio inscripcionum magni ducis” at the University of Prague. The text of this document was published in “KH” and there were added comments by the researcher (Prochaska, 1895, pp. 233–238).

A. Prochaska had analyzed this issue on the pages of the magazine before. Thus, in the section “The Miscellanea” on the pages of “KH” we see his translation from Russian into Latin of an excerpt from the fifth part of the annals of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. According to A. Prochaska, this text was used by J. Dlugosz when writing his “History of Poland”. The author also made assumptions about the identity of the translator and drew attention to the importance of reproducing this fragment of the annals, which in many ways supplemented the previous lists (Prochaska, 1887, pp. 196–201).

The researcher also addressed the issues of socio-economic development of Lithuania. In the publication entitled “Something about the Starostat in Žemaitia” A. Prochaska raises the issue of a separate status of these lands as part of the Lithuanian state and its preservation even after joining Poland. The researcher believed that such situation was based on certain possibilities of regional autonomy that developed historically. One of the features of this autonomy was an independent position of zemstvo officials, who were elected in zemstvo, and the prince only approved this choice. The position of a headman was also elective. A. Prochaska was looking for answers to the question of the historical conditions in which such management traditions developed in Žemaitia land. As an illustration, he cited the text of the royal decree of the beginning of the 16th century (from the archive of the Lithuanian Metrics in Moscow), the case of Žemaitia headman’s competence (Prochaska, 1895, pp. 663–667). Another vivid illustration of a special status of this land was V. Nowodworski’s publication of a document with the resolution text of the Vilkiū Diet in Žemaitia dated March 28, 1576 in the matter of land management (Nowodworski, 1902, pp. 457–458).

The interest of the magazine’s authors in the history of Lithuania faded somewhat during the interwar twenty years. However, the issues of legal succession to the Lithuanian crown, the origins of princely dynasties, relations with Poland, the history of individual lands of the principality, the origin of the Lithuanian people and the structure of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continued to be discussed. In connection with the acquisition of independence by Poland, the Jagiellonian idea acquired a new dimension.

Thus, Kolankowski focused on the issue of the transfer of the Lithuanian crown, which was acutely faced by the Polish king Jagiełło after the death of Prince Vytautas. The author highlighted this problem against a broad background of relations between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1420 – 1430. (Kolankowski, 1926, pp. 386–399). Kazimierz Chodyncki published a study in the journal devoted to the genesis of the Grand Duke Gediminas of Lithuania dynasty, from which many outstanding monarchs of both Lithuania and Poland descended. He drew attention to the lack of thorough works on this issue, which was surprising, since it was not about the ancient times of the Lithuanian state formation, but about the era when Lithuania already passed the initial stages of its development and under the leadership of Mindovg, the unification of individual tribes into a single state organism took place. After analyzing all available materials, K. Chodyncki singled out three main versions about Gediminas’s Teutonic, Lithuanian and Moscow lines of origin. The author



paid special attention to the hypothesis about Žemaitia origin of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas's dynasty (Chodynicki, 1926, pp. 541–566).

The history of the Union of Poland with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1325 (the first in the Polish-Lithuanian relations) directed against the Order was studied by S. Zajączkowski. The Union was sealed by the marriage of Kazimierz, the heir to the Polish throne, with Aldona, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas. The author noted that it was a turning point in the Polish-Lithuanian relations moment in the 13th – 14th centuries – the first important step towards the path, which from a sharp confrontation led to the conclusion of the Union in 1386 (Zajączkowski, 1927, pp. 343–345).

F. Papeë analyzed the origin issue of the Lithuanian people in the pages of the magazine. He focused, in particular, on the analysis of previous research not so much on political history as on ethnolinguistic studies. Under the conditions of sharp international confrontations, which Poland experienced after gaining independence, the magazine called for a scientific dialogue in solving controversial issues of history. Thus, F. Papeë in the above mentioned study wrote not only about the significant progress made by the Polish scholars in the study of this issue, but also about "the need to overcome the "Great Wall of China" between Poland and Lithuania and the need for joint research of common history" (Papeë, 1927, pp. 465–476).

The Jagiellonian period was in the spotlight of many researchers of the interwar twenty years as a dreamy and unattainable age for the 20th century international harmony. The times of the Jagiellonian dynasty, in particular the relations with the eastern neighbours, were of interest to those scholars who studied the history of the Polish expansion to the East during the period of the greatest power of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Much had been written about the "Jagiellonian idea" as such, which was still relevant and in which the search of grounds for "further aspirations of the power of Poland" continued. In the jubilee volume of "KH" for 1937, a study by O. Halecki, in agreement with the official doctrine, was published, in which "the Jagiellonian idea" was presented as extremely relevant for the formulation of a modern national idea. The connection between Poland and Lithuania was interpreted in the spirit of federalism of time, based on a "mixed civilization" spread from the Baltic to the Black Sea. As an ideological concept, "the Jagiellonian idea" was opposed to both narrow nationalism and "the Moscow doctrine" (Halecki, 1937, pp. 487–510; Kolankowski, 1926, pp. 386–399).

During the interwar period, the magazine's authors continued the review section. In particular, the review of S. Zajączkowski's study, devoted to the history of Žemaitia in the 13th century, attracts attention. This work consisted of two sections. In the first section, the author focused on geographical and statistical description of Žemaitia during the period of analysis and its borders. In the second section, S. Zajączkowski presented the history of Žemaitia during the times of Mindovg, focusing on the most ancient times – the first attempts to capture these lands by the Crusaders and the struggle of the autochthonous population for independence (Prochaska, 1926, pp. 200–203).

An attempt to fill historiographical lacunae in the study of the organization of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until 1386 was the work of Witold Kamenetskyi. In particular, he was interested in finding out the influence of the Order of the Crusaders, who came to the country from Livonia and Prussia, on Lithuania. Critics had certain reservations about the work, which was not based on a source analysis of Lithuanian institutions, but was only a comparison of facts and was of a rather abstract nature (Zajączkowski, 1927, pp. 343–345).

The magazine “Kwartalnik Historyczny” – the printed organ of the Lviv Historical Society was an intellectual centre around which professional researchers of history gathered. The priority area of interest of authors of this edition was the past of the Red rus, with the ambitious goal of covering all printed products on the history of Poland. One of the important thematic areas of the magazine was also the history of Lithuania, in particular those issues related to the common Polish-Lithuanian past. Both during the first and second periods of the periodical’s existence, there were discussed issues of ancient history of Lithuania, Polish-Lithuanian relations, and socio-economic development of some territories. The topics of the Polish-Lithuanian Union as decisive for the history of both states were the most debatable. These studies, created in the spirit of positivism, lacked broad generalizations, demonstrated mastery of source criticism and a certain micrographicism. During the interwar twenty years, after Poland gained independence, these themes took on a new tone. In particular, the problem of researching the history of the Jagiellonian era, which is relevant for the Polish society, and in it the idea of joint political coexistence of the Poles with the Lithuanians, reached new stages of development.

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**Natalia BULYK**

PhD (History), Head of the Department of Archaeology, I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 24 Vynnychenko Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79008 (nata\_bnm@ukr.net)

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-9040-2676  
**Researcher ID:** ABB-1241-2020  
**Scopus Author ID:** 57213825937

**Roman BEREST**

PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Department of Directing and Choreography, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 16a Stefanyka Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79005, (berest\_liet@ukr.net)

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-7405-2020

**Наталія БУЛИК**

кандидатка історичних наук, завідувачка відділу археології Інституту українознавства імені Івана Крип'якевича Національної академії наук України, вул. Винниченка, 24, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79008 (nata\_bnm@ukr.net)

**Роман БЕРЕСТ**

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри режисури та хореографії Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Стефаника, 16 а, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79005 (berest\_liet@ukr.net)

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**THE DIDUSHYTSKY FAMILY'S MISSION IN CONSERVATION AND RESEARCH OF GALICIAN HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE**

**Abstract.** The purpose of the research is to highlight the contribution of the Didushytsky family to the preservation of Galician historical and archaeological heritage on the basis of archival published materials and scientific papers; to do research on their role in the development of Lviv archeology until the middle of the 20th century. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, objectivity, systematicity, the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) special and historical (prosopographic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. The scientific novelty is caused by the introduction of archival documents and little-known works of the 19th and early 20th centuries into scientific circulation, which makes it possible to show the contribution of the Didushytsky family to the conduct of archaeological research in the territories of western Ukraine, their role in preservation and exhibition of archaeological finds, etc. **The Conclusion.** The formation of a powerful scientific centre around the Didushytsky Museum took place owing to the



interest and financial support of individual representatives of the Didushytsky family. From the end of the 19th century far from the last place was occupied by archaeology in the Museum. Volodymyr Didushytsky laid the foundations of archaeological collection and provided it with scientific analysis by “finding” the only professional archaeologist for the Museum in Lviv at that time, Karol Hadaczek. The work of the founder was continued by the second resident, Tadeusz Didushytsky, who supported archaeological research in every possible way, owing to whom the collection increased, the results of fieldwork were published, and the Museum became known among archaeologists in Europe. The successors of Tadeusz Didushytsky, Pavlo and Volodymyr (junior), tried to make some progress in preserving the historical and cultural heritage, but the financial crisis that affected the family in the 1920s and 1930s affected this line of activity as well. At the beginning of World War II, the preservation of historical and architectural monuments receded into the background. Archeology started to belong to the newly established Lviv Historical Museum.

**Key words:** the Didushytsky family, historical and cultural heritage, archaeological site, prehistoric department.

### МІСЯ ДІДУШИЦЬКИХ У ЗБЕРЕЖЕННІ ТА ДОСЛІДЖЕННІ ІСТОРИКО-АРХЕОЛОГІЧНОЇ СПАДЩИНИ ГАЛИЧИНИ

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – на основі архівних і опублікованих матеріалів та наукових праць висвітлити внесок родини Дідушицьких у збереження історико-археологічної спадщини Галичини; дослідити їх роль у розвитку львівської археології до середини ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження** побудована на принципах історизму, науковості, об’єктивності, системності, використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (просопографічний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** зумовлена введенням до наукового обігу архівних документів та маловідомих праць ХІХ – початку ХХ ст., що дає змогу показати внесок родини Дідушицьких у проведення археологічних досліджень на теренах заходу України, їх роль у збереженні й експонуванні археологічних знахідок тощо. **Висновки.** Формування потужного наукового осередку навколо музею Дідушицьких відбувалося завдяки зацікавленості і фінансовій підтримці окремих представників цієї родини. З кінця ХІХ ст. далеко не останнє місце у музеї займала археологія. Володимир Дідушицький заклав основи археологічної колекції і забезпечив її наукове опрацювання, «знайшовши» для музею єдиного на той час у Львові фахового археолога Кароля Гадачека. Справу засновника продовжив другий ординат Тадеуш Дідушицький, який всіляко підтримував археологічні дослідження, завдяки чому збільшувалася колекція, публікувалися результати польових робіт і про музей було відомо в середовищі археологів Європи. Наступники Тадеуша Дідушицького, Павло та Володимир (молодший), пробували зробити певний поступ у збереженні історико-культурної спадщини, але фінансова криза, яка торкнулась родини у 1920 – 1930-х рр. вплинула на цей напрям діяльності. На початку Другої світової війни збереження історико-архітектурних пам’яток відходить на другий план. Археологія переходить до новоствореного Львівського історичного музею.

**Ключові слова:** Дідушицькі, історико-культурна спадщина, археологічна пам’ятка, доісторичний відділ.

**The Problem Statement.** The Didushytsky family belongs to such elite genera, to whom more than one conference is dedicated, many articles and monographs are written, and every time researchers find something new and interesting, which gives rise to new scientific papers. It is known that this is one of the richest and largest noble families, which traced its roots back to the Middle Ages and often emphasized its “Ruske” origin. Until the 19th century the family was completely Polonized.

In the article, we focus on the activities of those representatives of the family, who during the middle of the 19th – the first half of the 20th centuries contributed to the preservation and provided scientific study of historical and archaeological monuments on the territory

of Galicia. Volodymyr<sup>1</sup> and Tadeusz<sup>2</sup> are meant, as well as Pavlo and Volodymyr (junior) Didushytsky. Each of them contributed to the increase and preservation of monuments of the past, including archaeological ones.

**The Analysis of Recent Scientific Papers and Publications.** Various aspects of the Didushytsky family activities and Museum were reflected in the publications of Gabriel Brzęk, Kazimierz Karolczak, Andrzej Abramowicz, Mykola Bandrivsky, Larysa Krushelnytska, Ihor Chornovol, and Natalie Bulyk. The authors of the above mentioned publications focused on the history of the Didushytsky Museum creation and its individual departments (Brzęk, 1994; Lutsyk, & Bulyk, 2022, p. 246), personalities who created this history (Berest, 1998, pp. 77–78; Karolczak, 2001; Bulyk, & Lech, 2009, pp. 59–89; Bulyk, 2013, pp. 278–294), interpreted individual archaeological finds (Bandrivskyi, & Krushelnytska, 2012). However, the monument preservation aspect of this famous family activity remained out of researchers' attention.

The source base of the research consists of documents of Fund 26 (Conservation Department of Lviv Voivodeship) of V. Stefanyk National Scientific Library in Lviv (Manuscripts Department), archives of the State Museum of Natural History in Lviv, the Archives of Science of the National Academy of Sciences in Kraków, which make it possible to reproduce the contribution of the Didushytsky family to the preservation of antiquities in the territories of western Ukraine.

**The purpose of the research** is to elucidate the contribution of the Didushytsky family to the research and preservation of the historical and archaeological monuments of Galicia based on archival documents and publications on the issue.

**The Results of the Research.** Historical and archaeological sites could not fail to attract the attention of Didushytsky, because from the middle of the 19th century there was a fashion for antiquities, and the entire intellectual elite of Europe began to collect and exhibit them (Sklenář, 1983, p. 78; Bulyk, 2014, pp. 39–42). Preservation and popularization of monuments of the past took place in several directions at that time, namely, the formation of Museum collections, exhibition activities, conducting archaeological research and scientific processing of the obtained results, protection of architectural monuments, etc. The creation of various institutions, in particular, the Pedagogical Society in Lviv, which sought to unite Galician scholars, educators, employees of cultural institutions and the intellectual elite of society, was of great importance to the establishment and development of monument protection work in Galicia in the second half of the 19th century (Berest, Berest, Pasichnyk, Zachepa & Zubko, 2020, pp. 373–379). The Didushytsky family concentrated their activities around the museum, which played an important role in the cultural life of Lviv from the middle of the 19th century and was famous for one of the richest collections in Europe.

The foundation of the Archaeological Department of the Didushytsky Museum was laid in the middle of the 19th century by Count Volodymyr Didushytsky and worthily continued by the second resident, the son-in-law of the founder, Tadeusz Didushytskyi (an ordinate in 1899 – 1918). After his death, the Museum was inherited by his sons – Pavlo (an ordinate for several months in 1918) and Volodymyr Jr. (1918 – 1939).

In 1857, the founder of the Museum moved his collections from Potorytsia to Lviv and placed them in the main estate of the Potorytsia-Zaritska Ordinance in St. Kurkova 15, and

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<sup>1</sup>Volodymyr Didushytsky (1825 – 1899) is a philanthropist, collector, naturalist, political activist and creator of the Natural History Museum in Lviv.

<sup>2</sup>Tadeusz Didushytsky (1841 – 1918) – Doctor of Law at Lviv University, a curator of the Didushytsky Museum in 1900–1914.

since 1869 he had placed them in a specially purchased, restored and adapted for a Museum building in Theatre street, 18. Since 1873, it had been open to visitors once a week (Brzęk, 1994, p. 36). From this time, the scientific organization of the Museum began. In the autumn of 1880, during the visit of Emperor Franz Joseph I to Lviv, the Natural History Museum became available to Lviv residents and guests of the city (Dzieduszycki Włodzimierz, 1999, pp. 131–132).

Collecting of prehistoric exhibits began later than natural exhibits, however, this did not prevent the Didushytsky Museum from having one of the richest archaeological departments. Archeology was located in two halls on the second floor (Wiczkowski, 1907, p. 524). The pearl of the Museum's prehistoric collection was the Mykhalkivsky treasures, discovered in 1878 and 1897. Vladyslav Zontak, the curator of the Museum for many years, was responsible for their purchase. In 1900, for the safe keeping of the treasures, they were transferred to the Mortgage Bank in Lviv.

V. Didushytsky well understood the need to popularize Galician antiquities. In 1873, at the World Exhibition in Vienna, the count organized the Galician part of the Exhibition (Bulyk, 2016, p. 197). It should be mentioned that the event management did not agree to the creation of a separate Galician section of the Exhibition. V. Didushytsky created the concept of his part of the exhibition in such a way that its Galician origin was clearly visible (Karolczak, 2001, p. 108).

In 1878, at the Exhibition in Paris, V. Didushytsky acted as the head of the exposition of the entire Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The brought exhibits were published in the official catalogue, in which we find an important comment: “The exhibited items come from the ethnographic Museum of V. Didushytsky, selected to draw analogies (...) between past prehistoric times and modern home crafts” (Catalogue, p. 72). Archaeological artifacts were also well represented there. The most striking part of the collection was, without any doubt, the Mykhalkivsky treasure, brought by V. Didushytsky and the curator V. Zontak. This is evidenced by a short report by T. Nechuy-Ziemientskii (Ziemięcki, 1878, 16, p. 409; 22, p. 554). The Didushytsky Museum presented such a number of exhibits that it was second only to the hosts of the event (Abramowicz, 1974, p. 91).

In his activities, V. Didushytsky did not neglect the protection of historical monuments. This is evidenced by the cooperation with the Krakow Scientific Society, which began in the 1860s. Correspondence with the head of the society, Józef Mayer (1808 – 1899), was preserved among the archival documents, the main topic of which was the reconstruction and preservation of the cathedral in the town of Zhovkva. In order to ensure the preservation of the mentioned monument in 1862, a special committee was created, and V. Didushytsky acted as a deputy chairman and actually managed the entire process (Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, TNK 80, k. 125).

Volodymyr Didushytsky also contributed to scientific research. Among the employees of the Museum, there stands out the future Professor of archeology Karol Hadaczek (Berest, 1998, pp. 77–78; Bulyk, & Lech, 2009, pp. 59–89; Bulyk, 2013, pp. 278–294). K. Hadaczek met the Didushytsky family in the 1890s, and from that time a young archaeologist collaborated with the Museum. K. Hadaczek introduced the Mykhalkivsky treasures into scientific circulation; he conducted a number of excavations, he replenished the Museum's funds; he organized the archaeological collections and eventually compiled and published a guide to the Archaeological Department. Since 1903, K. Hadaczek was an official employee of the Museum (Karolczak, 2001, p. 197).

The Didushytsky Museum entered the 20th century with a new ordinate. In 1899, Tadeusz Didushytsky<sup>3</sup>.

The Didushytsky Museum entered the 20th century with a new ordinate. In 1899, Tadeusz Didushytsky became Ordinate II of the Poturytsko-Zaritska Ordinance, who continued the deed of his father-in-law, took care of the scientific level and quantitative growth of the collections during the entire residency. An important moment in his activity was the involvement of museum workers (Karol Hadaczek, Maryan Lomnitsky) in scientific expeditions that brought new exhibits. One of the first works under the leadership of T. Didushytsky was the archaeological research on the multi-layered monument in Nesluhiv, which was carried out in 1898 – 1899. The expedition was led by K. Hadaczek, who often visited these places in his student years. Financial expenses were fully covered by T. Didushytsky. Archaeological objects were located partly on the territory of the palace. In the report on archaeological research, which was included in the “Teky Konserwatorska” collection, K. Hadaczek noted that he excavated 18 residential and a number of economic buildings of the Cherniakhivska culture (Hadaczek, 1900, pp. 71–86).

In August of 1900, the archaeologist conducted research in the southern part of Borshchiv district in Ternopil region. In a report published in the collection “Anthropological, Archaeological and Ethnographic Materials” (in Polish – *Materyały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne*) K. Hadaczek wrote that the main goal of the research carried out with the support of T. Didushytsky was “to resolve scientific riddles of Mykhalkivsky treasures” (Hadaczek, 1903, p. 27). During the excavations, K. Hadaczek discovered two burials. In one of them, “ten delicate silver plates in the form of a diadem are laid out in a row on the forehead” (Hadaczek, 1903, p. 33). In general, during this scientific trip, K. Hadaczek examined 13 archaeological sites. This is far from a complete list of discovered and explored archaeological sites that were related to the Didushytsky Museum and were financially supported by the family.

For the Museum, the beginning of the 20th century is connected with a significant event – in 1904, K. Hadaczek’s work on Mykhalkivsky treasures was published (Hadaczek, 1904). The album is very well illustrated, the illustrations were made by the best contemporary artists of Lviv and Kraków. Among the documents, a positive review signed by a well-known art historian, a museologist Felix Koper from Kraków, was preserved, dated June 3, 1902, which states: “The description of the Mikhalkivsky treasures planned to be included in the introduction to the publication of the finds from Mykhalkiv, which are in the Didushytsky Museum in Lviv, was prepared by Dr. Karol Hadaczek in such detail that this description deserves to be published” (Scientific archive of the Department of Archaeology of I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of NAS of Ukraine. *Papiery po prof. K. Hadaczku*)<sup>4</sup>.

The aforementioned M. Lomnitsky replenished paleontological collections with his expeditions. In particular, in the autumn of 1907, in the village of Starunia, Ivano-Frankivsk region, the body of a mammoth embalmed in ozokerite was discovered, which was transported

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<sup>3</sup> In 1879 Tadeusz Didushytsky married a distant relative Anna (a daughter of Volodymyr Didushytsky). His granddaughter, a daughter of his son Stanislav, is Anna Didushytska-Makhnik – the wife of a famous archaeologist, Professor Jan Makhnik, archaeologist.

<sup>4</sup> This document is stored in the archive of I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine among the documents of Leon Kozlovsky in a small folder marked “Roman Khoroshkevych 15.XI.1922”. In total, the folder contains 4 documents, which were combined after the death of Karol Hadaczek (for details about L. Kozlovsky, see: Woźny, 2021, pp. 243–278).

to the Didushytsky Museum on November 7 of the same year. At the same time, a large fragment of an embalmed rhinoceros was also excavated. They were transferred to the paleontological finds and placed in one of the largest halls of the second floor. M. Lomnitsky's work also includes archaeological finds. A famous archaeologist Yaroslav Pasternak mentions the excavations of the director of the Didushytsky Museum on the territory of Lviv "in Levandivka, between the main courtyard and the Yanivska horn. Already at the end of the previous century Lviv geologist prof. Lomnitsky found prehistoric hearths there, and near them there were many small deciduous forest cuttings and flint chips. In 1910, a flint ax was excavated there, which is exhibited in the Didushytsky Museum" (Pasternak, 1932, p. 2).

Compilation of guidebooks was an integral part of the Museum scientific work. An important role is given to the Prehistoric Department. In 1907 the author of this section was K. Hadaczek. Among other exhibits, materials from his own excavations took an important place. As the author of the guidebook noted, describing Hall XIV: "on the left there are objects obtained from urn burials discovered by Professor K. Hadaczek near the village of Hats" (Hadaczek, 1907, pp. 90–100).

During the war, the Museum experienced difficult years. One by one, Karol Hadaczek and Maryan Lomnitsky passed away, and on August 5, 1918, Tadeusz Didushytsky died. In fact, all three played an important role in the research and replenishment of the historical and archaeological heritage in the Museum. For a few months, Tadeusz's eldest son Pavlo took over the functions of the ordinate, and after him – Volodymyr Didushytsky (junior).

V. Didushytsky (junior) was an ordinate without management skills. Perhaps this is connected with the difficult post-war period (we should not forget that those were the post-war years and there was economic crisis), but he did not manage to continue the development of the Museum. Moreover, to some extent we can talk about the decline of the Museum in those years. This is evidenced by a number of documents, which we will discuss below.

During the interwar period, the Museum experienced far from the best times. In 1925, the Ordinance got into a difficult financial situation, the payment of employees became irregular, some of them had to stop their studies (Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv (Department of Manuscripts) – VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 35). On the pages of Lviv periodicals, there began to appear reports about scientific decline, as well as about the critical condition of the Museum building. The Museum was closed to visitors, employees were fired, there was no heating in the building, there was not even money to pay the watchman (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 17). At that time, one walk-through Museum room was used for the needs of the Archeology Department of the Lviv University, and Professor Leon Kozlovsky conducted classes in it (Bulyk, 2018, p. 430).

It is worth mentioning that at that time all sights, as well as the Museum collections, were under control of conservators. In the spring of 1932, the issue of the proper condition of the Didushytsky Museum and the preservation of the Mykhalkivsky treasures arose rather acutely. A number of publications appeared on the pages of the Kraków and Warsaw press about the threat to the exhibits due to the critical condition of the Museum building (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 17). A court decision was sent to the voivodeship government, according to which the Department of Culture and Art of Lviv Voivodeship had to check the situation with the building, as well as the condition of the treasure and its integrity. The commission included, among the others, Professor E. Bulianda and Dr. O. Cholovsky. The meeting took place in the premises of the Museum on April 25, 1932, after examining "the Museum funds and the state of the building, the commission came to the conclusion that the rumor about



the danger threatening the collections is greatly exaggerated” (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 16). In July, the commission drew up an expert opinion, which noted that not everything was as neglected and critical as it was described in the newspapers, it was noted that in a difficult economic situation, V. Didushytsky invested a lot of his own funds to keep the Museum afloat (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, p. 1, p. 20).

One of the most important recommendations of the commission focuses on the art monuments that were kept in the Didushytsky Palace in Kurkova street. It was proposed to move them to the main building of the Museum, and the Potorytska library remained in Kurkova street. The condition of the Prehistoric and Ethnographic Departments received minor comments. However, the general conclusion of the Archeology Department was quite comforting “the Prehistoric Department is not in danger, but it requires inventory reconciliation of numbers and designation of locations” (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 20). For this purpose, it was recommended to introduce the position of a scholarship holder who could conduct an inventory in a short period of time (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 21).

However, during the inspections, it was not possible to find out the fate of the Mykhalkivsky treasure. The only description remained was the document of 1900, which presented all the finds, indicated their number (42 units) and weight (3321 gr.) and indicated the place of storage: “The Mykhalkivsky treasure” is under the preservation of the Galician Mortgage Bank, and the keys to them are in the hands of Tadeusz Didushytsky” (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, pp. 10–12). Ordinate V. Didushytsky (junior) did not provide any information about the Mykhalkivsky treasure and could not even indicate whether it was still kept in the Mortgage Bank in Lviv. The only thing that V. Didushytsky (junior) reported was that during World War I, the treasures were hidden by a certain person loyal to the Didushytsky Ordinance in order to prevent their removal. V. Didushytsky (junior) was obliged to find out where the treasure was and report on the state of its preservation within 60 days (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 23). There is no information on the issue how the search ended. But we have evidence that as of 1933, the Mykhalkivsky treasures were in the Didushytsky Museum. In the document addressed to Lviv Voivodship “Origin, Current State and Significance of the Didushytsky Museum in Lviv” there is a date on the postmark of May 2, 1933 (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 32). In it, an ordinate t Volodymyr Didushytsky describes in detail the situation in the Museum since 1925 and offers, in exchange for financial support, to give the Mykhalkivsky treasures to the state (VSNSLUL (DM), f. 26, c. 42, vol. 1, p. 37). From the further fate of the treasure part that belonged to the Didushytsky family, it is known that in 1940 it was taken to Moscow (Pasternak, 1961, pp. 440–441). Ya. Pasternak’s words are confirmed by the letter<sup>5</sup> of an academician, a long-time director of the Hermitage Borys Piotrovsky to Lviv archaeologist Ihor Sveshnikov dated September 2, 1964, in which we read the following: “I wish you success in the work on the Mikhalkivsky treasure, before the war I saw it in the State Funds of the USSR and touched all the wonderful objects, treasure’s further fate is unknown to me” (according to: Pavliv & Petechyrch, 2003, p. 62). Modern researchers assume that it is kept in St. Petersburg (Brzęk, 1994, p. 88). Nowadays, the treasure is considered to be lost, since it is not even known for certain whether the items stored in the Mortgage Bank in Lviv on the eve of World War II were authentic or a well-made gold copy (Bandrivskiy & Krushelnytska, 2012, pp. 139–144).

As of January 1, 1937, in the Prehistoric Department of the Museum there were 8,055 exhibits including fund materials. In fact, since 1907 the number of exhibits had not increased,

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<sup>5</sup> It is stored in the Archives of the Department of Archeology of I. Krypnyakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

or new arrivals had not been inventoried, which is more likely. In such a situation, the Didushytsky Museum was caught up in the changes that were looming over Lviv museums.

**The Conclusion.** Thus, we note that, based on the example of the activities of only a few representatives of the family, it should be mentioned that the Didushytsky left a noticeable mark on the history and culture of Galicia. The Didushytsky Museum, being, according to the founder's main idea, a Natural History Museum, joined the matter of accumulating, preserving and scientifically studying archeology monuments in the first half of the 20th century. This institution not only collected and exhibited archaeological exhibits, but also concentrated around itself scholars who ensured the scientific level of the Prehistoric Department. The events of the war years, as well as the interwar unstable economic situation, led to the gradual decline of the Museum, which caused the absence of Archeology Department.

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**Andrii KOROLKO**

PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine and methods of teaching history, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 57 T. Shevchenko Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76018 (korolko\_andr@ukr.net ; andrii.korolko@pnu.edu.ua)

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-7435-5806

**Researcher ID:** Z-1663-2019

**Hanna PASKA**

PhD (History and archeology), II category librarian of the Department of Economic and Industrial Literature, Ivan Franko Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Universal Scientific Library, 22 V. Chornovola Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76018 (hannapaska@i.ua)

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-3485-5392

**Андрій КОРОЛЬКО**

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії України і методики викладання історії Прикарпатського національного університету імені Василя Стефаника, вул. Т. Шевченка, 57, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76018 (korolko\_andr@ukr.net; andrii.korolko@pnu.edu.ua)

**Ганна ПАСКА**

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**THE UKRAINIAN RADICAL PARTY IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS  
TO THE AUSTRIAN REICHSRAT IN 1907 AND 1911**

*The purpose of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the participation of the Ukrainian Radical Party (URP) in the election campaigns to the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907 and 1911. The principles of objectivity, historicism, consistency, and problematicity served as the methodological basis of the article. There have been applied the methods of analysis and synthesis, problem-chronological, prosopographic, comparative, statistical methods for studying the role of the URP in the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911, the method of internal criticism of sources. The scientific novelty consists in the processing of a significant number of primary sources and scientific literature, owing to which it was possible for the first time to analyze the forms and content of the URP pre-election campaign in 1907 and 1911, to compare the participation of radicals in the two pre-war election campaigns. The Conclusion. The introduction of universal suffrage to the Reichsrat significantly improved the position of Galician political parties, which*

was evident during the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911. In order to bring its representatives to the parliament of Cisleytania, the URP joined the electoral movement actively. The key forms of agitation during these two campaigns were the organization of a secular movement and the publication of the party's printed organ, the newspaper "The Hromadsky Holos", which published detailed information about the prerequisites, course and consequences of the elections of 1907 and 1911. The core of the URP's electoral base was the peasantry and rural intelligentsia. The highest level of support for radicals was observed in Kolomyisky, Tovmatsky, Horodenkivsky, Nadvirniansky, Kosivsky, and Stanislavivsky districts of Eastern Galicia. During the 1911 election, compared to the previous campaign, there was a slight decline in the popularity of the URP, which was caused by intra-party misunderstandings, financial difficulties and a decrease in enthusiasm among the rank-and-file members of the party. Conflicts between the leading Ukrainian political parties of the region had a negative impact on the election results. In some cases, there were attempts to cooperate with the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (NDP) and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP) by radicals in order to join forces in opposing the Polish political forces. According to the results of the elections on the eve of World War I, with an electoral core of 8.5–9% of the region's voters, it was the third most influential Ukrainian political force in Eastern Galicia after the UNDP and the Muscophiles.

**Key words:** Ukrainian Radical Party, Reichsrat, rural constituencies, Eastern Galicia, "The Hromadsky Holos".

### УКРАЇНЬКА РАДИКАЛЬНА ПАРТІЯ У ВИБОРЧИХ КАМПАНІЯХ ДО АВСТРІЙСЬКОГО РЕЙХСРАТУ 1907 і 1911 рр.

**Метою статті** є комплексний аналіз участі Української радикальної партії (УРП) у виборчих кампаніях до австрійського Рейхсрату 1907 і 1911 рр. **Методологічною основою** статті послужили принципи об'єктивності, історизму, послідовності, проблемності. У роботі використано методи: аналізу і синтезу, проблемно-хронологічний, просопографічний, порівняльний, статистичний, для вивчення ролі УРП у передвиборчих кампаніях 1907 і 1911 рр., а також метод внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає в опрацюванні значної кількості першоджерел та наукової літератури, завдяки чому вперше вдалося проаналізувати форми та зміст ведення УРП передвиборчої боротьби у 1907 і 1911 рр., здійснити порівняння участі радикалів у двох передвоєнних виборчих кампаніях. **Висновки.** Запровадження загального виборчого права до Рейхсрату значно поліщило становище галицьких політичних партій, що проявилось під час виборчих кампаній 1907 і 1911 рр. З метою проведення своїх представників до парламенту Цислейтанії УРП активно долучилася до виборчого руху. Ключовими формами агітації під час цих двох кампаній були організація вічевого руху та випуск партійного друкованого органу – газети "Громадський голос", в якій публікувалася детальна інформація про передумови, хід та наслідки виборів як 1907, так і 1911 р. Ядром електоральної бази УРП стало селянство та сільська інтелігенція. Найвищий рівень підтримки радикалів спостерігався у Коломийському, Товмацькому, Городенківському, Надвірнянському, Косівському та Станіславівському повітах Східної Галичини. Під час виборів 1911 р., порівняно з попередньою кампанією, спостерігалось незначне зменшення популярності УРП, що було спричинено внутріпартійними непорозуміннями, фінансовими труднощами та зниженням ентузіазму серед рядових членів партії. Негативно впливали на результати виборів конфлікти між провідними українськими політичними партіями краю. В окремих випадках спостерігалися спроби співпраці радикалів із Українською національно-демократичною партією (УНДП) і Українською соціал-демократичною партією (УСДП) задля об'єднання зусиль у протистоянні польським політичним силам. За результатами виборів УРП напередодні Першої світової війни із електоральним ядром 8,5–9 % виборців краю була третьою за впливовістю українською політичною силою Східної Галичини після УНДП та москвофілів.

**Ключові слова:** Українська радикальна партія, Рейхсрат, сільські виборчі округи, Східна Галичина, "Громадський голос".

**The Problem Statement.** The URP – the first European-style Ukrainian political party in Eastern Galicia – was one of the most influential forces in the region at the beginning of the 20th century. The URP's participation in the election campaigns for Parliament of



Cisleithania – the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907 and 1911, which took place on the basis of universal suffrage, remains an understudied page. Special attention should be paid to the form and content of pre-election campaigns conducted by the radicals and relationship between the URP and other Ukrainian political forces during the election period.

**The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications.** Separate aspects of the study of the URP's participation in the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911 were reflected in the papers of Ukrainian researchers, in particular: Mykola Kuhutiak (Kuhutiak, 1993), Oleksiy Sukhyi (Sukhyi, 1999), Viacheslav Yaremchuk (Yaremchuk, 2012), Andriy Korolko (Korolko, 2014), Yuriy Yakovliev (Yakovliev, 2014), Hanna Paska (Paska, 2017; Paska, 2019), A. Korolko and Ihor Fedoryshyn (Korolko & Fedoryshyn, 2020), among foreigners – Ryszard Tomczyk (Tomczyk, 2007). Political activity of the Ukrainian parties in the Russian part of Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century were analyzed by Oleksandr Donik, Bohdana Opria and Oleksandr Fedkov (Donik, Opria & Fedkov, 2021), as well as by Viktor Kolesnyk and Oksana Cheberiako (Kolesnyk & Cheberiako, 2022). The key forms and methods of social and political struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry of the same period, whose interests were actively defended by the URP, are analyzed by Dmytro Kudinov and Vladyslav Parkhomenko (Kudinov & Parkhomenko, 2021). The Ukrainian deputies activities in the Reichsrat at the end of the 19th century are presented in the research of Dmytro Kavatsiuk (Kavatsiuk, 2020). A large number of materials on the researched issues are contained in the periodicals of that period, namely in the URP periodical “The Hromadsky Holos”, the UNDP newspapers “The Dilo” and “The Svoboda”, and memoirs of contemporaries.

**The purpose** of the article is a comprehensive analysis of the URP's participation in the election campaigns to the Austrian Reichsrat in 1907 and 1911.

**The Results of the Research.** In January of 1907, a new election law was adopted in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. According to it, regular elections to the Reichsrat in May of the same year were to be held on the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret voting. On the basis of this law, 34 urban single-mandate and 36 rural two-mandate constituencies were formed in Eastern Galicia. In the case of the latter, 51% of voters' votes were required to elect the first deputy (majority), while 26% of votes were required for the second deputy (minority). This principle of suffrage was introduced only on the territory of Eastern Galicia and significantly limited the opportunities of the Ukrainians for equal participation in electoral contests compared to other peoples of the empire. The adoption of the new law prompted the Ukrainian political parties to start an active pre-election campaign in order to elect their representatives as deputies. In this situation, the URP, which was headed by Lev Bachynskyi from December of 1905, was no exception (Makukh, 2001, p. 52; Paska, 2017, pp. 343–344; Paska, 2019, p. 69).

The upcoming elections to the Reichsrat were discussed at the URP Congress on December 22 – 23, 1906. Volodymyr Bachynskyi, a delegate from the UNDP, was present at this meeting, who tried to convince the radicals of the need to form a bloc of the URP together with the UNDP and the USDP during the election campaign. In response to this, the URP member Pavlo Volosenko demanded the need to divide the UNDP into two camps – secular and clerical. He claimed that in the event of such division, the URP would be able to cooperate with representatives of the first direction only. However, the head of the party L. Bachynskyi expressed a more moderate position on this matter. He stated that the URP would participate in the elections independently, but he did not deny a possible alliance between these parties, provided there was a compromise on the issue of nominating candidates in electoral districts. The leader

of the radicals stated that the URP would not cooperate with the Galician Muscophiles and representatives of the Christian social movement in Eastern Galicia, represented by Oleksandr Barvynskyi. This position of L. Bachynskyi was supported by other members of the party, including Kyrylo Tryliovskiy, Severyn Danylovych, Osyp Nazaruk, Martyn Koroliuk, and the others. In his speech, L. Bachynskyi emphasized the need to enlist the support of education employees during the upcoming elections, which had a significant impact on the masses. In his opinion, to achieve support, it was necessary to demand from the government circles of the empire an increase in salaries of teachers, their training at state expense, division of schools into Ukrainian and Polish, as well as a ban on the church interference in educational affairs (Spravozdanie zizdu, 1907a, pp. 1–2; Spravozdanie zizdu, 1907b, pp. 2–3; Paska, 2019, p. 71; Tomczyk, 2007, pp. 402–403). The adopted resolutions echoed slogans of unity and restoration of national statehood of all Ukrainian lands. It was claimed that the URP would nominate only those candidates for deputies whose goal in parliamentary work would be the struggle for political and economic independence of the Western Ukrainian lands, and in the future – their unification with Naddnpirianska Ukraine (Kuhutiak, 1993, p. 105; Rezoliutsii zizdu, 1907, p. 2; Sukhyi, 1999, pp. 122–124; Levytskyi, 1926, p. 430).

In view of the lack of funds for pre-election campaigning, the URP appealed to the population of the region to help improve the party's financial situation, and to send monetary contributions to the address of L. Bachynskyi in Stryi. In order to strengthen the radicals' influence in the districts of Eastern Galicia, the URP called on the population to organize village and district public election committees and attract as many of their supporters as possible to their presidiums. In particular, in January of 1907, Tovmatsky povit election committee was created. It was headed by a member of the URP, a lawyer from Tovmach Ivan Makukh, who was distinguished by an active participation in the pre-election campaign and contributed to the strengthening of the radicals' positions in the povit (Hotovmo sia do vyboriv, 1907, p. 2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907a, p. 3).

At the beginning of March of 1907, the URP finally approved candidates for Parliament in three rural electoral districts of Eastern Galicia. Thus, in District No. 59 (Stanislaviv, Tysmenytsia, Bohorodchany, Zoloty Potik, Obertyn, Tovmach, Halych; hereinafter referred to as District No. 59) the candidacy of L. Bachynskyi was approved, and his deputy M. Koroliuk, from the village of Cherniiv, Stanislavivsky povit. For electoral Districts No. 55 (Voynyliv, Dolyna, Rozhniativ, Kalush, Nadvirna, Deliatyn, Solotvyn; hereinafter – District No. 55) and No. 56 (Pechenizhyn, Kolomyia, Zhabye (nowadays – the village of Verkhovyna, Ivano-Frankivsk region), Kutyliv, Kosiv, Yabluniv, Zabolotiv, Hvizdets, Otyniya; further – District No. 56) K. Tryliovsky was nominated. Mykola Lahodynkyi and Yuriy Solomychuk became his deputies (Do vybortsiv okruhiv, 1907, pp. 1–2). Deputies of candidates of the National Democrats were also elected from among the radicals. Thus, as deputies of Volodymyr Okhrymovych in District No. 58 (Borshchiv, Zalishchyky, Horodenka, Sniatyn, Tluste (nowadays – Tovste township of Chortkivsky district, Ternopil region), Melnytsia (nowadays – Melnytsia-Podilska township of Chortkivskyi district); further – District No. 58), Sydor Holubovych in District No. 68 (Kozova, Ternopil, Zbarazh, Nove Selo; hereinafter – District No. 68) and T. Voinarovskiy in District No. 56, Vasyl Stefanyk, Severyn Danylovych, and Pavlo Lavruk were nominated, respectively (Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907c, p. 4; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907d, p. 2; Peredvyborchyi rukh, 1907a, p. 2).

The newspaper “The Hromadsky Holos” played an important role in the URP pre-election campaign. In order to acquaint the population of Eastern Galicia with the political

programme of candidates for deputies from the URP, numerous notes, appeals and messages were published on the pages of this periodical. Thus, on March 22, 1907, in “The Hromadsky Holos” an appeal to the voters of the region was published, in which the main demands of the radicals to the government were presented. In this document, the URP demanded the division of Galicia into Eastern (Ukrainian) and Western (Polish), its inclusion in the Ukrainian part of Northern Bukovyna, and the granting of autonomy to these lands as part of Austria-Hungary. It was supposed to create its own Sejm in the western Ukrainian lands and to introduce the Ukrainian language as the state language in a political and cultural life of the region. The need to introduce democratic rights for the population of Eastern Galicia, as well as freedom of religious beliefs, was emphasized. In the economic sphere, the need for the transfer of landlord lands to peasants’ use was established. The URP informed that it would strive to raise the level of the population’s national self-awareness of Western Ukraine and Naddniprianshchyna region through the spread of Ukrainian literature, activities of associations, organization of manifestations, demonstrations, etc. (Do vybortsiv!, 1907, pp. 1–2). In the majority of other appeals, the URP appealed to population of electoral districts to support the radical candidates L. Bachynskiyi and K. Tryliovskiyi during the parliamentary elections (Vybortsiv!, 1907, p. 2).

The organization and holding of national meetings became the most important component of the URP’s campaigning work. Based on the reports of “The Hromadsky Holos” periodical, it is possible to do research on approximate statistics of the number of such gatherings organized in support of the radicals. In particular, from March to the first half of May 1907, in District No. 59, L. Bachynskiyi’s candidacy was approved at meetings of almost forty villages of this district. In his memoirs, I. Makukh gave a much higher number. He noted that in Tovmachchyna, the URP organized at least 60 meetings during the election campaign. It is worth noting that District No. 59 was unfamiliar to L. Bachynskiyi, because until that time he had lived and worked in a lawyer’s office in the town of Stryi. That is why, his fellow party members I. Makukh and M. Koroliuk provided active assistance to the radical during the parliamentary elections. L. Bachynskiyi was one of the best orators among Galician politicians, and he enjoyed high authority in Ukrainian society. Therefore, the events held with his direct participation often numbered several thousand people. More than 40 people’s meetings were held in electoral Districts No. 55 and 56, at which the candidacy of K. Tryliovsky was supported. It is worth noting that only in District No. 55, on May 5 and 6, 1907, Deliatyn election committee organized 16 meetings, at which active campaigning for K. Tryliovsky and his deputy M. Lahodynsky took place. The growth of the radicals’ positions in this district was caused by the activity of a non-party lawyer from the town of Deliatyn, M. Lahodynsky, who was distinguished by an active participation in the organization of public meetings and was a supporter of the ideology of the URP (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 2177, p. 3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907b, p. 3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907e, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907f, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907g, pp. 2–3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907h, p. 1; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907i, pp. 2–3; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907j, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907k, pp. 1–2; Z peredvyborchoho rukhu, 1907l, p. 2; Makukh, 2001, p. 69).

The election campaign of 1907 was accompanied by separate conflicts between radicals and national democrats. In particular, in District No. 59, L. Bachynskiyi from the URP and Yevhen Levytskyi from the UNDP, who had the greatest authority among the population, were appointed candidates of the Ukrainian political forces. The cause of misunderstandings

was the nomination of another candidate, Aloizius Olesnytsky, by the National Democrats. With the aim of undermining the authority of their rivals, a number of mutually critical articles were published on the pages of the URP periodical “The Hromadsky Holos” and the UNDP newspaper “The Dilo”. Thus, the radicals accused Ye. Levytsky of the fact that he renounced membership in the URP and joined the ranks of the UNDP, which is evidence of the instability of his political views. In turn, the National Democrats accused L. Bachynskyi of trying to undermine Ye. Levytsky’s position in this district (Nashi posolski kandydatyry, 1907, p. 1; *Peredvyborchyi rukh*, 1907b, pp. 2–3; *Khto kyrynyt?*, 1907, 12 kvitnia, p. 1; Tomczyk, 2007, p. 410).

Controversies in electoral District No. 56 between K. Tryliovskyi and the National Democrat, Greek-Catholic priest T. Voinarovsky were caused, first of all, by the radicals’ negative attitude towards the Greek-Catholic Church (GCC) (*Peredvyborchyi rukh*, 1907c, p. 1). In electoral Districts No. 55 and 56, there were misunderstandings between K. Tryliovskyi and the leader of the Muscophiles, Volodymyr Dudykevych, who was a candidate for deputies in these districts. In front of those organized in his favour, he called on the population not to vote for a radical (*Z peredvyborchoho rukhu*, 1907i, p. 2). This state of affairs among the Ukrainian Galician parties was in favour of the Poles and Muscophiles, which undermined the chances of the national forces to obtain deputy mandates.

During the first round of voting on May 14, 1907, in electoral District No. 56, K. Tryliovskyi became the majority deputy, who received 29,270 votes. However, no minority deputy was elected, so the second round of elections took place on May 21, in which candidates T. Voinarovsky and V. Dudykevych competed. According to the results, T. Voinarovsky was elected a member of Parliament. Stefan Moysa-Rosokhatsky, a landowner of the Armenian origin, who was supported by representatives of the authorities and the Polish press, decided not to nominate his candidacy during the second round of elections (*Vybory*, 1907a, p. 1; *Vyslid vyboriv*, 1907, p. 4; Shevchenko, 2012–2013, p. 482).

Voting in District No. 55 between K. Tryliovskyi, National Democrat Yulian Romanchuk, V. Dudykevych, and Pole Tsipser took place in three stages – May 14, 21, and 28, 1907. In the last round of elections, Yu. Romanchuk became the majority deputy, who scored 14,948 votes, and the deputy of the minority was K. Tryliovskyi, for whom 13,577 thousand voters cast their votes. Due to his victory in two constituencies at once, the radical was forced to give up one deputy mandate in District No. 55 in favour of his deputy M. Lahodynskyi (*Vybory*, 1907a, p. 1; *Zahalnyi vyslid ponovnykh i tisiishykh vyboriv*, 1907, p. 1; *Zahalnyi vyslid tisiishykh vyboriv*, 1907, p. 2; *Ruski posly*, 1907, p. 1; *Makukh*, 2001, pp. 71–72; *Yakovliev*, 2014, p. 74).

In electoral District No. 59, voting took place in three stages – on May 16, 24, and 31, 1907. In this district, the candidates for deputies from the URP and the UNDP were significantly ahead of the Muscophile candidate Lev Alekseyevych and the representative of the Polish forces Adolf Tsensky. Social democrat Max Seinfeld, who received 2,426 votes in the first round of the elections, was weaker. According to the results of the last round of elections, L. Bachynskyi became the majority deputy, gaining 19,385 votes, and Ye. Levytskyi, who was supported by 16,732 voters, became the minority deputy (*Zahalnyi vyslid vyboriv z 17 maia*, 1907, p. 1; *Vyslid vyboriv*, 1907, p. 4; *Yeshche raz!*, 1907, p. 1; *Vybory v 1907-im rotsi*, 1911, pp. 4–5; *Paska*, 2017, p. 346; *Kapushchak & Korolko*, 2019, pp. 17–18).

According to the newspaper “The Dilo”, in the territory of Eastern Galicia, as a result of the elections of 1907, the Ukrainian political forces received a total of 534,213 votes (73.7%

of the total); including candidates from the URP won 64,897 votes (9% of the total). At the same time, the Polish and Jewish political forces scored only 184,302 votes (25.4%). Among the Ukrainian parties, the first place was taken by the UNDP (293,409 votes and 54.9%), the second place was taken by the Muscophiles (149,988 votes and 28.1%), the third place – by the Ukrainian People’s Party of Ukraine (64,897 votes and 12.1%), and the fourth place – by the USDP (25,919 votes and 4.9%) (Lozynskyi, 1911, pp. 1–2).

According to the results of all three rounds of elections, the Ukrainian political forces of Eastern Galicia received 27 deputy mandates (17 – the UNDP, 5 – the Muscophiles, 3 – the URP, 2 – the USDP), and 5 – Northern Bukovyna. As a result, L. Bachynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy and M. Lahodynskyi became deputies from the URP. In the spring of 1908, after the refusal of V. Okhrimovych’s deputy mandate, V. Stefanyk became the fourth URP representative in the Reichsrat. Such representation was great success for the URP. In “The Hromadsky Holos” it was noted that the URP deliberately did not nominate many candidates in order not to disperse its own forces, but to focus exclusively on a few candidates. This decision was also due to the lack of party finances, which were not enough to conduct pre-election campaigning at an appropriate level. The newspaper “The Dilo” reported on a rapid growth of the radicals’ positions on the territory of the Hutsul region, which, together with neighbouring counties, formed the so-called “mountain bastion” of URP dominance (Baran, 2013, p. 104; *Pered vyboramy*, 1907, p. 1; *Po vyborakh*, 1907, p. 1; 32 *ruskykh posliv*, 1907, p. 1; Korolko, 2014, p. 80; Korolko & Yakovliev, 2014, p. 41).

The Ukrainian deputies founded a joint faction in Parliament – the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club, whose leader was Yu. Romanchuk. This faction included 25 deputies, of which 17 were representatives of the UNDP, 3 – of the URP, and 5 – of Northern Bukovyna (Yaremchuk, 2012, pp. 262–263; Korolko & Paska, 2017, p. 92).

The next election campaign of 1911 to the supreme legislative body of Cisleithania was caused by a parliamentary crisis and national contradictions, which effectively paralyzed the activities of the Reichsrat. In particular, a number of draft laws, prepared by representatives of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club, related to current problems of Galician society, were not considered. Among them: introduction of a two-year military service, provision of safe working conditions for workers and permission for free activity of national and cultural associations. Therefore, on March 1, 1911, Emperor Franz Joseph I announced the dissolution of the Chamber of Ambassadors. In this situation, the Ukrainian political forces, including the URP, began preparations for the next elections. In his memoirs, Ivan Makukh noted that, compared to 1907, the URP organized this election campaign without much enthusiasm. The reason for this lack of enthusiasm, in his opinion, was the failure of the efforts of the Ukrainian deputies to achieve equality with the Poles in Eastern Galicia (Makukh, 2001, p. 143; Baran, 2013, p. 112).

On April 2, 1911, a meeting of the Main Board of the URP took place in Lviv, at which it was decided to start election campaigning and issue an appeal to the population of the region with a call to support the party during the elections. A corresponding appeal entitled “Appeal to our Peasant Voters!” was published in the newspaper “The Hromadsky Holos” on April 5, 1911. This document was signed by M. Lahodynskyi, L. Bachynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy, V. Stefanyk, S. Danylovykh, I. Makukh, Mykhailo Pavlyk, Pavlo Dumka, Ivan Sanduliak, Mykhailo Oliynyk, Mykhailo Yatskiv and Les Martovych. This message provided information about the reasons for the dissolution of the Chamber of Ambassadors and a brief description of the parliamentary work of radical deputies in 1907 – 1911. The



URP informed that during the new election campaign, compared to 1907, the number of candidates would be increased. To this end, the URP called on the population of the region to cast their votes for the radicals in order to obtain as many seats as possible in Parliament (*Vidozva do nashykh selian vybortsiv!*, 1911, p. 1; *Zasidanie tisiishoho Zariadu*, 1911, p. 2; Korolko, 2014, p. 80; Yakovliev, 2014, p. 76).

The list of candidates for URP deputies was agreed upon at the party meeting held on April 15, 1911 in Stanislaviv. Compared with 1907, the number of constituencies in which URP representatives were nominated increased from three to eight. Thus, in rural electoral Districts No. 55, party chairman (since December of 1910) M. Lahodynskyi (a deputy – Dmytro Kliufinskyi), No. 56 – K. Tryliovskyi (a deputy – Semen Valikhnovsky) and P. Lavruk (a deputy – Yuriy Melnychuk) were nominated as candidates. No. 58 – V. Stefanyk (a deputy – Ivan Raduliak), No. 59 – L. Bachynskyi (a deputy – M. Koroliuk), No. 64 (Lviv, Vynnyky, Shyrets, Horodok; hereafter – District No. 64) – L. Martovych, No. 65 (Sokal, Brody, Radekhiv, Zboriv, Mosty Velyki, Zalitsi, Lopatyn; hereafter – District No. 65) – S. Danylovych (a deputy of Oleksa Vynnykiv). Later, Ivan Tverdokhlib was nominated in District No. 60 (Buchach, Pidhaitsi, Monastyrska, Vyshnivchyk; hereinafter – District No. 60), L. Bachynskyi was nominated in District No. 68 (Kozova, Ternopil, Zbarazh, Nove Selo; hereinafter – District No. 68), and I. Makukh was appointed as his deputy (*Nashi radykalni kandydatury*, 1911, p. 5; *Radykalni kandydatury*, 1911, p. 1; Paska, 2019, p. 79; Tomczyk, 2007, p. 509).

In the pre-election political programme, the URP announced a course to achieve independence of the Ukrainian lands in the future; the introduction of socialism and complete elimination of the capitalist system; the transfer of landlord lands to the use of rural communities; suffrage for women; free access to education for all sections of the population. In the military sphere, the URP put forward demands for complete liquidation of the imperial army and creation of a people's militia for the defense of the region. The radicals proposed to resolve possible interstate conflicts through negotiations without the use of military force. The URP sought to achieve complete freedom of religion and independence of communities in the choice of clergy (*Radykalna – a natsionalno-demokratychna programa*, 1911, p. 1; *Danylovych*, 1911a, p. 1; *Danylovych*, 1911b, pp. 2–4).

For the URP, this election campaign, as in 1907, was accompanied by the holding of crowded public meetings, at which the candidates for deputies represented their election slogans. In one of the notes published in the newspaper “*The Hromadsky Holos*”, the URP called on its supporters to pay special attention to this form of campaigning. “Let our whole region make a noise with eyes!” – it was claimed in the periodical magazine (*Berim sia do vyborchoi borotby!*, 1911, p. 2). The increase in the number of candidates for deputies, compared to the previous parliamentary elections, required activation of the party forces and resources.

Based on the materials of the periodical “*The Hromadsky Holos*” the number of public meetings organized by the radicals was monitored. We found the least amount of information about the support of I. Tverdokhlib and L. Martovych in Districts No. 60 and 64, respectively. About ten meetings were held in support of K. Tryliovskyi and P. Lavruk in District No. 56. A similar situation was observed in District No. 58, where V. Stefanyk was a candidate for a deputy. The current leader of the radicals, M. Lahodynskyi, in District No. 55 won recognition at 15 public meetings. The largest crowd was organized in support of L. Bachynskyi and S. Danylovych, respectively, in electoral Districts No. 59 and 65 (more than thirty in each) (*Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911a, pp. 2–3; *Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911b, p. 5; *Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911c, p. 2; *Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911e, pp. 4–5; *Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911f, p. 7).

During the elections, the Christian-Social Union led by O. Barvinsky and the Galician Muscophiles appeared in the bloc with the Polish political forces (Baran, 2013, p. 113). The most influential Ukrainian Galician parties the UNDP and the URP could not reach a compromise between themselves. Instead, the radicals were able to come to an understanding with the Social Democrats and started a joint election campaign with them. For example, in District No. 70 (Skalat, Pidvolochysk, Kopychyntsi, Husiatyn), radicals campaigned for the USDP member Volodymyr Temnytsky, whose opponent was a national democrat Mykhailo Petrytsky. (*Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911d, pp. 3–4). On June 14, 1911, in electoral District No. 68, the radical L. Bachynskyi withdrew his candidacy in favour of the social democrat Yatsko Ostapchuk (*Z vyborchoho rukhu*, 1911g, p. 4).

The lack of mutual understanding between the URP and the UNDP led to contradictions in the coordination of candidates in election District No. 56. K. Tryliovsky and P. Lavruk were elected candidates of the URP. The National Democrats did not support such decision of the radicals and nominated their candidate Zakhar Skvarko in this district. The newspapers “*The Svoboda*” and “*The Dilo*” published a series of critical notes and articles directed against P. Lavruk. It was claimed that on one of the meetings the radical allegedly stated that the Ukrainians did not need to seek the opening of the Ukrainian university in Lviv. For the National Democrats, this was evidence of the alleged “great political immaturity” of the politician. In their opinion, the peasant could not be elected as a member of Parliament due to his lack of knowledge of the German language and lack of proper education. In turn, on the pages of “*The Hromadsky Holos*”, it was claimed that the UNDP tried to prevent a representative of the peasantry from entering Parliament in this way. In this situation, the URP called on the population not to vote for Z. Skvarko, but to support the candidates K. Tryliovskyi and P. Lavruk (*Radykalnyi kandydat*, 1911, p. 5; *Vyborchyi rukh*, 1911a, p. 7; *Chy posol mozhe buty nevchenyi?*, 1911, p. 2; *Novynky*, 1911, p. 6).

Similar misunderstandings were also observed in election District No. 59, where L. Bachynskyi was a candidate for a deputy from the URP. The National Democrats demanded from L. Bachynskyi to stop his campaigning in Bohorodchansky district, which, in their opinion, should have been only in the preference of Ye. Levytskyi (*Vyborchyi rukh*, 1911b, p. 4). The radicals and national democrats could not reach an agreement on the issue of nominating candidates in District No. 64. Former Reichsrat deputy, national democrat Yosyp Fols and a member of the USDP Mykola Hankevych were appointed the Ukrainian candidates. In turn, the URP nominated the third candidate – L. Martovych. According to the radicals, Yo. Fols did not enjoy high authority in society, and therefore his obtaining a deputy mandate was in great doubt. However, due to pressure made by the Polish candidate Davyd Abrahamovych, as well as in order to prevent the scattering of votes, L. Martovych withdrew his candidacy in favour of other Ukrainian applicants in District No. 60, before the first round of elections, I. Tverdokhlib also decided to withdraw from the election contest in favour of the UNDP representative Viacheslav Budzinovskyi (*Pro nashi kandydaty*, 1911, p. 2; *Po pershim holosovaniu*, 1911, p. 2; Korolko & Yakovliev, 2014, p. 45).

Elections to the higher legislative body of Cisleytania in 19 rural electoral districts of Eastern Galicia were held in three stages – on June 19, 26, and July 3, 1911. According to their results, National Democrat Yu. Romanchuk became the deputy of the majority in District No. 55, who in the third round of voting won 14,802 votes. M. Lahodynskyi, for whom 13,722 voters cast their votes, was elected a deputy of the minority. During the voting, there was a threat of losing the mandate of the head of the URP in favour of the Pole Jan

Zaranski, who received 1,375 votes less than M. Lahodynskyi. The URP achieved the best election results in District No. 56. In this district, in the course of three rounds of voting, two radicals won at once – K. Tryliovskiy (14,600 votes) and P. Lavruk (12,657 votes). However, due to a rather significant support of the Polish candidate Alois Svoboda, who was ahead of P. Lavruk in the first round of voting, there was still a danger of losing one Ukrainian mandate. Therefore, after two rounds of voting, the National Democrats called on the voters of Z. Skvarko to vote for P. Lavruk. National Democrat T. Okunevskiy (17,967 votes) was elected as the majority deputy in electoral District No. 58, and V. Stefanyk (12,767 votes) as the minority deputy. As in the two previous constituencies, the radical's mandate was in danger of being lost to the pro-Polish candidate Marcin Kaliszczak. In this situation, after the publication of the results of the first round of elections, the newspaper "The Dilo" called on the voters of T. Okunevsky to cast 600 votes for V. Stefanyk. In 1907, as a result of elections in District No. 59, the radical L. Bachynskiy and the national democrat Ye. Levytskyi won. The URP representative was elected as the majority deputy and received 15,637 votes, while the minority deputy Ye. Levytskyi received 262 fewer votes. As a result of this election campaign, out of eight radical candidates, five people were elected to Parliament – M. Lahodynskyi, L. Bachynskiy, K. Tryliovskiy, P. Lavruk and V. Stefanyk. In total, Galician political forces won 26 parliamentary seats. Of them, the UNDP received 18 mandates, the URP – 5, the Muscophiles – 2 and the USDP – 1 (Vybory, 1911b, p. 4; Vybory, 1911c, pp. 5–6; Po pershim holosovaniu, 1911, p. 2–3; Po druhim holosovaniu, 1911, p. 2–3; Po tretim holosovaniu, 1911, p. 3; Paska, 2017, p. 348).

According to the newspaper "The Dilo", in the territory of Eastern Galicia, according to the results of the 1911 elections, the Ukrainian political forces received 470,018 votes (69.1% of the total); including candidates from the URP won 56,897 votes (8.5% of the total). At the same time, the Polish and Jewish political forces – 203,109 votes (29.9%). Among the Ukrainian political forces, the first place was taken by the UNDP (279,093 votes and 59.4%), the second place – by Muscophiles (118,470 votes and 25.2%), the third place was occupied by the Ukrainian People's Party of Ukraine (56,897 votes and 12.1%), and the fourth place – by the USDP (15,558 votes and 3.3%) (Lozynskiy, 1911, pp. 1–2). As compared to the elections of 1907, there was a general decline in support for the Ukrainian political parties in favour of the Polish and Jewish ones. According to the researcher O. Sukhyi, this state of affairs was primarily connected with increased interference in the course of the election campaign on the part of the authorities that were under Polish control, with a greater number of election abuses and manipulations. The growing authority of the People's Democratic Party of Poland led by Roman Dmowski and the desire of the Poles to consolidate their position in Eastern Galicia were also important. A slight drop in the absolute and relative numbers of votes cast for the URP can be explained by the party's lower activity during the election campaign, lack of funding, and interpersonal conflicts within the URP. Nevertheless, even under such difficult conditions, despite the decrease in the number of votes cast for the radicals, the party managed to send even more ambassadors to Parliament than in 1907 (Lozynskiy, 1911, pp. 1–2; Sukhyi, 1999, pp. 178–180; Pro shcho radyv radykalnyi zizd u Lvovi?, 1912, pp. 3–4).

After being elected to Parliament of Cisleytania, the radical deputies created their own Ukrainian radical club, which was headed by M. Lahodynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy was elected as his deputy, and L. Bachynskiy as his secretary. This decision was caused by misunderstandings between the URP and the UNDP. The radicals criticized the National Democrats for their

efforts to cooperate with the government circles of Austria-Hungary. However, in order to prevent the final separation of the Ukrainian parliamentary faction, the radicals joined the Ukrainian Parliamentary Union, led by the member of the UNDP, Kost Levytskyi. In addition to national democrats and radicals, this association also included deputies from Northern Bukovyna (Ukrainskyi radykalnyi klub, 1911, 19 lypnia, p. 2; Korolko, Paska, 2017, p. 94).

**The Conclusion.** The introduction of universal suffrage to the Reichsrat improved the position of Galician political parties significantly, which was manifested during the election campaigns of 1907 and 1911. With the aim of sending its representatives to Parliament of Cisleithania, the URP joined the electoral movement actively. During these two campaigns the key forms of agitation were the organization of a secular movement (mainly in rural areas) and the publication of the party's printed organ, the newspaper "The Hromadsky Holos", which published detailed information about the prerequisites, course and consequences of the elections of 1907 and 1911. The core of the URP's electoral base was the peasantry and rural intelligentsia. The highest level of support for the radicals was observed in Kolomyisky, Tovmatsky, Horodenkivsky, Nadvirnyansky, Kosivsky, and Stanislavivsky districts of Eastern Galicia. In 1907 and 1911 the most active election campaigns were carried out by the radical candidates L. Bachynskyi, K. Tryliovskiy and M. Lahodynskyi. During the elections of 1911, compared to the previous campaign, there was a slight decrease in the popularity of the URP, which was caused by intra-party misunderstandings, financial difficulties and a decline in enthusiasm among rank-and-file party members. Conflicts between the leading Ukrainian political parties of the region had a negative impact on the election results. In some cases, there were attempts of the radicals to cooperate with the UNDP and the USDP in order to unite their efforts in opposing the Polish political forces. According to the results of the elections on the eve of World War I, with an electoral core of 8.5–9% of the region's voters, it was the third most influential Ukrainian political force in Eastern Galicia after the UNDP and the Muscophiles.

**A promising direction** for further scientific research is the study of the relationship between the URP and the Polish and Jewish political parties during the Reichsrat elections. The subject of comparison of pre-election tactics of various Ukrainian political forces in Eastern Galicia needs further research.

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**Ella BYSTRYTSKA**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Head of the Department of World History and Religious Studies, Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, 2 M. Kryvonos Street, Ternopil, Ukraine, postal code 46027 (elherman@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-6844-691X

**ResearcherID:** AAB-6099-2020

**Yulia HRABETS**

*Graduate Student of the Department of World History and Religious Studies, Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, 2 M. Kryvonos Street, Ternopil, Ukraine, postal code 46027 (juliajuliakows@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-6867-6977

**ResearcherID:** GQA-4479-2022

**Елла БИСТРИЦЬКА**

*докторка історичних наук, професорка, завідувачка кафедри всесвітньої історії та релігієзнавства Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, 2, вул. М. Кривоноса, м. Тернопіль, Україна, індекс 46027 (elherman@ukr.net)*

**Юлія ГРАБЕЦЬ**

*аспірантка кафедри всесвітньої історії та релігієзнавства Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, 2, вул. М. Кривоноса, м. Тернопіль, Україна, індекс 46027 (juliajuliakows@ukr.net)*

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**POSITION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE GREEK-CATHOLIC PARISH CLERGY OF EASTERN GALICIA IN 1914 – 1939**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to clarify the position of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy during and after World War I and to determine the main directions of its activity in the territory of Eastern Galicia under the conditions of inclusion of this region in the Republic of Poland. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, objectivity, and systematicity. General scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and systemic) methods have been used. The scientific novelty consists in the comprehensive research and analysis of the declared topic and the introduction to the scientific circulation of archival materials, which makes it possible to clarify the content and regularities of the activity of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy of Eastern Galicia in 1914 – 1939. The Conclusion. The policy of the occupation regimes on the territory of Eastern Galicia in the specified period caused significant material and*

human losses, which had a negative impact on the activities of the GCC. Only during World War I, the number of active Greek Catholic clergy decreased by 36.7%. The restoration of the Church during the period of 1918 – 1925 was hampered by several socio-political factors: the aggravation of the Ukrainian-Polish national question; military actions of the Soviet-Polish war of 1919 – 1920; mono-confessional orientation of the policy of the Polish government, which led to the infringement of the rights of Greek Catholics and slowed down the restoration of parishes. The conclusion of a concordat between the Holy See and the Poland Republic in 1925 determined the legal field of activity of the GCC became the basis for the stabilization of state-church relations. The articles of the concordat provided for state financing of the clergy and provision of funds for the restoration and construction of temple buildings. At the end of the 1930s GCC not only succeeded in restoring but also increased human and material potential. Priests were spiritual and political leaders in Eastern Galicia through participation in political parties, societies, associations, unions, brotherhoods and cooperatives, and thus contributed to formation of Ukrainian community in a modern nation

**Key words:** Eastern Galicia, the Republic of Poland, Greek-Catholic parish clergy, Greek-Catholic Church, priests.

## СТАНОВИЩЕ ТА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОГО ПАРАФІЯЛЬНОГО ДУХОВЕНСТВА СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧИНИ У 1914 – 1939 рр.

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* полягає у з'ясуванні становища греко-католицького парафіяльного духовенства під час та після Першої світової війни, визначення головних напрямів його діяльності на території Східної Галичини в умовах включення цього регіону до складу Польської Республіки. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, науковості, об'єктивності, системності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-системний) методи.

**Наукова новизна** полягає у комплексному дослідженні й аналізі заявленої теми та введенням до наукового обігу архівних матеріалів, що уможлиблює з'ясування змісту і закономірностей діяльності греко-католицького парафіяльного духовенства Східної Галичини у 1914 – 1939 рр.

**Висновки.** Політика окупаційних режимів на теренах Східної Галичини у вказаний період спричинила значні матеріальні та людські втрати, що негативно впливало на діяльності ГКЦ. Лише в період Першої світової війни кількість діяльного греко-католицького духовенства зменшилася на 36,7 %. Відновлення Церкви у період 1918 – 1925 рр. гальмувалося низкою чинників соціально-політичного характеру: загостренням українсько-польського національного питання; військовими діями радянсько-польської війни 1919 – 1920 рр.; моноконфесійною зорієнтованістю політики польського уряду, що спричиняло ущемлення прав греко-католиків та сповільнювало відновлення парафій. Укладення конкордату між Святим Престолом та Польською Республікою у 1925 р. визначило правове поле діяльності ГКЦ й стало основою для стабілізації державно-церковних відносин. Статті конкордату обумовлювали державне фінансування духовенства та надання коштів на відновлення і будівництво храмових споруд. Наприкінці 1930-х рр. ГКЦ вдалося не лише відновити, але й наростити свій людський та матеріальний потенціал. Священники виступали духовними і політичними лідерами Східної Галичини через участь у політичних партіях, товариствах, об'єднаннях, спілках, братствах, кооперативах, сприяючи у такий спосіб формуванню української спільноти у модерну націю.

**Ключові слова:** Східна Галичина, Польська Республіка, греко-католицьке парафіяльне духовенство, Греко-Католицька Церква, священники.

**The Problem Statement.** In the second half of the 19th – the 30s of the 20th century spiritual service of the Greek Catholic parish clergy of Eastern Galicia without exaggeration is a phenomenon not only concerning church, but also concerning a social and political life in Ukrainian history. This phenomenon was facilitated by a number of circumstances due to the geographical location of Galicia, which was at the epicentre of complex social transformations. As a result, there was the outbreak of World War I, the collapse of four



empires, in particular the Austro-Hungarian and Russian. The post-war arrangement of the world provided for state sovereignty declaration of small nations of Europe. However, state aspirations of the Ukrainians were ignored, which provoked a fierce Ukrainian-Polish conflict. It was at the intersection of these historical events that the Greek-Catholic clergy became the heart of a cultural and national movement, which formed the foundations of national identity, citizenship, and patriotism of its faithful. In an everyday life needs and challenges, the main burden of organization of a religious and public life was carried by parish priests, having, as a rule, an unbreakable authority in the community.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research.** Historiography of the study is based on complex scientific papers, memories, testimonies, statistical data and archival documents.

The Ukrainian scholars of the period of independent Ukraine focus on the study of the role of church figures in the socio-cultural history of Ukraine. The papers of O. Baran (Baran, 2009), A. Zaiarniuk, V. Rasevych (Zaiarniuk & Rasevych, 2012), M. Lytvyn (Lytvyn, 2022), S. Predka (Predka, 2018), V. Semeniv (Semeniv, 2018) deal with the analysis of material situation of the Greek Catholic clergy in the first half of the 20th century. Church-religious processes and position of the Greek Catholic Church (GCC) under the authority of the Republic of Poland are analyzed in the papers of E. Bystrytska (Bystrytska, 2005, 2009), M. Vegesh (Vegesh, 2022), L. Hentosh (Hentosh, 2000, 2016), R. Delyatynskiy (Delyatynskiy, 2005, 2019), O. Yehreshiy (Yehreshiy, 2020), A. Zhuk (Zhuk, 2022), M. Zabandzhala (Zabandzhala, 2019), A. Kachor (Kachor, 1992), O. Lesyk (Lesyk, 2020), I. Pylypiv (Pylypiv, 2010), K. Fedevych (Fedevych, 2009), M. Haliv and A. Ohar (Haliv & Ohar, 2018). The papers of S. Hnot (Hnot, 2003), V. Marchuk (Marchuk, 2014) are devoted to understanding religious, educational, cultural, financial and economic work of parish priests. A number of priests' reminiscences about a private life and social events are mentioned in the works of L. Kupchuk (Kupchuk, 1999), F. Tarnavskiy (Tarnavskiy, 1981). Materials related to the status of Eastern Galicia and the GCC during the period under the rule of the Republic of Poland were analyzed in the research papers of A. Kravchuk (Kravchuk, 1997), I. Luzhnitsky (Luzhnitsky, 1954), V. Mendzhetskyi (Mendzhetskyi, 2020), A. Ostanek (Ostanek, n. d.), Ya. Radevych-Vynnytskyi (Radevych Vynnytskyi, 1994). The archival materials used in the article are stored in the State Archive of Ternopil Region. The authors analyzed the files of Fund 14 "Chortkiv County Eldership, Town of Chortkiv, Ternopil Voivodeship (1919 – 1939)". In the Central State Historical Archive of Lviv, the files of Fund 201 "Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, Lviv" and the files of Fund 408 "Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Ordinariate, Lviv" were analyzed.

**The purpose** of the study is to clarify the position of the Greek-Catholic parish clergy during and after World War I, to determine the main directions of its activity in the territory of Eastern Galicia under the conditions of inclusion of this region into the Republic of Poland.

**The Results of the Research.** At the beginning of the 20th century powerful national liberation movements activated by the geopolitical transformations of World War I, led to the collapse of empires, in particular Austria-Hungary, and the emergence of independent states in Central and Eastern Europe. However, due to a number of objective and subjective circumstances, the Ukrainians were unable to gain an independent state. According to the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference of 1923, Eastern Galicia was included into the Republic of Poland.

Military actions in these areas led to significant human and material losses, which affected the church and religious life of Greek-Catholic parishes (Mendzhetskyi, 2020, p. 41). There

were numerous cases of complete destruction of farms, including public buildings, such as churches, schools, village councils, cooperatives and the others, in particular in the territory of modern Ternopil region (Zhuk & Delyatynskiy, 2022, p. 455). In the Schematism of 1918, there are the data on significant property losses during military operations in Ternopil, Velyko-Beryzovets, Velyko-Birkiv, Velyko-Hlybochan, Koziv, Kozliv protopresbyteries.

It is about complete or partial destruction of residential buildings and farms. For example, in the village of Butsniv (with Seredynty) (Velyko-Berezovets protopresbytery) 239 houses were burned, which was 43.6% of their total number, in 22 farms 90 houses were partially destroyed (Zabandzhala, 2019, p. 51); in the village of Ostriv (Velyko-Beryzovets protopresbytery), 163 houses were burned out of the total number of 375 (43.4%), and 43 households with houses were partially destroyed. As a result of the hostilities, the parishes of Koziv protopresbytery suffered, for example, the villages of Byshky and Potik were completely destroyed (Zabandzhala, 2019, p. 288). In the villages of Kalne and Shchepaniv (Velyko-Birkiv protopresbytery), half of the farms were burned down. Church buildings were destroyed. The parish priest's house was damaged, 80% of his household was destroyed in the fire (Zabandzhala, 2019, p. 319, 430). Churches in the villages of Zazdrist, Strusiv, Darakhiv, and Zastinochka were partially damaged in Terebovlia Deanery. In almost every village of the deanery, farm buildings were destroyed, fences and even gardens were burned (Semeniv, 2018, p. 220).

The war stopped not only an usual rhythm of life, leaving the majority of the Ukrainians without housing and means of livelihood. The lack of food and lack of necessary living conditions contributed to the spread of infectious diseases. It is known that 19 people died of cholera in the mentioned above villages, 10 – of dysentery, 6 – of typhus, and 5 children – of smallpox (Zabandzhala, 2019, p. 430).

The destruction of parish buildings, including churches and parish houses, sometimes caused priests to look for other places to conduct services. For example, in 1918 – 1920 in the village of Bibshchani, Zborivsky district ten priests left the parish because of unsatisfactory living conditions. In general, parishioners tried to create conditions for the life and work of a priest. In particular, in the village of Benev (Zarvanytsia deanery) the house for Fr. Nykolai Muliarchuk was built by parishioners in just three months. At the same time, it should be noted that villagers themselves were not sufficiently provided with appropriate living conditions, felt a lack of food, clothing, etc. There are known cases when the community agreed to build a parish house for their priest, because they were interested in his constant spiritual care. Such case took place in the village of Dernov in Zhovkva deanery (Predka, 2018, p. 93).

The reason for changing the place of service was the desire of individual priests to provide their children with an appropriate level of education. For example, a priest in the village of Lubianka, Zbarazh deanery appealed to the Metropolitan Ordinariate with a request to transfer him to Ternopil, citing the presence of a secondary school in the city (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 201, d. 1B, c. 2506, p. 17).

World War I caused losses to the staff of the GCC. In 1914 the establishment of the Russian occupation regime in Eastern Galicia made it possible to implement the policy of Orthodoxy among the local population. In January of 1915, the Governor General of Galicia and Bukovyna, Georgy Bobrynsky, issued a circular that gave the right to appoint Orthodox priests to Greek-Catholic parishes, provided that 75% of the parishioners agreed to it (Bystrytska, 2009, p. 122). Such decision made it possible to weaken the process of violent Orthodoxy of the Greek-Catholics, but it caused a split in the communities. The premises of

the church remained at the disposal of the Uniate priest, and another premises were assigned to the Orthodox priest. However, in April of the same year, corrections were made, owing to which the Orthodox priest was given the right to use the same church building as the Greek-Catholic one for worship. In the absence of the Greek-Catholic priest, the Orthodox priest was appointed to a parish.

The occupation administration persistently pursued the policy of Orthodoxy among the Galicians. According to official reports and the Russian press news, 100–120 Orthodox parishes were established in 1915 (Semeniv, 2018, p. 82). This process was successfully carried out in Brodivsky, Zborivsky and Mostyskyi povits (Semeniv, 2018, p. 80, 84). At the request of the Representative of the Holy Synod in Galicia, Archbishop Evlogiy, the Russian government allocated 39,400 rubles to finance these parishes (Semeniv, 2018, p. 82). However, the process of transition of the Greek-Catholic parishes to Orthodoxy was not as successful as the Russians expected. During the 10 months of occupation, out of 1,784 Greek-Catholic parishes, only 81 communities fully or partially joined the Russian Orthodox Church, which was only 4% of the total number (Vegesh, 2022, p. 137).

The influence of the Greek-Catholic clergy was limited by the occupation authorities by means of repression. As a rule, priests were charged with espionage in favour of Austria-Hungary. It was on this suspicion that Halytsky Metropolitan, Andrey Sheptytsky, as well as 20 Greek-Catholic, 13 Catholic priests and 12 monks<sup>1</sup> were arrested and sent to Russia. In October of 1915, the Governor General informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia that his administration had sent 38 priests outside Galicia. There were also cases of repression against priests by military commanders (Bystrytska, 2009, pp. 123–124). For example, the priests of Koziv Protopresbytery, Fr. Dolnytsky (Butsniv village) and Fr. Kontsevych (Tseniv village) were arrested on suspicion of espionage (Zabandzhala, 2019, pp. 51, 421). Priests were arrested in Yaroslav povit: Fr. Mykola Paslavsky (Viazovnytsia village), Fr. Volodymyr Dub (Polkyn village), Fr. Ivan Tarchanyn (Tsetuli village), Fr. Matviy Khoman (Yaroslav town), Fr. Andriy Nakonechny (Zamikhiv village) (Semeniv, 2018, p. 512).

During the period of 1914 – 1915, mortality among parishioners and priests increased significantly, which was caused by deterioration of living conditions, insufficient level of medical care, as well as mass arrests. Tens of thousands of Ukrainians were deported to Thalerhof, Gmind, Theresienstadt, and Esztergom concentration camps under the pretext of fighting Muscophiles. In particular, 6,000 Ukrainians were taken to Thalerhof, 1,767 of them died, including 21 Greek-Catholic priests (Vegesh, 2022, p. 136; Zaiarniuk & Rasevyh, 2012, p. 174). After the Horlytska operation of 1915, the Austrian power returned to the territory of Eastern Galicia. Therefore, the local administration intensified repression against the Ukrainians who were supporters of Russophile ideas. Due to the fear of being accused of cooperation with the Russian occupation authorities, about 100,000 people left for Russia, among them – 71 Greek-Catholic priests (Zaiarniuk & Rasevyh, 2012, p. 180).

According to the calculations of scholars, during the Russian occupation, out of 2,483 Greek-Catholic priests, 350 were interned by the Austrian authorities, 350 priests left for the West before the entry of the Russians, 61 priests left for Russia, 120 priests converted to Orthodoxy, or cooperated with its structures, several dozens chaplains of the GCC were part of the Ukrainian regiments and the legion of Ukrainian Sich Rifleman. Thus, there were

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<sup>1</sup> The topic of repression of the Greek Catholic clergy during World War I is under research by Ukrainian scholars, and therefore there is no consensus data on the number of repressed. For example, A. Zayarniuk, V. Rasevyh claim that 35 priests, 10 hieromonks, 12 monks and 3 priests were taken from the Lviv Archdiocese to Russia, and another 5 were temporarily arrested (Zaiarniuk & Rasevyh, 2012, p. 177).

1,572 active priests and clergy in general (Vegesh, 2022, p. 139). It is 63.3% of the total number of pre-war priests.

On the eve of the end of World War I, the national-state issue<sup>2</sup> became more acute in Eastern Galicia. Greek-Catholic priests were also included in the processes of Ukrainian-Polish relations, supporting the struggle for Ukraine's independence (Marchuk, 2000, p. 24). For example, in the autumn of 1918, at a secret meeting of the local Ukrainian intelligentsia in Horodok, Lviv region, Fr. Volodymyr Lysko was appointed head of the economic department. In Horodok, the declaration of independent Ukraine was expected. During the Ukrainian-Polish confrontation, Fr. V. Lysko was arrested and sent to Lviv, where he was detained for about three weeks, and later – to Domy near Krakow<sup>3</sup> (Kupchyk, 1999, pp. 35–36). Such cases were not unique among Greek-Catholic priests who had a defined civil position. It should be noted that the conditions in which priests were kept in prison were humiliating. For example, Fr. Mykola Shchur noted that he did not receive food while under arrest (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 47, p. 44).

In addition to the loss of the personnel potential of priests, the decrease in the number of parishes during World War I resulted in their significant impoverishment. First of all, this affected the number of services. Yo. Kravchuk, a pastor of Velyki Birky village, Ternopil district, on the example of his own parish, stated that during the period of 1918 – 1928 the number of church services decreased. If in 1918 the peasants paid for 368 religious services, then in 1919 – 215 only (Baran, 2009, p. 16). The decrease in paid services led to decrease in church budget and, accordingly, income of a pastor and his assistants.

It should be noted that the GCC had a strong state support in Austria-Hungary. Each representative of the clergy<sup>4</sup> received financial assistance, widows and orphans of priests received a pension. In addition, the Lviv Archdiocese had immovable and movable property at its disposal, which was freely administered by the archbishop and chapter<sup>5</sup>. After coming under the power of the Polish Republic, the material and financial situation of the Greek-Catholic clergy deteriorated sharply. A Greek Catholic bishop or archbishop who in Austria-Hungary received 24,000 kr from the state benefits per year, in 1922 – 1923 he received 1,007 Polish marks per month (Hentosh, 2016, p. 22). At the beginning of the 20th century the salary of a priest, including state subsidies, averaged 1,200–1,400 kr. In the Republic of Poland, a parish priest was responsible for maintenance of his assistants. In the 1920s, official documents stated that a priest had to allocate 10 morgs of church land to his assistant, and if he himself owned less than 30 morgs – a third of the field. However, it was possible to avoid this rule if a priest undertook to support a private employee fully (Baran, 2009, p. 15).

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<sup>2</sup> On October 16, 1918, the imperial manifesto was issued on the reconstruction of Austria-Hungary on a national basis. The day before, on October 12, Ukrainian ambassadors announced their intention to create an independent Ukrainian state, which would include the lands of Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovyna, and North-western Hungary. This was opposed by the Poles, who had a plan to include Eastern Galicia in their state. On November 1, 1918, the Ukrainian National Council proclaimed the creation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR).

The legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen was recognized as the basis of the Ukrainian army. The formation of the Ukrainian government on the ground began.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. V. Lysko returned to Horodok during the Polish-Ukrainian battles between General Oleksandr Hrekov and General Józef Haller. In May of 1921, he was assigned a parish in Sasiv (Zolochiv district) (Kupchyk, 1999, p. 38).

<sup>4</sup> At the end of the 19th century in the GCC there were three categories of priests: pastors, employees, and supervisors. Each parish had its head – a parish priest, who was usually assisted by staff. During the period when there was no permanent priest, the functions of the priest were temporarily performed by the superiors. Usually 18–25 parishes were united in a deanery, and those in turn – in a diocese.

<sup>5</sup> However, not all priests had sufficient financial support. On the eve of World War I, Fr. Filimon Tarnovsky wrote about his family's financial support: "My wife, a child and me simply starved more than once. Some women-neighbours, who saw our starvation, brought us eggs, milk, and corn, and we often ate only on that" (Tarnavskyi, 1981, p. 159).

Apostolic Visitor J. Genocki also appealed to the Nuncio in Warsaw regarding the financial support of the Greek-Catholic clergy. The policy of the Republic of Poland regarding Eastern Galicia did not contribute to the original development of the Ukrainian minority. Despite the commitment to establish autonomy made before the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference on June 25, 1919 “to guarantee as much as possible the autonomy of this territory as well as the political, religious and personal freedom of the population”, the Polish government introduced a state of emergency in the region, which was cancelled only in September of 1922 (Radevych-Vynnytskyi, 1994, p. 99). Under these conditions, the Polish military administration pursued a repressive policy towards Greek-Catholic priests. Thus, legal uncertainty of the GCC activities and financial hardship, as a result of military actions and insufficient funding from the government, were exacerbated by the moral and ethical component of the Greek-Catholics’ inferiority in the Republic of Poland.

Such actions of the Polish authorities provoked a negative reaction from the Greek-Catholic bishopric, who tried to use legal methods to stop repression. On August 25, 1919, they drafted the text for the peace conference in Paris and handed it over to Count Mykhailo Tyshkevych<sup>6</sup>. The priests condemned the actions of the Polish army regarding desecration of churches, killing of civilians and clergy, imprisonment of priests, closure of almost all Ukrainian cultural and educational societies and commercial organizations (Kravchuk, 1997, p. 481; Luzhnytskyi, 1954, pp. 566–567).

The hierarchs were aware that the process of revival of the GCC during the post-war period should take place in the legal field of the Republic of Poland. Therefore, in a letter to the Apostolic Nuncio dated August 28, 1919, the text of which was adopted at a joint conference, the participants emphasized the independence of the GCC from the Republic of Poland (Hentosh, 2000, pp. 183–184). Greek-Catholic priests insisted on preserving the right to keep records and correspond with authorities exclusively in Ukrainian (Luzhnytskyi, 1954, pp. 567–568). Thus, they tried to limit the influence of the occupation administration on the internal affairs of the GCC. The hierarchs considered the determination of the legal status of the GCC to be the key to solving the main problems of its development.

In the summer of 1920, the political situation in Galicia became complicated due to the Soviet-Polish war. The Soviet troops occupied 16 out of 52 Galician counties. The Galician Socialist Soviet Republic was formed on this territory (Marchuk, 2000, p. 27). A significant part of the canonical territory of the Lviv Archdiocese, Przemyśl and Stanislaviv Diocese came under the jurisdiction of the Galician Revolutionary Committee headed by V. Zatonyskyi (Lytvyn, 2022, p. 6). Decrees of the Soviet authorities on the captured lands limited the legal status of the Church, allowed priests to be prosecuted for alleged non-fulfilment of civic duties, cancelled all privileges of the clergy, etc. (Deliatynskyi, 2005, p. 311).

Thus, the stay of Eastern Galicia under Russian occupation during World War I, the inclusion of this territory in the Republic of Poland, and in 1920 the short-lived occupation by the Soviet army had negative consequences for the entire Ukrainian society. Human and material losses after military operations required significant financial and personnel resources to normalize parish life. The policy of Orthodoxy of the Russian occupation regime, and later – the introduction of Catholicism by the Polish government also led to personnel losses among the Greek-Catholic clergy, slowing down the revival of the GCC.

The bishops of the GCC considered the conclusion of the Concordat by the Polish government with the Holy See to be the condition for stabilization of state-church relations

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<sup>6</sup> Head of the Ukrainian mission at the Paris Peace Conference.



in the Republic of Poland against the background of aggravation of the Ukrainian-Polish national issue and socio-political problems. On August 3, 1925, after the official entry into force of the Concordat<sup>7</sup>, the Greek-Catholic clergy took an oath of loyalty to the Republic of Poland (Hnot, 2003, p. 8). According to the Concordat, the Polish government recognized the clergy of the GCC as the representatives of interests of the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia in relations with the Polish authorities. Note that the terms of the Concordat became the basis for the development of Ukrainian-Polish relations not only in the sphere of religious life, but also in the national and political sphere.

According to the document, Greek-Catholic bishops had the same rights as Catholic bishops. The Concordat guaranteed state subsidies to Greek-Catholic hierarchs, which were not inferior to the amount of payments to Catholic bishops. Financial maintenance was also provided to Greek-Catholic parish priests and employees of church administration. For example, in 1933 the budget of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education of the Republic of Poland provided for the financing of three Greek-Catholic bishoprics in the amount of 2,847,751 zł (the Lviv bishopric received 1,057,642 zł, the Przemyśl diocese – 1,069,826 zł, and the Stanisławów diocese – 720,283 zł). In 1933 a parish priest received about 116 zł per month (Fedevych, 2009, pp. 116–117). The Greek-Catholic clergy had an ambiguous attitude to the concluded Concordat. In particular, they had a negative attitude to Article IX, which limited the territory for the activities of the GCC to the borders of Galicia only. According to Article XVIII, all Greek-Catholics who lived outside the borders of Galicia fell under the authority of Catholic bishops (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 57, p. 2).

Owing to hard work of the Greek-Catholic clergy and parishioners, the condition of parishes improved at the end of the 1920s significantly. For example, after moving to the parish in Sasiv, Father V. Lysko initiated work on the interior reconstruction of the church. A brotherhood, a 4-grade Ukrainian school, and a trade cooperative were established at the parish church and in the churches of the villages of Ishnia and Pobich. The construction of the People's House was planned, where a cooperative, a room for a reading room, a library, and a hall for performances were to be located (Kupchuk, 1999, pp. 38–39).

Parishioners tried to collect funds for church needs during Christmas holidays. For example, in 1934, parishioners of Semakivtsi, Chortkiv district, planned to spend the money earned by singing Christmas carols to build a chapel (State Archives of Ternopil Region, f. 14, d. 1, c. 465, p. 26). In 1938, the administrator Fr. Mykhailo Vovchuk asked Chortkiv County Elders to allow a public collection of funds among Greek-Catholic parishioners in order to complete work on the church restoration in the village of Kosovo (SATR, f. 14, d. 1, c. 465, p. 10). In the same year, Fr. Mykola Dragomiretsky, the pastor of the village of Mukhantsi addressed the elders with a similar request. The parishioners intended to hold festins (folk celebrations) in the village on August 7, 1938, and use the funds received to build a church (SATR, f. 14, d. 1, c. 465, p. 41).

The situation of Greek-Catholic parishes was affected by the land reform of 1920 – 1930. According to the provisions of the document “Law on Implementation of Land Reform” dated July 15, 1920<sup>8</sup>, a significant number of church properties (episcopal, monastic, chapter houses) were subject to forced purchase of land. Owing to the interference of the Apostolic

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<sup>7</sup> The Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland took place on February 10, 1925.

<sup>8</sup> The purchased land was supposed to be sold primarily to non-agricultural and small farmers, war invalids (settlers), farm workers from the central regions of Poland. The law provided the right to receive a loan for the purchase of land in the amount of up to 75% of the value of the plot.

See, it was possible to reduce the number of church lands subject to confiscation<sup>9</sup> (Lesyk, 2020, p. 67).

Unexpectedly for the Polish authorities, the interests of wealthy owners and Ukrainian peasants coincided, since neither of them wanted to see colonists from the interior of the Republic of Poland on their territories. Therefore, large landowners increased their financial support to Ukrainian communities of villages and towns. For example: Prince Leon Sapeha in the village of Bilche, Borshchiv County founded a nursery school; in the village of Stankiv, Stryi povit Prince Joseph Puzyna financed the repair of the Greek-Catholic parish church and installation of a statue of the Mother of God in memory of the abolition of serfdom; a landowner Svezhavskiyi in the village of Holubi built a new Greek-Catholic church in Przemyśl region (Fedevych, 2009, pp. 37–39). Thus, the common interests of large landowners and the Ukrainian peasants contributed to mitigating the negative consequences of the land reform in Eastern Galicia and strengthening the financial situation of Greek-Catholic communities.

The presence of the GCC in the legal field of the Republic of Poland contributed to the further process of stabilizing life in the parishes. The Concordat of 1925 contained a number of controversial points. However, the Church's right to sell surplus land actually became the basis for material support and the return of Greek-Catholic parishes to a normal functioning. In the mid-1920s, the GCC had 128 deaneries and 1,907 parishes in Galicia, where 2,298 priests served liturgies (Vegesh, 2022, p. 146). And at the end of the 1930s, the GCC had a total of 3,040 parishes (Ruda, 2019, p. 569).

The Republic of Poland did not encourage the development of Ukrainian national life. This was quite expected, considering the Ukrainian-Polish relations during previous periods. However, in 1923 – 1925, owing to the Greek-Catholic clergy, it was possible to establish the work of cooperatives, to restore the activities of societies, in particular, “Prosvita”, “Silsky Hospodar”, “Native School”, Mariyska druzhyna, “Orly”<sup>10</sup> (CSHAUL, f. 408, d. 1, c. 74, p. 12). Their functioning became an important factor in the internal consolidation of the Ukrainians. If in 1921 there were only about 580 Ukrainian cooperatives in the region, then in 1928 their number increased to 2,500, and in 1939 it was about 4,000. The cooperatives provided work for more than 15,000 Ukrainians (Kachor, 1992, p. 27).

The hierarchs of the GCC obliged parish priests to perform the functions of not only spiritual mentors, but also to carry out active educational work on economic and political issues in the communities, using relevant literature and organizing courses for this purpose. Priests acted as spiritual and political leaders of Eastern Galicia participating in political parties, societies, associations, unions, brotherhoods, cooperatives, and thus contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian community into a modern nation (Pylypiv, 2010, p. 113).

On the eve of World War II, the GCC was one of the most authoritative institutions in the Republic of Poland, playing a powerful role in social, political and national life. It consisted of five dioceses, the Apostolic Administration for Lemkivshchyna, and the Apostolic Visitation for Volyn, in which 10 bishops, 2,950 priests, 520 hieromonks, 1,090 nuns, and 540 students of Theology worked. The number of parishioners was about 4.3 million people in 3,040 parishes, which included 4,440 churches and 195 monasteries (Vegesh, 2022, pp. 153–154).

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<sup>9</sup> Only lands purchased during August 1, 1914 – September 14, 1919 by people for whom agriculture was not the main occupation were subject to redemption; lands that changed their owners more than twice during the specified time; lands acquired as a result of usurer frauds.

<sup>10</sup> During the “pacification” of 1930, 29 “Luh” societies, 21 “Sokol” organizations, 24 “Prosvita” societies, one cooperative and two other societies were banned on the territory of Eastern Galicia (Ostaneck, n. d.).

**The Conclusion.** The policy of Austria-Hungary, the occupation authorities of the Russian army, as well as the short-term occupation of the Soviet troops caused significant material and human losses on the territory of Eastern Galicia. As a result, the GCC suffered significant destruction, which negatively affected its human and material resources. Only during World War I, the number of active Greek-Catholic clergy decreased by 36.7%. During the period of 1918 – 1925 the restoration of the Church was hindered by a number of socio-political factors: aggravation of the Ukrainian-Polish national issue; military actions of the Soviet-Polish war of 1919 – 1920; the monoconfessional orientation of the Polish government's policy, which led to the infringement of the rights of Greek-Catholics and slowed down the restoration of parishes.

In 1925 the conclusion of the Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland determined the legal field of activity of the GCC and became a condition for the stabilization of state-church relations and the basis for the development of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the spheres of religious, national and political life. The articles of the Concordat provided for state financing of the clergy and provision of funds for the restoration and construction of temple buildings. Therefore, the process of restoration and development of Greek-Catholic parishes was observed. The land reform of the 1920s and 1930s did not have a significant impact on the reduction of land resources of the GCC and unexpectedly revealed common interests between Ukrainian villagers and Polish landowners. At the end of the 1930s, the GCC managed not only to restore, but also to increase its human and material potential. The GCC became an influential institution on the religious map of the Republic of Poland. Priests demonstrated their active civic position through participation in political parties, societies, associations, unions, brotherhoods, cooperatives, and thus contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian community into a modern nation.

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**Oksana TYKHOVSKA**

*PhD hab. (Philology), Full Professor, Professor of the Department of the Ukrainian Literature, Uzhhorod National University, 14 Universytetska Street, Uzhhorod, Ukraine, postal code 88000 (oksana.tykhovska@uzhnu.edu.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-4663-5960  
**Researcher ID:** HSF-4340-2023

**Volodymyr BASARAB**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Uzhhorod National University, Uzhhorod 14 Universytetska Street, Uzhhorod, Ukraine, postal code 88000 (volodymyr.basarab@uzhnu.edu.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-1840-0435  
**Researcher ID:** HSF-4657-2023

**Оксана ТИХОВСЬКА**

*докторка філологічних наук, професорка кафедри української літератури, ДВНЗ “Ужгородський національний університет”, вул. Університетська, 14, м. Ужгород, Україна, індекс 88000 (oksana.tykhovska@uzhnu.edu.ua)*

**Володимир БАСАРАБ**

*кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри політології і державного управління ДВНЗ “Ужгородський національний університет”, вул. Університетська, 14, м. Ужгород, Україна, індекс 88000 (volodymyr.basarab@uzhnu.edu.ua)*

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**EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES OF METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKYI  
AS A CRUCIAL PREREQUISITE FOR THE UKRAINIAN STATE CREATION  
(BASED ON PASTORAL MESSAGES)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze A. Sheptytskyi's pastoral messages, which reflect the vision of the Galician Metropolitan on the role of science, education, and religion in the process of the civil society formation in Ukraine, in particular: the message “To the Faithful of the Stanislaviv Eparchy The First Word of the Shepherd” (1899), “To the Ukrainian Intelligentsia” (1900), “Joint pastoral message of Metr. Andrey Sheptytskyi and other bishops ... on the task of the Church and the people during the post-war period (1918), Message to the clergy “Who is to blame?” (1934), “The Ideal of our National Life” (1941). The methodology of research is based on comparative historical, comparative, complex methods. The national existential methodology has been also used in the research, as the political and social phenomena causes, which were highlighted in A. Sheptytskyi's messages have been considered through the prism of the Ukrainians' mentality, the national consciousness importance,*

education and culture as factors in the formation of a strong state have been emphasized. **The scientific novelty** is due to the fact that in the article for the first time there has been analyzed A. Sheptytskyi's research "A Valuable Sign of our Nation" in detail and the letter of the writer A. Chaikovskiy to Andrey Sheptytskyi, in which the Ukrainian intelligentsia gave assessment of the Metropolitan's pastoral messages to people (1901). **The Conclusion.** Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi's national educational activity contributed to the Ukrainians' progressive worldview formation and was highly appreciated by his contemporaries. In particular, A. Chaikovskiy noted that the Metropolitan's pastoral letters had a great influence on the Ukrainians, as they helped to orient themselves in the socio-political situation, adapt to the challenges and realities of the historical era, and, thus, became a signpost for both the youth and the adult population. A. Sheptytskyi emphasized the duty of every person to be active and cheer for the society to which he belongs and for his nearest and dearest. The Metropolitan of Galicia motivated the inseparable connection of spiritual and material values convincingly.

According to A. Sheptytskyi, along with the priest's educational work among the parishioners there should be the influence of educational institutions as well. Metropolitan Andrey said that the Ukrainians' desire for education was "a valuable characteristics of our people". A. Sheptytskyi emphasized that wealth, power, might, and strength would not replace a person's wisdom, would not make a person happy. Metropolitan Sheptytskyi contrasted the worldview of educated Ukrainians with ordinary shallow people, who were used to evaluate a person by the amount of money. According to A. Sheptytskyi, it was conscious, highly educated individuals, who were capable of compassion and love for their neighbour, who could form a state power that would manage society efficiently, taking into account the interests of various social groups. Hence, as many Ukrainians as possible should have access to high-quality education, moral and ethical education, because then they will be able to participate in the process of state formation.

**Key words:** Andrey Sheptytsky, Greek-Catholic Church, state formation, nation, education, patriotism.

## ПРОСВІТНИЦЬКІ ІНІЦІАТИВИ МИТРОПОЛИТА АНДРЕЯ ШЕПТИЦЬКОГО ЯК ВАЖЛИВА ПЕРЕДУМОВА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ДЕРЖАВОТВОРЕННЯ (НА ОСНОВІ ПАСТИРСЬКИХ ПОСЛАНЬ)

**Анотація. Мета статті** – проаналізувати пастирські послання А. Шептицького, в яких відображено бачення Галицьким митрополитом ролі науки, освіти, релігії у процесі формування громадянського суспільства в Україні, зокрема: послання "До вірних Станіславівської єпархії Перше слово Пастира" (1899), "До Української інтелігенції" (1900), "Спільне пастирське послання митр. Андрея Шептицького та ін. єпископів ... про завдання Церкви і народу в післявоєнний період" (1918), Послання до духовенства "Хто винен?" (1934), "Ідеалом нашого національного життя" (1941). **Методи дослідження** – порівняльно-історичний, компаративістський, комплексний. Використана у статті й національно-екзистенційна методологія, оскільки причини політичних та суспільних явищ, висвітлені у посланнях А. Шептицького, розглядаються крізь призму ментальності українців, наголошується на важливості національної свідомості, освіти та культури як чинників формування сильної держави. **Наукова новизна** зумовлена тим, що в статті вперше детально проаналізовано розвідку А. Шептицького "Цінна прикмета нашого народу" та лист письменника А. Чайковського до митрополита, в якому подано оцінку українською інтелігенцією його пастирських послань до народу (1901). **Висновки.** Національно-просвітницька діяльність митрополита Андрея Шептицького сприяла формуванню прогресивного світогляду українців і була високо оцінена його сучасниками. Зокрема, А. Чайковський зазначив, що пастирські листи митрополита мали великий вплив на українців, оскільки допомагали зорієнтуватися в соціально-політичній ситуації, пристосуватися до викликів та реалій історичної доби і, отже, ставали дороговказом і для молоді, і для дорослого населення. А. Шептицький наголошував на обов'язку кожної людини бути активною й вболівати за суспільство, до якого вона належить, та за своїх рідних. Галицький митрополит переконливо вмотивував нерозривний зв'язок духовних і матеріальних цінностей.

Просвітницька робота священника серед парафіян, на переконання А. Шептицького, мала доповнюватися впливом закладів освіти. Прагнення українців до навчання митрополит

називає “цінною прикметою нашого народу”, наголошуючи, що багатство, влада, могутність, сила не замінять людині мудрості, не зроблять її щасливою. Митрополит А. Шептицький протиставляє світогляд освічених (мудрих) українців й недалеких обивателів, які звикли оцінювати людину за кількістю грошей. На його переконання, саме свідомі, високоосвічені особи, які здатні на співчуття й любов до ближнього, можуть сформувати державну владу, яка ефективно керуватиме суспільством, враховуючи інтереси різних соціальних груп. Таким чином, якісною освітою та морально-етичним вихованням має бути охоплено якомога більше українців, оскільки тоді вони зможуть долучитися до процесу державотворення.

**Ключові слова:** *Андрей Шептицький, греко-католицька церква, державотворення, нація, освіта, патріотизм.*

**The Problem Statement.** Nowadays the ideas of patriotism, national self-identification and state formation, revival of cultural and historical values are of great significance. It is the history rethinking of Ukraine that contributes to the formation of a strong nation, a civil society capable of resisting dictatorship and imperial encroachments of aggressor countries, in particular the modern Russian Federation. Many A. Sheptytskyi’s considerations are very relevant and resonate with the events, which happen in Ukraine nowadays. In his messages, the Metropolitan emphasized the differences between the European mentality of the Ukrainians and the invading consciousness of the Russians, noted that the prerequisite for creation of a strong independent Ukraine is awakening of the national consciousness of citizens, as well as their unification at a spiritual and social level. According to A. Sheptytsky, the patriotic intelligentsia should have influence on the Ukrainians’ value orientations formation.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications. Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky’s educational activities and state ideas were studied by A.-M. Bazylevych (Bazylevych, 1965), V. Basarab (Basarab, 2018, 2018a), O. Kekosh (Kekosh, 2013), K. Korolevskiy (Korolevskiy, 2016), V. Laba (Laba, 1990), M. Marynovych (Marynovych, 2019), Ye. Nebesniak (Nebesniak, 2003), T. Pshenychnyi (Pshenychnyi, 2015) they made a thorough review of the Bishop’s messages on socio-political topics. B. Botsiurkiv (Botsiurkiv, 2005) covered the state-building aspirations of Metropolitan Halytskyi and emphasized his active social and political activity during the period of 1918 – 1944. Ye. Nebesniak outlined the contribution of Bishop Andrey to the process of preserving the Ukrainian national idea. The statesmanship ideas of A. Sheptytsky also became the subject of analysis in the works, written by M. Vehesh (Vehesh, 1998), O. Krasivskiy (Krasivskiy, 1995), S. Onyshchuk (Onyshchuk, 2014), V. Serhiichuk (Serhiichuk, 2001) and other scholars. Dissertation studies, written by Ya. Bilas, V. Basarab (Basarab, 2019), H. Hladka, L. Krupa, N. Kontsur-Karabinovych, N. Prokop focused on the understanding of A. Sheptytsky’s social activities.

The majority of scholars, who covered A. Sheptytsky’s activities focused on the Metropolitan’s contribution to the national consciousness formation of the Ukrainians, the development of the UGCC as the foundation of statehood, and the upbringing of a younger generation in a patriotic spirit.

The role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Greek-Catholic Church in the development of a civil society, the formation of the statehood foundations, and the creation of a patriotically oriented education system were studied by M. Hlibishchuk and Z. Burkovska (Hlibishchuk & Burkovska, 2021), I. Zulyak та V. Kovbasa (Zulyak & Kovbasa, 2023), O. Yehrechii and L. Drogomyretska (Yehrechii & Drogomyretska, 2022), R. Popp and N. Kantor (Popp & Kantor, 2021).

The purpose of the research is to analyze A. Sheptytsky’s pastoral messages, which reflect the vision of the Galician Metropolitan on the role of science, education, and religion in the

process of a civil society formation in Ukraine, in particular: the message “To the Faithful of the Stanislaviv Eparchy the First Word of the Shepherd” (1899), “To the Ukrainian Intelligentsia” (1900), “Joint pastoral message of Metr. Andrey Sheptytsky and other bishops ... on the task of the Church and the people in the post-war period (1918), Message to the clergy “Who is to blame?” (1934), “The ideal of Our National Life” (1941) as well as the article by A. Sheptytsky “A Valuable Sign of our People”.

**The Results of the Research.** Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi’s national educational activity contributed to the formation of a progressive worldview of the Ukrainians and was highly appreciated by his contemporaries. In particular, the writer Andriy Chaikovskiy in a letter to A. Sheptytsky expressed the point of view of many Ukrainians of that time, highlighting that the pastoral letters, written by the Metropolitan had a great influence on the Ukrainians, explained the text of the Gospel, parables and aphorisms in simple terms, helped to orientate in the socio-political situation, adapt to the challenges and realities of the historical era. Hence, they become a signpost for both the youth and the adult population, in particular, in the aspect of socialization and the system of moral and ethical values. A. Chaikovskiy, addressing A. Sheptytskyi, noted the following: “You explained to me many things that I understood in a completely different way. Let’s take the property case. Until now, I interpreted it as I was taught, pointing at the text of the Gospel: “*Do not be sad about what you eat or what you drink, look at the birds of the heaven*”. On that basis, I thought that now there is no and there cannot be true Christianity, because, except for the beggars, no one wants to live according to that principle. And there were times when I really had doubts about my Christian duties [...] You dispelled those doubts. I have the words of your pastoral letter: “*Strive for property (that is, in an honest way), so that you can save the poor*”. Here’s a simple, smart solution. Thus, it is not necessary to live in poverty in order to reach the Kingdom of Heaven. In such a simple and rational way, all the issues of a daily life in a family and community are resolved in those letters” (Chaikovskiy, 2007, pp. 833–834).

Hence, in his pastoral message to the faithful of the Stanislaviv Diocese in 1899, A. Sheptytskyi interpreted the biblical text clearly, pointing out the duty of every person to be an active citizen and support the society to which he belongs, take care of his nearest and dearest. The Metropolitan noted that Christianity did not condemn the desire of people to take care of their own well-being, to work in order to increase the material goods, but on the contrary – according to the Bible, God commanded the first people to earn a living by work. “By the sweat of your face you will eat your bread – this is how the teaching of Jesus Christ imposes on us the duty to work for ourselves, for our children and family” (Sheptytskyi, 2007, p. 6). In his pastoral message to the faithful of the Stanislaviv eparchy, A. Sheptytskyi pointed out the importance of not only the spiritual self-improvement, but motivated the need for an active position of a person in the society, his self-realization in daily work, the expediency of making efforts to improve the material situation. He called for believers to be hardworking, thrifty, sober, not to waste their labour and to be masters: “Hold on to your land, do not let it out of your hands” (Sheptytskyi, 2007, p. 7). Therefore, the mentality of the agricultural nation had a significant impact on A. Sheptytskyi, he was aware of an inseparable connection of a peasant with land, and, therefore, warned countrymen against the loss of a land private ownership. Metropolitan Andrey called for the Ukrainians to fight against laziness, as he considered it to be a prerequisite for a spiritual and social degradation of an individual. A. Sheptytskyi called work a valuable gift presented by God, because when you spend your time working, you can acquire an estate, and wasting time and laziness will only do harm. “Look at people

in foreign lands. [...] They sometimes have worse land than ours, but owing to hard work and being thrifty, people reached the point where a peasant, even the poorest, has a nice house and better food everywhere, like the richest man in our village” (Sheptytskyi, 2007, p. 7). Thus, A. Sheptytskyi motivated an inseparable connection of spiritual and material values convincingly: a self-disciplined, hardworking person succeeds in everything, and a lazy person loses what he has. Metropolitan Andrey instilled hope in the souls of parishioners that each of them was a master of his own life and was capable of building the kind of future he desired, i.e he was not a slave to fate or circumstances. In our opinion, such an active civic position of A. Sheptytskyi, his belief in a hidden potential of his neighbour, and his desire to support the weakest and most desperate became a prerequisite for the deep respect of the Ukrainians for him.

A. Chaikovskiy motivated A. Sheptytskyi’s pastoral messages value quite convincingly, emphasizing that they were necessary “for people, who are religious and would like to live a Christian life” (Chaikovskiy, 2007, p. 834). According to the writer, A. Sheptytskyi gained a high reputation among the local people precisely because of the opinions expressed in the letters addressed to the parishioners. Gradually, doubts of the incredulous disappeared, the version about the “Polish intrigue” connected with appearance among the higher Greek-Catholic clergy of Metropolitan Andrey, some of whose relatives identified themselves with the Polish nation, disappeared. “Your letters had to dispell those doubts and caused sincere sympathy for You. Those patriotic statements of the Bishop in the pastoral letters reassure and instill confidence, and this is the basis for understanding and further work” (Chaikovskiy, 2007, p. 834). At the same time, A. Chaikovskiy turned to A. Sheptytskyi with a request to republish the Bible in Ukrainian, emphasizing that this was primarily necessary to support the national spirit of the Ukrainians, who are under Moscow’s control: “It is our duty to publish the Holy Scriptures, even if only for our poor foreign brothers under the Moscow yoke. Our people have at least school Bible – there is nothing there that does not bear the royal seal” (Chaikovskiy, 2007, p. 834). A. Chaikovskiy tried to convince A. Sheptytskyi to organize translators work and manage them: “And this does not suit anyone as much as Vladyka. If Your Eminence would accept my suggestion and put it into practice, an epoch-making work would be accomplished, which none of your predecessors had accomplished” (Chaikovskiy, 2007, p. 835). A. Chaikovskiy noted rightly that without the Holy Scriptures, accessible to people in their native language, education and cultural development were impossible, since this was the first book for both intellectual and peasant, “from which science should be drawn” (Chaikovskiy, 2007, p. 834).

A. Chaikovskiy had high hopes for educational activities of A. Sheptytskyi and wrote about it in his letter frankly: “You, His Eminence, with your bright mind will resolve the doubts surrounding our national Ukrainian spirit, will bring our national river to a level playing field” (Chaikovskiy, 2007, p. 835).

Hence, Metropolitan Andrey was well aware of the church and priests’ role in the lives of the Ukrainians of that time, and therefore in many of his pastoral messages to the Greek Catholic clergy, he affirmed the image of a preacher-cleric who would promote a spiritual growth of parishioners, and not educate people with a slavish consciousness, obedience to life circumstances. A. Sheptytskyi often emphasized priests’ focus on their patriotic duty and national unity: “We must strive for one work and one spirit for all priests” (Spilne pastyrskie poslannia, 1998, p. 447). According to A. Sheptytskyi, priests who had other national beliefs, which would contradict the formation of a conscious Ukrainian, were obliged to change



their views and subordinate them to the ideas of common good and nation development: “they must leave their personal convictions and take care of people, whose pastors they are” (Spilne pastyrske poslannia, 1998, p. 447).

A. Sheptytskyi's patriotism was manifested in his demandingness and uncompromisingness when it came down to spiritual influence of a priest on the faithful. In particular, the Metropolitan wrote that all priests, who preach on our land should be devoted to the Ukrainian idea in Ukraine, regardless of their nationality: “We would demand such work from every German, French or Belgian, [...] we could not would allow any political or national agitation against the national feelings of the Ukrainian people. [...] We will demand the same work from every priest, who belonged to the so-called Muscovite or Old Ruthenian party” (Spilne pastyrske poslannia, 1998, p. 447). A. Sheptytskyi highlighted the importance of freedom of choice and the Ukrainians' free access to the national and cultural development. In his opinion, no one had the right to prevent comprehensive development of the national life and culture of the Ukrainian people, and every priest should take care of national interests of parishioners. At the same time, A. Sheptytskyi emphasized that he did not impose any political obligations on priests, and considered service in the Church to be the most important, primary duty of a clergyman.

The Metropolitan wrote about the importance of a priest's work outside the church, for the community and for an individual development and support of a personality, which should be guided by love for people.

According to A. Sheptytskyi, the priest's educational work among parishioners should be supplemented by the influence of educational institutions, since all Ukrainians value science and education highly. According to the Metropolitan's observation, a fervent desire to learn was characteristic not only of children, but also of their relatives. Adult Ukrainians “consider science, education, and knowledge to be the first and most important need of people [...] Science and education are ideals for all of us, our youth is striving for them even in the years when they can hardly have an idea about what true knowledge is” (Sheptytskyi, 1978, p. 5). Metropolitan Andrey called such desire of the Ukrainians for education “a valuable sign of our people”, and it was formed, in his opinion, due to a number of historical factors: a long stay of the Ukrainians under the oppression of various states, the desire for self-assertion on a level with other nations, the instinctive need for the social changes, which only educated, intelligent Ukrainians will be able to implement.

A. Sheptytskyi wrote that wealth, power, might, and strength would not replace a person's wisdom, would not make him happy, “without wisdom, power or significance will give impression of some rare physical phenomenon, and only wisdom will be an impressive spiritual human phenomenon” (Sheptytskyi, 1978, p. 6). Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi compared worldview of educated (wise) Ukrainians to shallow people, who were used to evaluating a person by “the amount of dollars he has” (Sheptytskyi, 1978, p. 7). Hence, according to A. Sheptytskyi, the Ukrainians' ability to strive for self-improvement, learning, and wisdom purposefully was a crucial factor in the formation of a civil society, a national trait of our people.

Metropolitan Andrey compared a wise poor man with a rich foolish man, considering the rich unhappy and unfulfilled in a spiritual and social plan: “I would still choose to be a wise beggar than a foolish king, and I think that such judgment is correct and that just as I would judge correctly and choose the majority among the Ukrainians” (Sheptytskyi, 1978, p. 7). The above-mentioned A. Sheptytskyi's observation is relevant even in our time, since only a nation of intelligent, educated people is able to elect worthy government and

build a democratic and prosperous state, not seeking self-enrichment, not pursuing one's own mercantile interests.

Metropolitan Andrey considered the work of the Ukrainian intellectuals, who should take care of a material well-being of people and their spiritual values, to be similar to work of a priest. Hence, the activity of conscious intelligentsia also anticipated the influence on development of citizens' consciousness, and therefore "must have God's pastoral character" (Spilne pastyrskie poslannia, 1998, p. 447), is aimed at the salvation of a human soul. A. Sheptytskyi saw the task of intelligentsia as promoting a righteous, harmonious life for people, who would be guided by the laws of God and the Catholic faith.

A. Sheptytskyi realized that the Ukrainian society was divided into different social groups, classes, which often find it difficult to find mutual understanding among themselves, but still must be able to negotiate among themselves and live in harmony. "A great nation is a unity made up of cross-sectional natural groupings of people" (Sheptytskyi, 1998, p. 524). Some are united by joint work, similar needs, rights, or even neighbouring houses, the others – by common professional interests, professions, various sciences and social theories. The unions of workers and farmers, proletarians and entrepreneurs together form a whole, and their harmonious interaction was a prerequisite for a sustainable social development. A. Sheptytskyi emphasized that the task of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was to establish interaction of such different social communities, they "need to be looked at with a magnifying glass" (Sheptytskyi, 1998, p. 524). Therefore, it is education, wise public administration that could unite all these different social classes with a common idea and goal, and would also contribute to a balanced attitude towards the choice of government form, under which the majority of citizens would feel happy.

In the pastoral message "The Ideal of our National Life", A. Sheptytskyi considered the influence of the ideas of individualism and collectivism on the state formation, their contradictions and ambiguity: "There is a transition from extreme individualism to omnipotence of the state, which is preached by socialism. In practice, also, unrestricted freedom of an individual can lead to such chaos" (Sheptytskyi, 1998, p. 525), salvation from which can be the autocracy of a powerful state. A totalitarian state can emerge on the basis of liberalism and individualism, the goal of which is a total control over citizens. A. Sheptytskyi analyzed the historical processes that took place in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, mentioned the bankruptcy of extreme individualism and liberalism, pointed out the unsustainability of European parliaments that were elected through national elections. Metropolitan Andrey wrote about perniciousness of diverse political theories that led to emergence of the socialist states with monarchical, aristocratic or democratic forms of government. Free development of culture, education, and religions is impossible in a country ruled by a dictator, party, or monoparty. Such individualism nullifies universal human values and Christian ideals.

According to A. Sheptytskyi, it is conscious, highly educated individuals, who are capable of compassion and love for their neighbour, who can form a state power that will manage society efficiently, taking into account the interests of various social groups. Thus, as many Ukrainians as possible should be engaged in high-quality education and moral and ethical education, because then they will be able to participate in the process of state formation. According to the Metropolitan, numerous citizens, representatives of different social classes, who at the same time must be good Christians, have "moral education based on evangelical principles" should have access to the government bodies (Sheptytskyi, 1998, p. 526).

In support of his own reasoning, A. Sheptytskyi cited the reasoning of Pope Leo XIII addressed to the American bishops. The Pope noted that the key to public order in America and other democratic states was honesty and decency of citizens. When free people do not respect righteousness and justice, when people are not reminded from time to time of the need to observe “the precepts of the Gospel, freedom itself can be a great danger” carefully (Sheptytskyi, 1998, p. 526). Thus, Metropolitan Andrey emphasized a crucial role of the church in moral and ethical principles formation of population and especially people involved in administration of the state.

At the same time, A. Sheptytskyi noted that despite the Ukrainians’ desire for education, training, and wisdom, they have such an ethnopsychological trait as a tendency toward individualism; and it is the above-mentioned trait, which stands in the way of successful state-building in Ukraine. Despite the fact that all Ukrainians have a desire to live in an independent state, everyone sees it in his own way. Different parties, social groups and even individual citizens have their own ideal of the state system. According to A. Sheptytskyi, because of the fatal division between the representatives of intelligentsia, their disputes, quarrels, emergence of numerous parties, which level the Ukrainians’ national aspirations. The Metropolitan did not find justification for such numerous, allegedly selfless patriots, “whose work has a significant destructive character” (Sheptytskyi, 1998, p. 533). Therefore, the state development will depend on the following: which elements will prevail – positive or negative? The above-mentioned Metropolitan Andrey’s observation can be attributed to a large number of historical events that were the result of the Ukrainians’ inability to come to an agreement among themselves, to find a common solution for the establishment of the Ukrainian state on the world stage.

A. Sheptytskyi considered the issues on the influence of individual human aspirations and interests on the process of state formation and civil society formation in numerous pastoral messages. The Metropolitan noted the following: “The reason for our ruin is also those historical events that have been woven into the crown of our position since ancient times” (Sheptytskyi, 1998b, p. 363). A. Sheptytskyi considered the mistakes made by political leaders and insidious actions of enemies, ethno-psychological features of the national character of the Ukrainians, “poisoning” of culture with harmful social, political, religious and anti-religious theories to be the reasons and prerequisites for Ukraine’s loss of independence. However, comparing all the above-mentioned factors, A. Sheptytskyi came to the conclusion that the “external” causes are, as a rule, determined by a hopeless social situation of the Ukrainians, while the subjective causes of decline were the moral imperfection of people, and it can be eliminated. “More important are the causes of moral and supernatural order” (Sheptytskyi, 1998b, p. 363).

A. Sheptytskyi considered the study on the reasons for statehood decline in Ukraine to be an important task facing historians and sociologists. The Metropolitan called such work carried out by scholars to be valuable and really vital, as it was able to prevent the repetition of mistakes made by previous political elites: “Their work is far more useful for the people, as the work in which the national glory is worshipped and exalted. Because the one, who teaches someone to correct their mistakes renders a man and the nation a greater service than the one, who teaches someone to be proud and rejoice in the glory or greatness of past generations” (Sheptytskyi, 1998b, p. 363).

According to A. Sheptytskyi, the work of bread-growing peasants, who, however, were under difficult conditions at the beginning of the 20th century, was of great importance for the development of a prosperous Ukraine. Metropolitan Andrey considered their impoverishment and ignorance to be a significant obstacle to the development of the entire Ukrainian society. In a letter

to the Ukrainian intelligentsia A. Sheptytskyi pointed out the drastic need for the development of industry and trade in order to support the Ukrainian peasants (January 27 – May 9, 1900): “We should take over control of trade along the whole line, organize all those institutions in all villages that somehow help people in their life and work” (Sheptytskyi, 1998a, p. 292).

According to A. Sheptytskyi’s decent observation, at that time many different spheres of the Ukrainians’ social life were in need of radical changes, full-fledged development: “There is not a single branch of cultural and economic life in our nation in which we would do even a hundredth part of what is needed” (Sheptytskyi, 1998a, p. 292). The Metropolitan emphasized the need to develop the Ukrainian economy, which was the foundation on which a strong state can be built. A. Sheptytskyi believed that the Ukrainian people would be able to reach the level of other European nations in their cultural and economic development. The Metropolitan compared the patriotic aspirations of diverse nations (the majority of which completed their struggle for independence successfully) and noted the special patriotism of the Ukrainians, who were constantly forced to defend their right to free cultural and state development, to resist the attacks of various empires. A. Sheptytskyi saw the strength of the Ukrainian people in unity, which would be based on ethical principles, purposefulness and striving for one social ideal.

The Conclusion. Andrey Sheptytskyi sought to influence the Ukrainians’ worldview, emphasized the importance of education, responsibility for the lives of fellow human beings, explained historical facts that had an impact on the lives of the Ukrainians for centuries, instigated people to avoid extreme individualism and discord, and instead unite around common social and spiritual ideals in order to build a strong and prosperous Ukraine in his letters, pastoral messages, and speeches. Andriy Chaikovskyi wrote about the importance of A. Sheptytskyi’s educational activities in detail. He noted that the Metropolitan’s pastoral letters help the Ukrainians to orient themselves in the socio-political situation, to adapt to challenges and realities of historical era. A. Sheptytskyi cared about patriotic education of the Ukrainians, often in his messages he addressed various social and age groups of his parishioners (intelligentsia, peasants, youth), he found necessary words to influence their consciousness. A. Sheptytskyi did great work among priests, he urged them to be patriots and to protect their parishioners from being carried away by communist ideas. According to A. Sheptytskyi, a priest’s educational work among parishioners should be supplemented by the influence of educational institutions. Metropolitan Andrey called the Ukrainians’ desire for education “a valuable sign of our people”, an ideal to which the Ukrainian youth aspire. And such desire to become educated, in his opinion, is caused by several factors: a long stay of the Ukrainians under the oppression of various states, the desire for self-assertion on a level with other nations, an instinctive need for social changes that only educated, intelligent Ukrainians will be able to implement. At the same time, A. Sheptytskyi noted that despite the Ukrainians’ desire for education, training, and wisdom, they have such an ethno-psychological trait as a tendency to individualism; and it is the above-mentioned trait, which stands in the way of successful state-building in Ukraine. According to A. Sheptytskyi, conscious, highly educated people, who are capable of compassion and love for their neighbour, can form a state power that will effectively manage society, taking into account the interests of various social groups. Hence, as many Ukrainians as possible should have high-quality education, moral and ethical education, because then they will be able to participate in the state formation process. A. Sheptytskyi also emphasized a close relationship of economy, culture and education, emphasized the need for industry and trade development to support the Ukrainian peasants.

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**Tatyana GUMENYUK**

*PhD hab. (Philosophy), Full Professor, Vice-Rector for Scientific and Methodical Work, Kyiv National University of Culture and Arts, 30 Ye. Konovelets Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01133 (t\_gumenyuk@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-9210-6424

**Boris DRAMARETSKYI**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor, Senior Research of M. S. Hrushevsky Institute of Ukraine Archeography and Source Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 4 Triochsviatytska Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01001; Associate Professor, National University of Culture and Arts, 30 Ye. Konovelets Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01133 (dddboris@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-9210-6424

**Тетяна ГУМЕНЮК**

*докторка філософських наук, професорка, заслужена працівниця освіти України, проректорка з науково-методичної роботи Київського національного університету культури і мистецтв, вул. С. Коновальця, 36, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01133 (t\_gumenyuk@ukr.net)*

**Борис ДРАМАРЕЦЬКИЙ**

*кандидат історичних наук, доцент, старший науковий співробітник Інституту української археології та джерелознавства ім. М. С. Грушевського НАН України, вул. Трьохсвятительська, 4, Київ, Україна, індекс 01001; доцент Київського національного університету культури і мистецтв, вул. С. Коновальця, 36, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01133 (dddboris@gmail.com)*

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## CULTURAL POLICY IN THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC IN THE 1920S

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to determine the consequences of the Bolshevik policy transformation to Ukraine in the field of culture in the 1920s. The research methodology is based on the application of the principles of historical knowledge (historical and genetic, historical and comparative, historical and systemic), authorial objectivity, general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, which made it possible to use the technologies of science connections for a holistic understanding of the material, which allowed to determine the purpose of the Bolshevik cultural policy and methods of its implementation in Ukraine. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that for the first time the ideological manipulation of the officially announced policy in the field of education,*

publishing and literature has been highlighted, since the real actions of the Bolsheviks were a return to Russification through immigration policy, simultaneous identification of supporters of Ukrainization and independent Ukrainian leaders with the aim of controlling or physically destroying them. **The Conclusion.** It has been determined that in the field of culture the most important task of the Bolshevik policy was the formation of a new type of a human being – the Soviet one. This meant instilling ideology, raising intolerance, and declaring those who had a different position “enemies of the people”. For the same purpose, an extensive system of censorship and repressive bodies was created. Transformation also took place in the national and cultural sphere: from Russification to Ukrainization, and the policy of Ukrainization can be considered as a temporary phenomenon, which aimed at fulfilling only tactical tasks – to take root in national areas and carry out industrialization. However, flourishing of the national culture, spread of the national idea, and increase in centripetal attitudes forced the Bolsheviks to curtail Ukrainization and eliminate representatives of the Ukrainian cultural and political elite from the mid-1920s. At the same time, the totalitarian system demanded unquestioning loyalty to the party leaders, exact execution of all orders up to self-sacrifice. Such deformation caused deep social changes, the vestiges of which can be observed even today among population of the post-Soviet countries.

**Key words:** cultural policy, the Ukrainian SSR, the Bolshevik party, Ukrainization, national revival, Russification.

### КУЛЬТУРНА ПОЛІТИКА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ СРР У 1920-х рр.

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження полягає у визначенні наслідків для України трансформації більшовицької політики у сфері культури у 1920-х рр. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на застосування принципів історичного пізнання (історико-генетичного, історико-порівняльного та історико-системного), авторської об'єктивності, загальнонаукових методів аналізу та синтезу, що дало змогу використати технології зв'язків науки для цілісного осмислення матеріалу, які уможливили визначення мети більшовицької культурної політики та методів її реалізації в Україні. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше висвітлено ідеологічну маніпуляцію офіційно проголошеної політики у сфері освіти, видавництва та літератури, оскільки реальними діями більшовиків стало повернення до русифікації шляхом переселенської політики, одночасного виявлення прихильників українізації та самостійних українських керівників з метою їх контролю або фізичного знищення. **Висновки.** Визначено, що найважливіше завдання більшовицької політики у сфері культури полягало у формуванні людини нового типу – радянської. Це означало насадження ідеології, виховання нетерпимості та оголошення тих, хто мав іншу позицію, “ворогами народу”. З цією ж метою створювалася розгалужена система цензури та репресивних органів. У національно-культурній сфері також відбулася трансформація: від русифікації – до українізації, а політику українізації можемо розглядати як явище тимчасове, що мало на меті виконання лише тактичних завдань – укорінитися у національних районах та провести індустріалізацію. Однак розквіт національної культури, поширення національної ідеї та збільшення відцентрових настроїв змусив більшовиків уже з середини 1920-х рр. згортати українізацію та усунути представників української культурної і політичної еліти. Водночас тоталітарна система вимагала беззаперечної відданості партійним вождям, точного виконання усіх наказів аж до самопожертви. Така деформація спричинила глибокі суспільні зміни, рудименти яких і сьогодні можемо спостерігати у населення пострадянських країн.

**Ключові слова:** культурна політика, УСРР, більшовицька партія, українізація, національне відродження, русифікація.

**The Problem Statement.** In the 1920s the development of Ukrainian culture became a peculiar phenomenon not only of breaking a previous worldview and completely replacing a traditional culture with a new one, artificially created by the political party of the Bolsheviks, but also of its rooting in the mass consciousness by administrative and forceful methods. Of course, during the periods of weakening of pressure – NEP, and later – thaw, sixties, perestroika, certain elements of freedom were allowed and Ukrainian society returned to national culture to one degree or another. However, violent imposition of the Soviet worldview

over the course of seventy years was evident. It was so strongly rooted in consciousness that, to a certain extent, it remains to this day. This violent imposition had a particularly noticeable effect on the modern Russian population, among whom Stalin is perceived as a brilliant manager, his period is identified with stability, order, a firm hand, and the bloody Bolshevik leaders are still shrouded in glory. Instead, Ukrainian national heroes are called enemies, pelted with mud and hated. “It is not only a manifestation of social psychology, according to which positive characteristics prevail in the assessment of the past, but also evidence that the policy of systematic influence on the mass consciousness, carried out in the 1930s, largely achieved its goal” (Rodionova, 2003, p. 3) – the Russian researchers admit. Therefore, determining the origins of the Soviet mentality formation on the example of culture formation is an extremely important task for modern Ukrainian researchers.

Nowadays, there is a need to acquire a high status of national culture in accordance with the needs of a sovereign state. Understanding the historical process known as the “cultural revolution” as the next stage that followed the political and social upheaval will allow us to find approaches to solving modern challenges facing Ukrainian society.

**The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications.** The formation of Bolshevik cultural policy in the 1920s is one of the important topics of modern scientific research. It was during this period that the foundations of the Soviet worldview were laid, while the national and cultural issue was defeated. In the studies of K. Nikitenko, O. Kuts, the analysis of cultural processes under the conditions of the formation of a totalitarian society was carried out, both positive and negative processes of the Ukrainization policy implementation were highlighted (Nikitenko, 2016, pp. 12–26; Kuts, 2006, pp. 224–232). Development of publishing in the UkrSSR under the influence of the policy of Ukrainization, nationalization of publishing houses, printers, libraries and establishment of private publishing houses during the NEP period were studied by M. Andriichuk and O. Fetisova (Andriichuk, 2015, pp. 103–115; Fetisova, 2021). The spread of anti-Ukrainian sentiments in the urbanized cities of Ukraine, their influence on Ukrainization, which eventually manifested itself in the “theory of two cultures” and reflected on the entire culture-creating process, was studied by N. Idris and M. Parakhina (Idris, 2010, pp. 36–39; Parakhina, 2012, pp. 303–316). An important study was the publication of the book “Political Terror and Terrorism in Ukraine. The 19th – 20th centuries” by Ukrainian historians in which, on the basis of archival documents, it is proven that “the Soviet state immediately planned to change the living conditions and lifestyle of the majority of citizens radically. It was decided to deprive everyone who did not meet certain criteria of the very right to life” (Politychnyi teror, 2002, p. 4). Analyzing the culture of Ukraine during the period of Stalinist totalitarianism, M. Popovych emphasizes that “...to the festive carnival of the “country of victorious socialism” the stench of the “zone”, “low life” came (Popovych, 1998, p. 622). However, studies of the main provisions of Ukrainization in education, publishing, and culture, both at the declared level, and the simultaneous identification of objections and the formation of a totalitarian society are not enough.

**The purpose** of the study is to determine the consequences of the Bolshevik policy transformation for Ukraine in the field of culture during the 1920s.

**The Results of the Research.** At the beginning of the 1920s the conquest of the majority of Ukrainian territories by the Russian Bolsheviks and establishment of the Soviet power changed the conditions for the development of culture radically. The communist construction of a new socio-political reality according to Marxist-Leninist ideology, creation of the Soviet statehood and absolute control of the party-state leadership not only over the state and

political, but also a private life of population, led to “displacement of cultural phenomena and processes to the margins of a public life”, because “the more the state interferes with natural laws of a human development, the more brutal the regulation of a cultural policy, the more its forms are distorted” (Nikitenko, 2016, p. 12).

It should be emphasized that during the 1920s cultural policy went through certain stages: Russification-Ukrainization-Russification. Thus, the Communist Party returned to what it started with – to planting Russification, and Ukrainization was only a tactical retreat and pursued certain goals, which were far from the concepts of humanity and humanism, on the contrary, “proletarian” culture was encouraged in every way, “in which the main emphasis was on showing the suffering of the poor under the oppression of the bourgeoisie and landlords” (Kadeniuk, 2021, p. 100).

Immediately after the seizure of power, the Bolsheviks continued the previous policy of Russification, adhering to the old imperial cultural and national policy. It was forbidden to use the Ukrainian language in administration, to introduce it in cultural and educational institutions. This policy was understandable, because the majority of the leadership had imperial views, and cities, as centres of culture, were Russified. In the largest trade and industrial centres – Kharkiv and Kyiv, port cities, primarily Odesa, as well as in the cities of Eastern Ukraine, there lived about 3/4 of the Russian nationality (Vsesoiuznaia perepys, 1929; Zhiromskaya, 1988, p. 8). We mean not only the Russians, but the Russified Jews, the Ukrainians, etc., who were even more chauvinists, constantly proving their affiliation with the velykorosy.

At the same time, the occupation and establishment of control over the territory of Ukraine turned out to be a quite difficult task for the Bolsheviks. The powerful national liberation movement of 1917 – 1921 forced them to recognize the existence of Ukrainian statehood nominally in order to attract as many supporters as possible to their side, albeit on condition of recognition of their political system. In order to appease the hostile population, the Communist Party announced a new economic policy (NEP) in 1921, and in 1923, korenization (Ukrainization). It is obvious that the Bolsheviks were not going to give up either forcible introduction of non-economic methods in the economy, or Russification. Their policy turned out to be another lie and manipulation.

The declaratory refusal to carry out distribution of food and planting of communes and state farms did not at all mean the end of looting of the population. Proclamation of the National People's Republic of Ukraine was only a formal way to appease the peasantry, but in reality, during the period of 1921 – 1923, in Ukraine they created the first artificial famine, which took the lives of about 2 million people (Hladun, Rudnytskyi & Kulyk, 2019, pp. 22, 25). At the same time, several tasks were solved. The economic component was the pumping of resources to Russia and abroad, the political component was suppression of armed struggle.

At the same time, a resettlement policy was implemented, especially in the south-eastern region of Ukraine. Thus, the Census of 1923 recorded an increase in the urban population despite huge mortality of hunger. The population of cities increased from 500 thousand to 1.3 million (3.8 – 4.7 against 5 million people according to the Censuses of 1920 and 1923) (Sbornik statisticheskikh svedeni, 1924, p. 24; Tarapon, 2012, p. 126). This situation can be explained by the forced revival of heavy and mining industry. Peasants lost their property and escaped from starvation moving to cities, which, in turn, needed workers. Immigrants from remote regions of Russia were also sent there. In particular, during the period of 1921 – 1923, at least 855,060 evacuees from the Volga region arrived in Ukraine, including 267,000 children (Hod borbi s holodom, 1923, p. 31) the vast majority of whom also settled



in cities. There should be also mentioned the army of 1,200,000 that was located in Ukraine, a large part of the army consisted of urban population (Novitnia istoriya, 2002, p. 65). These groups, deprived of their roots, could exist only at the expense of work offered by state. However, the authorities modernized the country by restricting consumption. “Faced with the desire of people to work and receive monetary rewards for it, the party functionaries called it “consumer psychology”, “violence”, and began to fight against workers, applying punitive ways” (Nikolaiuk & Stoian, 2022, p. 99). Similar methods were used concerning peasantry. A core component of artificial creation of social tension among the members of this population group was the desire to diminish a significant influence of the wealthy, and the leading Bolshevik propaganda was the call that “the wealthy is a kurkul, an exploiter of the poor” (Lazurenko & Ocheretianyi, 2022, p. 116). At the same time, for propaganda reasons, in official publications there were mentioned wealthy peasant budgets. However, the reality was quite different. Thus, in the report note of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U for 1924, it was noted that the poor economy made every effort to make ends meet, compensating for the deficit with malnutrition and additional earnings (Svyaschnko & Terpan, 2022, p. 87).

After all, from the second half of the 1920s, when a system of complete control over the life of population was established, the need for further continuation of the NEP disappeared. Moreover, during the NEP period, the government constantly increased governing bodies of Ukrainian cooperation by people from the party-Soviet environment for whom work in cooperative movement was not the priority, they served the state-party machine of Bolshevism primarily (Fareniy, 2022, pp. 222–223, 230–231).

The policy of indigenization (Ukrainization) adopted in 1923 was also directed to appease the population of Ukraine outraged by frank manifestations of Ukrainophobia. Its goal was not only to take root in the national regions, gain trust there, and thereby increase support for its regime at the national level, but also to identify all those who stood for the Ukrainian cultural revival among the remnants of the national elite. Ukrainization meant overcoming Russification and expanding the sphere of use of the Ukrainian language, in the state institutions primarily. The Ukrainians were involved in the political and state apparatus, a network of educational institutions was established, the Ukrainian language was predominant in publishing houses.

In the education system, there was an increase in the Ukrainian language instruction. If in 1922 50.5% of schools (the so-called labour or social education schools) were Ukrainian, then in 1925 – 70.9%, respectively, in 1927 – 82% of schools, where 76% of students studied. In the same year (1927), 94% of students – the Ukrainians by nationality – studied in their native language, in 1929 – already 97.2%. In 1929, at vocational school, only 66%, in which two thirds of the students studied, were Ukrainian-speaking. Even among higher educational institutions, where implementation of Ukrainization was complicated by the lack of Ukrainian professors and teaching staff, the rate of Ukrainization reached 40% in the 1929/30 academic year (Kuts, 2006, p. 225).

In publishing, Ukrainianization meant increasing the number of the Ukrainian-language books, magazines, and newspapers. However, this did not apply to editions, but only to the names of publications, since products from the RSFSR continued to be sent to UkrSSR, and the number of the Russian-language publications published in Ukraine was huge. In particular, in 1923/1924, 385 Ukrainian-language and 927 Russian-language publications were published; in 1924/1925 – 1813 Ukrainian-language publications and 2535 Russian-language publications; in 1925/1926 – 2162 Ukrainian-language publications and 2365 Russian-language publications. Only in 1931, by titles the Ukrainian-language book

production began to prevail over the Russian-language books – 6,218 titles of Ukrainian publications and 2,014 Russian-language titles (Andriichuk, 2015, p. 105). Literary, technical, and agricultural literature was mainly published in Ukrainian, while books on Medicine, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Physics were published in insufficient quantities (Fetisova, 2021). This gap was provided by the Russian-language literature. It is not surprising, because specialists in the above-mentioned fields could be sent to work in the field of industrialization and creation of new types of weapons to prepare for the upcoming war. For example, the Society of Friends of the Chemical Industry (Dobrokhim), founded in Moscow, engaged in propaganda and training in defense against chemical attacks, and specialists in these fields of knowledge was required to be registered in order to mobilize in case of need quickly.

In the society, in the sphere of ideology, the most important thing was the idea formation of the need for self-sacrifice in the name of illusory “bright” ideals, “communist paradise”. The Bolsheviks instilled in population a positive image of themselves, their ideology, economy, culture, and hatred and intolerance towards those they considered enemies. This category included all those who did not support the actions of the party, and those who dared to declare a different position openly were destroyed physically. Dissidents were harshly branded in newspapers, it was not not written about their views. All this was accompanied by mass hysteria with the demand to punish the people's enemies. The party indicated friends or enemies not only within the country, but also at the foreign policy level. At the same time, with the change in the position of leadership, the attitude of population should also change. A vivid example of this change is transformation of the USSR's relations with the countries of the fascist and Nazi regimes. The entire population “in a single rush” had to have a positive or negative attitude towards one or another country, for example, Hitler's Germany.

It should be emphasized that, while implementing the policy of Ukrainization, the Bolsheviks envisioned the forced construction of enterprises of heavy industry, military and industrial complex. L. Kaganovych considered the main achievement of Ukrainization and the proof of a true national policy to be the deployment of new industrial construction in Ukraine (Nikolaiets, 2012, p. 92). However, in addition to the main goal of Ukrainization, it also had a “side effect”.

Such an effect was a rapid flowering of national culture, which went down in history under the name “Ukrainian renaissance”. The Unions of writers and literary associations were founded: “Hart”, “Pluh”, “Lanka”, VAPLITE – the Free Academy of Proletarian Literature. Theatrical activity developed: in Kyiv – the State Drama Theatre, State People's Theatre, “Young Theatre”, in Dniprovsk – the First State Drama Theatre, in Katerynoslav – T. Shevchenko State Theatre, in Vinnytsia – Ivan Franko New Ukrainian Drama Theatre. In 1922, “The Berezil” Theatre was established, which in 1926 moved to Kharkiv, as a new capital of the UkrSSR. Choir chapel “Dumka” and bandurist chapel performed there. Since 1923, the State Philharmonic had operated in Kyiv, which also moved to Kharkiv in 1927. The All-Ukrainian Photocinema Administration (VUFKU), established in 1922, subordinated all film studios on the basis of which there were established film producing factories – in Kyiv, Odesa, Yalta. In 1922, the K. Kostandi Society of Artists was founded in Odesa, in 1923 in Kharkiv – the Association of Artists of Red Ukraine, in 1925 in Kyiv – the Association of Revolutionary Art of Ukraine. Even outside the borders of the USSR – in Kuban, the North Caucasus, and the Far East, where more than 25% of the Ukrainians lived, the Ukrainian schools were established, the Ukrainian newspapers were published, and the Ukrainian radio broadcasting operated (Kuts, 2006, p. 225).

Another consequence of Ukrainization was the spread of the national idea and increase of centrifugal attitudes. In 1923 Pavlo Tychyna reveals the topic of a totalitarian society in the poem “Prometheus”. In 1924, Mykola Kulish wrote the play “97”, in which there was described the life of Ukrainian village during the famine of 1921 – 1923 in Kherson region (the first version of the play was called “Holod”). The play “97” became the highlight of the 1924/1925 theatre season in Ukraine, in 1925 it was staged in New York and other US cities, and “two years later, on tour in Moscow, the performance caused a standing ovation, and the then People's Commissar of Education of the USSR Anatoly Lunacharsky called the play “97” “the one about which the whole of Ukraine thundered, because it is the first powerful play about a peasant life” (Rudiachenko, 2021).

In 1925, Mykola Khvylioviy put forward the slogan “Away from Moscow” in which he called to focus on the experience of the leading countries of the world instead of copying Moscow's templates. Pamphlets of M. Khvylioviy: “Where are you Coming from?” (1925), “Thoughts against the Current” (1926), “Apologists for Scribalism” (1926) advocated Ukraine's movement towards Europe and called for getting rid of psychological dependence on Moscow as a guarantee of the revival of Ukrainian statehood. In 1926, he wrote a journalistic pamphlet “Ukraine or Malorosiya?” (published only in 1990). F. Schiller's lines were chosen as the epigraph: “Slavery is a shameful thing, but slave psychology in freedom is worthy of contempt” (Ablitsov, 2013). In 1926, Ostap Vyshnia published the collection “Let's Ukrainize” in an attempt to awaken national consciousness and reveal national self-identity, calling to preserve the native language and develop culture at the European level. In 1927, Ivan Bahrianyi published the poem “Ave Maria” without any official permission, in which he clearly outlined his attitude to the existing situation: “... today poets are a category of criminals to which I did not belong and do not want to belong. Don't call me a poet. Because the word *p o e t* has come to be abbreviated to define – a chameleon, a prostitute, a speculator, an adventurer, a slacker...” (Bahrianyi, 1927). In 1930, Volodymyr Sosiura wrote the poem “Two Masters” in which he talks about the internal split between a nationalist and a communist, the impossibility of combining a national duty with revolutionary devotion.

The national revival caused by Ukrainization affected not only Ukrainian literature, but also cinematography. In cinematography, Ukrainian directors shoot films at the world level. For example, O. Dovzhenko's films “Zvenyhora” (1928) and “Zemlia” (1929) became the world sensation that went around the screens of European and American countries. In fact, “Zemlia” had been shown in the USSR for 10 days – from April 8 to 17, 1930, when it was taken off the air. Instead, in Europe, the film was huge success, entering the 12 best films of world cinema.

In economics, one of the researchers of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Mykhailo Volobuiev from Kharkiv publishes the article “On the Issues of the Ukrainian Economy” in the magazine “The Bolshevik of Ukraine” in which he proved the “coloniality” of the Ukrainian economy during the time of the Russian Empire. The same policy, in his opinion, was continued by the central institutions of the USSR, using the economic and natural resources of Ukraine to export profits beyond its borders. This approach, M. Volobuiev admitted, was wrong because: “1) a historically incorrect approach to the issue of unity of the pre-revolutionary Russian economy and misunderstanding of the relationship nature between the Russian (*velykoruska*) and Ukrainian pre-revolutionary economies; 2) the ambiguity of the question about the nature of the relationship between these economies after October” (Volobuiev, 1928, (2), p. 46). Therefore, in the opinion of the author, it is necessary to “eliminate the “provincial status” of our

language, our literature, and our culture in general as a consequence of providing Ukraine with the unrestrained development of productive forces, providing it with the status of a formalized and completed national economic organism, final refusal to consider it as a simple sum of districts of a single indivisible economy” (Volobuiev, 1928, (3), p. 63).

At the same time, Ukrainization caused fierce resistance from both Russian-speaking and Russified population of Ukraine, as well as from the majority of leaders. His attitude towards the Ukrainian culture was clearly manifested in the speech of the second secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U D. Lebed, who on March 17, 1923 published the article “Some Issues of the Party Congress” in the newspaper “The Communist”. It ran: “Theoretically we know that the struggle of two cultures is inevitable. In Ukraine, due to historical circumstances, culture of a town is Russian culture, and culture of a village is Ukrainian. No communist and a true Marxist can say that “I stand on the point of view of Ukrainian culture victory” if only this culture holds back our progressive development” (Parakhina, 2012, p. 307).

Manifestations of great-power chauvinism occurred at all levels. “Socially, this is a contemptuous, intolerant attitude towards everything Ukrainian, especially the language, and even denial of the right of the Ukrainians to exist as a separate ethnic group. On the psychological and stereotypic side, it is the use of offensive ethnonyms (Malorosy, Khokhly), attribution of certain negative traits to the entire people. On the ideological and political level, this is “substantiation” of the thesis about the victory of the higher Russian culture of the proletariat and the dying out of the Ukrainian peasant culture, purposeful incitement of hatred towards the Ukrainians as a means of achieving political goals, aggressive and imperial ambitions, etc.” (Idris, 2010, p. 37). It became increasingly obvious that the policy of Ukrainization is a temporary phenomenon, and the consequences will be cruel. Back in 1928, in the play “Mina Mazaylo” M. Kulish wrote: “Their Ukrainization is a way to identify all of us, the Ukrainians, and then kill them so that there is no spirit of the Ukrainians”. I warn you!”. And then, even without believing himself: “Provocation. Who will kill twenty million Ukrainian peasants, who?” (Kulish M.H., 1928). Unfortunately, his words turned out to be prophetic. Subsequently, the purposeful destruction of Ukrainian leaders of the liberation struggle period of 1917 – 1921 began, then the figures of culture, education and science, and then the direct genocide of the Ukrainian people in 1932 – 1933.

Let us emphasize that as long as there was a fierce struggle for power in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party, they did not pay much attention to Ukrainization and “supported” the activities of the great Russian chauvinists. In fact, from December of 1922, when the top leaders of the Bolshevik group realized that Volodymyr Lenin (Volodymyr Ulianov) was physically unable to lead the party and would soon die, the struggle for power began that lasted until 1928. In 1924, after the death of V. Lenin, it gained momentum. Four immediately claimed the role of a new leader: Lev Trotsky (Leiba Bronshtein), Joseph Stalin (Josyp Dzhugashvili), Hryhoriy Zynoviev (Ovsii-Gershen Aaronovych Radomyslsky) and Lev Kamieniev (Lev Rosenfeld). Joseph Stalin was the most insidious and cruel in the intra-party struggle. He aspired to unlimited power, occupying the position of general secretary of the Communist Party(b) and people's commissar for nationalities affairs, and having established himself as a one-man leader, he began to curtail Ukrainization at a rapid pace.

First of all, the new leader got rid of those who could interfere with his power in the future – supporters of independent Ukraine and too “independent” heads of the UkrSSR. Thus, on January 9, 1926, the Comintern resolution on the expediency of political murders

was adopted (Politychnyi teror, 2002, p. 323), and the first of whom was Symon Petliura. Then the matter reached the Soviet leaders of the UkrSSR, who were accused of national evasion or, as J. Stalin called them in 1930, “creeping evasions” – local nationalism and great-power chauvinism (Yefimenko, 2010). Those murdered were all Communist Party members whose views differed from those of the leader. This case, for example, happened to O. Shumsky, a member of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, the People's Commissar for Education, who actively promoted Ukrainianization and in 1925 raised the issue of the removal of Yo. Stalin's protégé Lazar Kaganovych from the position of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U. At first, O. Shumsky was forced to repent, in 1927 he was transferred to Moscow under supervision for secondary work in the trade union, and then he was arrested. O. Shumsky tried to commit suicide and died in 1946. In general, in the 1930s, only 8.2% of the Communists who had joined the party before 1920 remained (Politychnyi teror, 2002, p. 441).

Mass physical destruction of objectionable figures of culture, education, and science began at the end of the 1920s. Stakhanov methods were used to falsify cases and hold show trials. For the same purpose, hysteria was ignited with the demand to destroy class enemies. “Love for one's Motherland, history, language, etc., had to be masked as much as possible from now on. After all, this person added another “crime” to himself – the accusation of nationalism” (Nikitenko, 2016, p. 20). A system was created that required unquestionable faith, based on the acceptance of any ideas or doctrines as absolute, without any evidence, and the rules and norms of behaviour often did not meet the elementary needs of a person. The leader's orders had to be carried out precisely and quickly, and one's own opinion that did not correspond to the “general line of the party” was not allowed. All public manifestations of every person's life were under state control, every actual or imagined deviation from the norms was mercilessly punished by terrorist means. The possibility of the slightest hint of opposition to the government, the independence of public organizations and associations from the party leadership was eliminated, control over all spheres of life, including culture, was established by means of mass terror” (Popovych, 1998, p. 621). The society began to live in fear, and denunciations became the norm. At the same time, psychology also changed, since the vast majority of people whose lives did not end in execution recorded it in their memory as a “lucky accident” or a “manifest of the Soviet justice”, which contributed to the formation of a symbolic tradition, according to which the violation of fundamental rights (under the conditions of preservation of life) was not considered as repression or suffering (Vronska & Stiazhkina, 2020, p. 90).

**The Conclusion and Prospects of Research.** Thus, we can consider the retreat from the Bolshevik policy of Russification in Ukraine in the form of Ukrainization as a temporary phenomenon that was adopted under the pressure of the Ukrainian population and was intended to fulfill only tactical tasks. At the beginning of the 1920s, it was no longer possible to adhere to the old cultural and national policy of the Russian Empire – the Ukrainian national liberation movement was too powerful. This factor forced the Bolshevik leaders to change their tactics, the goal of which was to gain support of population, to take root in the national areas and to carry out rapid industrialization.

In the field of culture, the most important thing was to form a new type of person – the Soviet type. This meant planting the Bolshevik ideology in the mass consciousness and cultivating intolerance towards those who had a different position, accompanying harassment of “enemies of the people” with hysteria and demand to punish them. In order for there



to be no deviations from the “one and true Marxist-Leninist path”, an extensive system of censorship and repressive bodies was created. At the same time, personnel from Russian regions were sent to Ukraine, thereby increasing Russification of cities and the south-eastern region of the UkrSSR. It was there that Ukrainianophobia manifested itself the most actively.

However, the consequences of Ukrainization turned out to be somewhat unexpected – a rapid flowering of national culture, spread of the national idea and increase of centrifugal attitudes. While there was a struggle for power among the Bolshevik leaders, they did not pay much attention to it. However, when J. Stalin established himself as a sole leader, Ukrainization began to be curtailed. This meant falsification of cases and holding of show trials against disagreeable figures of culture, education and science. In fact, on a physical level, the Ukrainian elite was exterminated, and those who remained alive lived in fear under constant supervision of punitive authorities. The new system destroyed all the principles of humanism, any freedom not only at physical, but also a spiritual level. Fear and denunciations of loved ones, friends, and colleagues prevailed in the society. At the same time, the totalitarian system demanded unquestioning loyalty to the party leaders, complete execution of all their orders, up to self-sacrifice. Such deformation caused deep social changes, vestiges of which can be observed even today among population of the post-Soviet countries.

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**Ferhad TURANLY**

PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Professor of General & Slavic Linguistics at Humanities Department, National University "Kyiv Mohyla Academy", 2 H. Skovoroda Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 04070 (ferhadturanaly@gmail.com)

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-4637-7121

**ResearcherID:** AAA-1075-2020

**Фергад ТУРАНЛЫ (Туранлы Фергад Гардашкан Оглу)**

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри загального і слов'янського мовознавства Національного університету "Києво-Могилянська академія", вул. Г. Сковороди, 2, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 04070 (ferhadturanaly@gmail.com)

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## PERSECUTED TURKOLOGY: THE UKRAINIAN CONTEXT

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to consider the problem of the development of the Turkic Studies in Ukraine, and particularly the activities in this context of Agatangel Krymskyi. Periodisation of the development of the Ukrainian Turkic Studies has been made, and its goal and objectives have been identified. In particular, the paper proves the needs for studying the Turkic-Ottoman written documents concerning the History of the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine taking into account the civilisational measurement. This paper demonstrates the importance of the Ukrainian Language in the Turkish-Ukrainian diplomatic correspondence, issues of methodology of scientific studying and publication of oriental written documents relating to the History of Ukraine, including the ones in the Turkic languages. The idea has been formulated that studying archival Turkish documents is crucial for the formation of an adequate comprehension of the actual Turkish-Tatar-Ukrainian relations, as well as needs for studying the History of the Cossackdom origin. Such concept of doing research is important for the setting-up and development of the Turkic Studies, and partially for those ones of the Crimean-Tatar Studies, primarily in regard of the historic aspect of the Ukrainian Cossackdom genesis and informs us of repressions of the Ukrainian scholars in the field of the Turkic Studies. The research has been done while observing the principles of historicism and historic source-studying systemacity, and also principles of an interdisciplinary approach and the norm for identification of authenticity and informational value of the data and facts have been identified. **The academic novelty** of the study is a civilisational comprehension of the development of Oriental Studies in Ukraine, and first of all that of Historiography and Studies of Sources related to the Turkish-Ottoman written documents concerning the Cossack Period of Ukraine using for that purpose an adequate methodology, and also bearing in mind the culturological measurement of historic process; besides, there have been set up the logic phases in the formation and development periodisation of Turkology as a specific branch of historic science under the circumstances of a repressive impact. **The Conclusion.** Turkic Studies were started in the 19th century by such Ukrainian intellectuals, as Mykola Hulak, Olexandr Navrotskyi, Lev Lopatynskyi very of essential importance for a further development of the Studies regardless of the complicated life conditions due to prosecutions from the side of the Muscovite-Russian totalitarian political regime. In 1933 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was proclaimed being the Centre of the nationalistic and counter-revolutionary activities, which h resulted in a lot of such outstanding Ukrainian Orientalists, particularly Turkologists, such as Mykola Hulak, Olexandr Navrotskyi, Lev Lopatynskyi, Agatangel Krymskyi, Vasyl Dubrovskyi, Yevhen Zavalynskyi, Omelian Pritsak, Yaroslav*

Dashkevych, Hryts Khalymonenko, Valeriy Marchenko, Mykola Myroshnichenko and others, suffered much from prosecutions by the Muscovite-Russian and Soviet-Communist regimes.

**Key words:** Ukrainian Turkology, Agatangel Krymskyi, Crimean Tatar Studies, concept, methodology, Turkish-Ottoman source, Cossackdom, language, repression.

## РЕПРЕСОВАНА ТЮРКОЛОГІЯ: УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КОНТЕКСТ

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – розглянути проблеми розвитку тюркології в Україні, зокрема, наукову діяльність у цьому процесі Агатангела Кримського. Визначається періодизація розвитку української тюркології, а також її мета й завдання. Зокрібно, йдеться про необхідність вивчення османсько-турецьких рукописних документів з історії козацько-гетьманської України з урахуванням цивілізаційного виміру. У цій студії наголошуються значення української мови в турецько-українському дипломатичному листуванні, проблеми методології джерелознавчого опрацювання та публікації східних, зокрема тюркськомовних, писемних документів з історії України. Висловлюється думка, що дослідження турецьких архівних документів має значення для встановлення правильного уявлення про справжні турецько-татарсько-українські взаємини, а також вивчення проблеми щодо історії виникнення козацтва. Така концепція дослідження має цінність у становленні й розвитку тюркології, у т. ч. кримськотатарознавства, зокрема історичний аспект генези інституту українського козацтва та її концепт, а також йдеться про репресії українських учених-тюркологів. **Методологія дослідження** базується на дотриманні засад історизму та історичного джерелознавства, забезпечення наукової об'єктивності і конкретно-історичної системності, а також на принципах міждисциплінарності та норми встановлення достовірності та інформаційної цінності виявлених відомостей і фактів. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у цивілізаційному осмисленні розвитку в Україні орієнталістичних студій, зокрібно джерелознавче опрацювання османсько-турецьких писемних джерел з історії козацької доби України із застосуванням належної методології, а також з огляду на культурологічний вимір значення історичного процесу: установлено етапи формування тюркології як окремої галузі історичної науки. **Висновки.** Тюркологічні дослідження були започатковані у ХІХ ст. такими українськими інтелектуалами, як Микола Гулак, Олександр Навроцький, Лев Лопатинський. Однак їхнє подальше розгортання потрапило у складні умови через репресивні дії російського тоталітарного політичного режиму. У 1933 р. Українську академію наук було оголошено осередком націоналістичної та контрреволюційної діяльності, внаслідок чого багато українських сходознавців, зокрема тюркологів, зазнавали утиску та були репресовані комуністичним тоталітарним режимом. Серед них Агатангел Кримський, Василь Дубровський, Євген Завалинський, Омелян Прицак, Ярослав Дашкевич, Гриць Халымоненко, Микола Мірошніченко та інші.

**Ключові слова:** Українська тюркологія, Агатангел Кримський, кримськотатарознавство, концепція, методологія, османсько-турецьке джерело, козацтво, мова, репресія.

**The Problem Statement.** The value of the topic of the above mentioned study\* is accounted for by the fact that Turkologic studies in works by some Ukrainian intellectuals (for example, in ones by Mykola Hulak, Olexandr Navrotskyi, Lev Lopatynskyi, etc.) are getting of much importance owing to the authors' personal creative life that was connected with Azerbaijan (Kochubey, 2011c, p. 138; Aliyeva, 2007, pp. 21–141). In this context, in the second half of the 19th century Turkology, like the Caucasian Studies, Manchurian Studies and Mongol Studies, was developing in Russia's scientific and training institutions. For instance, in 1854 the Faculty of Oriental Languages was set up in Petersburg, while 28 later in Lazarev Institute for Oriental Languages was founded in Moscow. The scientific urgency of these institutions contributed to the development of Turkic Studies in Ukraine. For example, it is in 1898 that one of the most world-famous orientalists Agatangel Krymskyi, a Ukrainian, lectured as a professor at the Lazarev Institute<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of Agatangel Krymskyi's life and his academic work see in addition the list of his academic works (Kochubey, 2011, pp. 125–126).

\*The author made a report on this study at the Ukrainian National Academic Conference “the First readings of Turkic Studies” dedicated to the 150th Anniversary of the birth of Agatangel Krymskyi” that was organised by the Faculty for History of the National Taras Shevchenko University of Kyiv within the frames of the development of a educational programme “Oriental Studies” (5 February 2021).



**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research Papers.** The problem of development of the Ukrainian Oriental Studies in Turkology, including the national Turkology, was in the focus of fundamental studies of a number of national and foreign scholars, such as Ya. Dashkevych in his “Mykola Hulak in Azerbaijan” (Dashkevych, 2007), Yu. Kochubey in his work “Lopatynskyi Lev Hryhorovych” (Kochubey, 2011c) and in “Krymskyi Agatangel Yukhymovych (Yevtymovych)” (Kochubey, 2011b), I. Kalynets in “He Joined the Eternity with Dignity...” (Kalynets', 2011), A. Felonyuk in “Yevhen Zavalynskyi is a Turkology Scholar Forgotten to some Degree” (Felonyuk, 2010), F. Turanly in “Hryts Khalymonenko – an Outstanding Orientalist of New Time” (Turanly, 2020c) and the others.

**The Purpose of the Publication.** To analyse the data available in the sources and in the Historiography concerning the development of the Ukrainian Oriental Studies, as well as to make up a historic periodisation in the development of the Turkic Studies; to study the problem of the methodology in making studies of written sources; to discuss the fact of repressing (prosecuting) intellectual scholars that worked in the above mentioned field of knowledge.

**Description of the Basic Unit.** When studying the formulated title of the study under th consideration one should bear in mind that between the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries in Ukraine there were published several scientific works where the authors raised the point of needs to study within the national history problems concerning Orientalistics, and in particular – problems in terms of the Turkic studies. For instance, such ideas were put forward in the creative work of Ivan Franko who in 1915 wrote a work about Giray II, Governor of Gazi (Governed during 1587/1588 – 1596, 1596 – 1607)<sup>2</sup>.

It would be appropriately to bring back to memory works by Mykola Kostomarov (Kostomarov, 1904, 742 p.; Kostomarov, 843 p.), Volodymyr Antonovych (Antonovych, 1868, pp. 1–197), Mykhailo Drahomanov (Drahomanov, 1991, pp. 175–203; Drahomanov, 1991, 45 p.), Lesya Ukrayinka (Ukrayinka, 2008, 256 p.), Yulian Kulakovskiy (Kulakovskyy, 2001, 225 p.) and Noy Rashby ra (Holovko, Lyman, 2011, pp. 15–30). During the above said period of the development of the Ukrainian Oriental Studies, particularly that of the Comparative Linguistics, and namely in 1895, the first work dealing with the problem of finding Turkic borrowings in the Ukrainian Language was published (Makarushka, 1895, pp. 1–14).

Hence, in the development of oriental studies in Ukraine there was focus directly on working-out sources of Turkic written documents, we can trace a few phases of the formation of Turkology as a separate area of History as an academic science. Within these phases it is possible to see certain hereditability in revealing and applying, while performing academic studies, the general mythological approaches with taking into account a specific character of the textological analysis of just written documents made in the Turkic languages, and also in usage of appropriate to the specific character forms and methods of academic studies of sources (Turanly, 2023). In the second half of the 19th century, during the process of putting into practice that work of making academic studies, within the Turkic academic Studies there began the formation of two conceptually generalising Studies in regard of an academic working-out of the source contents given in Turkic, and namely these ones are as follows: 1) aspiration to accumulate and do a general analysis of the information available in separate written documents; 2) attempts to select thematically and systematise the data from the above said historical written sources. Development of the latter tendency accounts

<sup>2</sup> A complete text of “The Crimean Khan Gazi-Giray and some of his Poems” is provided in Chapter “From Turkic Poetry” (Franko, 1978, pp. 609–617). As for the above said Governor of the Crimean Khanate is concerned, academic sources inform us that he was the first poet for Ukraine, owing to Ivan Franko, to begin opening for itself the world of the best Crimean-Tatar writing authorship (Seferova, 2010, pp. 203–207; Turanly, 2020, pp. 50–62).

for the emergence of a specific thematical direction of doing Turkic Studies at the beginning of the 20th century, within which a process of a gradual re-orientation of Turkology began from selecting and working-out separate, mainly fragmentary parts of the original texts of Turkic written documents, that is from the quantitative accumulation of the stuff from sources according to a specific theme, to a detailed analysis of texts from such historical written sources in full.

The founder of the considered tendency in making source studies in the national Turkology was the famous Ukrainian orientalist Agatangel Krymskyi (Kryms'kyy, 1974; Kryms'kyy, 1996; Kryms'kyy, 2003; Kryms'kyy, 2007). The actual importance of thematically specific contents of Turkic studies in the national Orientalistics was underlined by the contemporary Ukrainian orientalist Yuriy Kochubey (Kochubey, 2004, pp. 494–506). Particularly, it was he who informed us of the ideas of the Ukrainian turkologist of the 1930s – Vasyl Dubrovskyi – that studying Turkish archival documents is of essential importance for settling problems in terms of History of Ukraine relating to the second half of the 17th century. The reasons for those were an insufficient number “...of Ukrainian archives, insecurity of Polish sources and incompleteness of Moscow’s ones...”. Under such circumstances, to this turkologist’s mind, “the only way out” is studying the corresponding archival documents (Kochubey, 2011e, pp. 10–11).

This formulated idea of Yuriy Kochubey is grounded by his idea that “getting aware of oriental sources, and primarily with Turkish archives, can be of high value not only for clarification of the appropriate knowledge of the adequate Turkish-Tatar-Ukrainian relations in the 16th and 18th centuries, but it can also be useful in studying the initial History of the Ukrainian Cossackdom that is nowadays still very vague because of using sources only from one country” (Kochubey, 2011e, pp. 10–11; Serhiychuk, 2015, pp. 26–37). Indeed, it is absolutely impossible to understand completely the History of the Ukrainian-Turkish relations during the period under analysis while studying the above mentioned issues without taking into account the relating Turkish-Ottoman written sources. It should be emphasized that it is the Turkish-Ottoman written documents that include a huge informational potential in terms of the History of the Zaporozhian Sich, the Ukrainian Cossack State and activities of such Ukrainian Governors as Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi, Petro Sahaidachnyi, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Ivan Vyhovskyi, Petro Doroshenko, Ivan Mazepa, Pylyp Orlyk, and also about the relations of Ukraine at that time with the Crimean Khanate, Ottoman State, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Tsardom of Muscovia, the Austrian and Swedish Empires. We should add it here that at the contemporary level of development of the Ukrainian Turkic Studies in relation of the formulated problem serious studies are being carried out, and the outcomes of such studies are used for writing academic papers, in particular of monographic papers, educational and methodical textbooks, as well as in development and preparation of educational curricula and lectures in related areas of human knowledge (Turanly, 2019a; Turanly, 2019b; Turanli, 2019; Turanly, 2020b; Turanly, 2022a; Turanly, 2022b).

The immediacy of the problem under consideration was initiated to a certain degree by the activities of Agatangel Krymskyi. For example, in his studies of the status of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the 16th century, A. Krymskyi characterized Cossacks as a new social layer whose principal functions were confined to defending the Ukrainian lands from invasions of enemies. Besides, the scholar highlighted the importance of a vigorous activity of the Cossack leaders, and namely – that of Ostap Dashkovych, and the founder of the Zaporozhian Sich – Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi, as that of initiators military marches against the possessions of the Ottoman Empire, and particularly those of the Crimean Khanate, in the

Black Sea Area and in the Lower Danube Area (Kryms'kyy, 1974, pp. 412–413). Concerning the military activity of Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi, this scholar supposed that construction by that Governor “at the beginning of the 1550s... in the lower Dnipro lands, on the Island of Khortytsia, near the Crimean nomadic areas, of a castle happened to have become an action that “triggered unification of the Cossaks for struggling against the Crimean Khanate”. That is why, that event was “the origin of the Zaporozhian Sich – the Zaporozhian Cossack Army or Zaporozhian Host; it was the place from where Cossackdom started to get chrystalised into an organised social that has its own centre...” (Kryms'kyy, 1974, pp. 412–413). Thus, Agatangel Krymskyi was the first one to set up for the Ukrainian Turkic Studies the problem of a gradual reorientation from studies informational sources to an analytically critical selection and logical systematization of data relating to the national history available in Turkish-Ottoman written documents.

However, at the time of an efficient academic activity of Agatangel Krymskyi the Ukrainian Turkology was only in the initial phase of its setting-up. Doing research in this field of History was concentrated at Lviv University. Then only due to this fact the famous orientalist Mugammed Sadyk Agazade (1865 – 1944) worked at that educational institution, who, as a matter of fact, happened to become a co-founder of the Ukrainian Orientalists<sup>3</sup>. He was ethnically an Azerbaijani, aristocrat Ismail Agazade's son, the famous Ukrainian scholar-orientalist and a real patriot of Ukraine. In 1927 after moving from Paris, where Agazade worked at the University of Sorbonne, to Lviv, Mugammed Sadyk Agazade started to teach at that University the fundamental orientalist subjects, and namely those were the Modern and Ancient Turkish, Modern and Classical Persian, and also Grammar of Arabic, Islamic Studies, Moslem Paleography, Calligraphy and Epigraphy (Polotnyuk, 2005, pp. 97–98; Turanly, 2017, pp. 116–122). Unfortunately, the principal academic works by Mugammed Sadyk Agabekzade were lost during the occupation of Lviv by the German Army during World War II, but we can imagine the level of orientalist professionalism of that scholar after studying his manual book “Elementary Grammar of the Arabic Language” (Sadyk-Bej, 1934, 120 p.). Therefore, the process of development of the Ukrainian Turkic Turkology can be conventionally subdivided into the following periods of studying and involving into the academic circulation the Turkish-Ottoman written documents:

I. The initial period (the first half of the 20th century) that is connected with the academic activities of Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, Dmytro Doroshenko and Agatangel Krymskyi after the formation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1918 and in 1926 – that of the National Ukrainian Association of Orientalistics. Particularly, the structure of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences included the Department (Unit) for the Arabic and Iranian Philology and Turkology (1918 – 1934) headed by the Academician Agatangel Krymskyi, and the Turkologic Commission (1929 – 1933) subordinated to that Department. Besides, in 1926 in Kharkiv the National Ukrainian Academic Association for Orientalistics was set up that had branches in Kyiv and Odesa; during the period of 1927 – 1931 the Commission published the academic bulletin “The Oriental World” (“Східний світ”) (the last issues were under the title “The Red East” (“Червоний Схід”). In 1927 the First National Ukrainian Congress of Orientalists was held.

II. In 1929 The Second National Ukrainian Congress of Orientalists took place at which

<sup>3</sup> For instance, such famous Ukrainian Orientalists-Turkologists as Yevhen Zavalynskyi and Omelian Pritsak were students of Mugammed Sadyk Agabekzade (AKIUS NASU, f. 1, d. VI-f, c. H=2, p. 33; Polotnyuk, 1993, pp. 124–132).

the participants discussed problems of the National Orientalistic development, particularly the ones of Turkology. But in 1930 the above mentioned Association was liquidated while instead of that in 1931 there was established the Ukrainian Research Institute of the Middle East which existed only till 1933, when it was reorganised into a Sector of the Agrarian Economic Institute. A noticeable feature of the period under consideration of studying and involvement in the academic circulation of Turkish-Ottoman written documents in the national Historiography was the beginning of academic activities of the leading Ukrainian turkologists whose works dealt in some way with the issue we are interested in.

When studying the Historiography of this problematics it is important to mention the academic achievements of the Crimean-Tatar Historian-Turkologist Osman Akchokrakly (1879 – 1938), who found and was the first to publish the cronicle document “Sefernâme” (سفرنامه), that is a description of the joint military march of Islam Giray III and Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi against the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth (Ursu, 2011, pp. pp. 28–30). This document was written by the Crimean-Tatar cronicle-writer Jan-Mugammed, and in fact it is a written document with descriptions of the events connected with the problems of relations between the said historical figures in the sphere of the military and political cooperation. Owing to the knowledge by Osman Akchokrakly of the Arabic and Turkish Languages made it possible for him to study Turkish and Crimean-Tatar original texts and original Arabographical texts, as well as provide their explanations (Akchokrakly, 1993, pp. 134–139).

At that period Vasyl’ Dubrovskyi (1897 – 1966) wrote his academic works “Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Turkey” (Kochubey, 2011, pp. 5, 395–406), “On Studying Relations between Ukraine and Turkey in the Second Half of the 17th Century” (Kochubey, 2011, pp. 88–89) and “Hetman Iv.(an) Mazepa’s Envoys to Turkey and the Crimea in 1699 (1700)”. We note that, due to that scholar, thorough studies of the History of the Ukrainian-Turkish relations should be made in a wide context, i.e. widely involving the knowledge of the Turkish culture, literature heritage, arts, traditions and customs as well as mentality (MIVNLU – Manuscript Institute of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, f. X, № 14634). We also seem it reasonable to draw attention to the hand-written work of the Ukrainian historian Mykola Petrovskyi (1894 – 1951) “From the Data on the History of the Ukrainian-Turkish Relations in the Second Half of the 17th Century” dated from 2 December 1931, that was prepared on the basis of the Turkic sources kept in Moscow archives (Drevnekhrarylyshche Tsentrarkhyva RSFSR, 1863, V. 4, # 55; 1892; 1872, V. 7. # 72; 1892, V. 15. # 2). The documents are related to the diplomatic activities of the Ukrainian hetmans, in particular those of Ivan Vyhovskyi (Serhiychuk, 2015, pp. 34–36).

In 1933 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was announced being the centre of the nationalistic and counter-revolutionary activities, which resulted in the political prosecution of a lot of Ukrainian orientalists, partially of turkologists who were repressed<sup>4</sup>. For instance, there were prosecuted Agatangel Krymskyi, Vasyl Dubrovskyi, Yevhen Zavalynskyi (Pritsak, 2006, pp. 10–38; Kochubey, 2011, pp. 395–406; Felonyuk, 2010, Is. 15, V. 21. pp. 298–323). To our mind, this tragic event was the end of the beginning period of studying and implementation into the academic circulation of Turkish-Ottoman written documents in the Ukrainian national Historiography. From 1934 Oriental Studies as an academic branch stopped its existence in Ukraine at all.

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<sup>4</sup> For prosecutions of scholars-turkologists of different nations on the basis of archival documents *see*: (Ashnyn, Alpatov, Nasylov, 2002, 296 p.).

The second period of studying and mastering Turkic written documents in the Ukrainian historical studies lasted from 1934 to 1991. At the beginning of this period the actual responsibility for the development of the Ukrainian Turkology, particularly for the implementation of practical turkologic studies, was taken by the Ukrainian Diaspora. We should primarily mention in this context Mykhailo Zhdan's (1906 – 1975) contribution to the development of the Ukrainian Turkology. However, the principal problems in his academic works were relations of the Old Rus (Ukrainian) lands with the Golden Horde<sup>5</sup>. Concerning Vasyl Dubrovskiy, the main direction in his academic activities in emigration were the studies of the Turkic paleography, History of the Ukrainian-Crimean Tatar relations and Turkey's Contemporary History (Kochubey, 2011, pp. 88–89). On the eve of World War II Yevhen Zavalynskiy published a collection of fragments from Turkish chronicles related to the History of Ukraine of the 15th – 16th centuries (Felonyuk, 2010, Is. 15, V. 21. p. 219), and also defended his Doctorate Dissertation, which was a study of the History of the Polish Kingdom as it was described in the Turkish-Ottoman written documents of the 15th – 16th centuries (Felonyuk, 2013, Is. 18, V. 21. p.120). Thus, Yevhen Zavalynskiy carried out his academic studies within the problems that are under consideration in this paper. It should be added that three years after the defense of his dissertation Yevhen Zavalynskiy presented his deepened vision of the problems in regard of the interstate relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Turkey in the 15th – 16th centuries (Felonyuk, 2013, Is. 18, V. 21. pp. 120–121)<sup>6</sup>. A historian Ivan Krypyakevych supposed Yevhen Zavalynskiy to have been an outstanding turkologist. The former one understressed the importance of oriental written documents, first of all of the Turkish ones, for studying Ukraine' History (Fedoruk, 2006 – 2007, pp. 738–748).

After the end of World War II the distinguished Ukrainian turkologist Omelian Pritsak began his academic activities. From 1936 he studied at Lviv University the Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Mongol languages and literatures. Later Omelyan Pritsak "...started to deal more and more with the Ottoman sources" (Pritsak, 1991, pp. 66, 68). While in emigration, he studied the situation and position of the Turkic society during the times of the Kara-Khanide Khanate, and on the basis of this study he defended his Doctorate Dissertation in the city of Gottingen in 1948 (Pritsak, 1991, p. 73; Pritsak, 2007, V. 7, pp. 83, 221, 225, 272). We note that while time was passing Omelyan Pritsak got admitted to be one of the best scholars of the Turkic written sources<sup>7</sup>. It should be highlighted that in his early academic activity the scholar studied between the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine and the High Porte in the middle of the 17th century (Pritsak, 1948, pp. 143–160; Pritsak, 1993, pp. 177–192). In 1964 Omelyan Pritsak became Professor of General Linguistics and Turkology at Harvard University. During his academic activity in this educational and academic institution he carried out fundamental turkologic studies and published a number of works after studying original documental sources relating to the problems in the Ukrainian-Turkish relations. In this context it seems reasonable to mention the activities of the Ukrainian Historical Society

<sup>5</sup> For Mykhailo Zhdan's life and academic activity as a turkologist, particular for a list of his academic works, see: (Yas O. 2011, p. 93).

<sup>6</sup> For example, Ivan Krypyakevych wrote that in 1940 Yevhen Zavalynskiy was appointed a Reader to the Department for Oriental Studies at Lviv University. For the Letter of the Head of the Lviv Branch of the Institute for the History of Ukraine within the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Professor I.P. Krypyakevych, to the Director of the Institute, S.M. Belousov, dated from 2 March 1940 see in the city of Lviv/Archive IV [I. Krypyakevych Institute for Linguistics] within the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (AKIUS NASU, f. 1, d. VI-f, c. H=2, p. 33).

<sup>7</sup> For Omelyan Pritsak's life and academic activity in orientalistcs see: (Kochubey, 2011, pp. 180–181).



and the importance of the journal “Ukrainian Historian”, that published academic works by the Ukrainian scholars that were kin links to the Diaspora, in particular the ones written by Omelyan Pritsak (Atamanenko, 2010, pp. 8, 20–21). It must be also said that owing to the efforts of this scholar, in 1973 the Institute for Ukrainian Studies was established within Harvard University (Kochubey, 2011, pp. 180–181). All that permits us to conclude that the above mentioned Ukrainian orientalist contributed a lot to the development of Turkology in the United States of America.

Some activation of turkologic studies in Ukraine was observed in the 1970s. It seems to be right to consider the beginning of this process was setting-up of the Institute for History within the Department for the History of the Oriental Foreign Countries that was in due time transferred to the Institute for Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries. A turkologist Ihor Chernikov was appointed Head of the Department of Developing Countries. Besides, at that time at the Institute for Linguistics preparation of an etymological dictionary with the active participation in this work of a Turkologist Olexandr Harkavets. We should emphasize that Lviv remained the essential centre of the Ukrainian Turkic Studies, as it is the city where the academic activities took place of such well-known orientalists, as Yaroslav Dashkevych (Kalakura, 2011, pp. 39–47; Turanly, 2011, pp. 110–113) and Yarema Polotnyuk (Polotnyuk, 1993, pp. 124–132; Polotnyuk, 2006, pp. 416–425).

On coming back from his exile Yaroslav Dashkevych resumed his academic activity in writing orientalist academic works related to the Turkic and Arabic Studies, the majority of which were dealt with problems being considered in this paper. Indeed, in his paper “Turkish Diplomatic Correspondence in Ukrainian in the 40s of the 16th Century” the scholar identified the significance of the Ukrainian language in the documental provision of diplomatic relations that existed between the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine and the High Porte in the middle of the 17th century. The significance of the academic heritage of Yaroslav Dashkevych is that owing to such approach the historical truth was re-estimated that it was the Ukrainian language (and not the Russian one) that was in fact efficient and recognized in the international relations as one of the languages most often practised in the then diplomacy (Dashkevych, 2011c).

The problems of our studies is jointly related with the academic work of Yaroslav Dashkevych “Turkish Document in Ukrainian from the Mid-Sixteenth Century: on the Origin of Ukrainian Cossacks”, i.e. a detailed analysis of the Turkish hand-written documents in the Ukrainian language and originating from the middle of the 16th century and later, where information about the origin of the Ukrainian Cossackdom is provided. The academic significance of the report of Yaroslav Dashkevych “Ukraine’s Ethnography in Highlighting of 18th Century Sources in Oriental Languages” is that for the first time in the Ukrainian historic studies a classification of written documents made in Ukraine in oriental languages (in the Turkish, CrimeanTatar and Kypchak languages) due to their origin, and the actual needs for studying oriental written documents that had not been involved in the academic circulation was grounded (Dashkevych, 2011a). Besides, a culturological character has the scholar’s academic paper “Oriental Sources of the Iconography “Mamai the Cossack” in which Ya. Dashkevych not only managed to prove undoubtedly the availability of the Turkic sources of the iconographic composition “Mamai the Cossack”, but also shared his idea that that composition shows the openness of the Ukrainian society of the 17th – 18th centuries “to the cultural trends coming from both the West, and from the East” (Dashkevych, 2011b). As for the latter ones are concerned, they reflect “...contact of the Ukrainian folk arts (evidently, with the help of mediators) with the arts of China, Tibet, Central Asia” (Dashkevych, 2011b, p. 208).

Special attention has been deserved by Yaroslav Dashkevych works on the issues of studying sources and publications of oriental, written documents (in particular of those ones in Turkic languages) relating to History of Ukraine. The scholar in the digest of his academic report under the title “Studying and Publication of Oriental Sources on the History of Ukraine”, after saying about the importance of oriental written documents in the pool of sources for studying Ukraine’s History, he stated that such historical sources in practical studies “are used seldom, mainly on the ground of out-of-time translations and, as a rule, without taking into account the original texts”. Yaroslav Dashkevych proposed the following: 1) to speed up the process of publication of narrative written documents, business books, epigraphic remnants, cartographic stuff that are already completed (or almost completed) to be published; 2) to start preparation of reference publications concerning oriental written sources. We consider important for us the idea that when preparing such historiographic documents it is desirable to provide the facsimile texts with deciphering, graphics or in transliteration of the original, in translation into Ukrainian (Dashkevych, 2011d, pp. 147–151). In the programme for studying oriental written sources on Ukraine’s History developed by Yaroslav Dashkevych and approved at the meeting of the Enlarged Bureau of the Archeographic Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic it was underlined the importance of preparing collections of oriental written documents including information on the History of Ukraine (Dashkevych, 2011d, pp. 149). We also remind that in his report “Turkic sources about the Ukraine of the 16 – 18th centuries: Actual aspects of publications” made by Yaroslav Dashkevych at the 15th Plenary Meeting of the Soviet Committee of Turkologists held in 1989 in the city of Ufa, preparation of the collections of written sources “Ukraine in Turkish Chronicles” and “CrimeanTatar sources on the History of Ukraine” was announced to be among the primary tasks of the Ukrainian Turkology of that time (Dashkevych, 2011e, pp. 152–162). Therefore, yet in the second half of the 1980s Yaroslav Dashkevych defined the prospective objectives of the Ukrainian Turkology that are still actual at the present time. It must be noted that it is implementation of these objectives that is the goal of our academic activities within the frames of which the above said study has been made <sup>8</sup>.

During the periods of studying Turkish-Ottoman written sources in the Ukrainian historic studies academic works were completed which dealt with the History of Turkish-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Turkish relations in the 16th – 17th centuries, as well as with the diplomatic activities in this direction of the Ukrainian hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and Ivan Vyhovskiy (Mytsyk, 1999, pp. 66–72). A noticeable event in the development of the Ukrainian Turkic Studies was preparation of a collection of fragments of the Turkic chronicles relating to the History of Ukraine of the 15th – 16th centuries. Vasyl Dubrovskiy expressed a very important idea about the needs to continue studying Turkish-Ottoman written sources with information about the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine while widening the scope of the intersubjective relations, and namely – considering the above mentioned issues through the cultural measure, that is by involving into studies outcomes and achievements attained in culturology.

The situation and position of the Turkic society at the times of the Kara-Khanide Khanate was Omelian Pritsak’s object for studying it yet at the initial phase of his academic activities. Besides, this scholar paid a lot of attention to studying relations between the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine and the High Porte in the middle of the 17th century. An undoubted achievement of Yaroslav Dashkevych in the Turkologic Studies after his retuning from the

<sup>8</sup> Particularly, a monographic work an educational and methodical textbook were published: (Turanly, 2020, 622; Turanly, 2010, 368 p.; Turanly, 2000, 312 p.; Turanly, 2023, 172 p.).

exile was clarification of the importance of the Ukrainian Language in the Turkish-Ukrainian diplomatic correspondence. But the most significant contribution to the development of the National Orientalistics in general and to Turkology in particular was made by this scholar having studied the problem of methodology for dealing with sources and publication of oriental (partially of the ones in the Turkic languages) written documents relating to the History of Ukraine (Turanly, 2023, pp. 6–7).

In this context it of importance the attitude of Yaroslav Dashkevych to tries to practically implement the suggestion of the Russian orientalist Ignatyi Krachkovskiy who thought there were needs to prepare a complete collection of written documental sources made in oriental languages and relating to the History of the Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia (Krachkovskiy, 1932, pp. 151–156). At the Academic Conference “Pashutov Readings” that was held in Moscow, Yaroslav Dashkevych in 1990, in parallel to a famous Ukrainian Arabist Beilis decidedly spoke against the proposal having been put forward to prepare a collection of data from written sources in oriental languages about the territory and population of the European part of the Soviet Union in the Medieval times. For instance, his argument was it was unreasonable to unite within one collection different stuff aspects. Yaroslav Dashkevych also grounded needs to select, systematise and make a source-based analysis of information from written sources, written in oriental languages, relating to the History of Ukraine owing to the opportunity to determine in them original features of the national historical processes that took place on the Ukrainian lands. In other words, this scholar was the initiator of a principally new, and different from the traditional, national conceptual trend of making source studies in orientalists in general and in Turkology in particular (Kryukov, 2009, pp. 6–7, 24–25). It is within the frames of this conceptual trend of making source studies, that there are carried out studies of information available in Turkish-Ottoman written documents relating to the corresponding period of Ukraine’s History.

It shows that the prospective objectives determined by Yaroslav Dashkevych yet in the second part of the 1980s in relation of the Ukrainian Orientalistics have not lost their actual significance even on the modern phase of development of the Ukrainian Turkology.

What is important for our study, it is Vasyl Chumak’s idea about the positive importance of the Ukrainian-CrimeanTatar relations in both the History of Ukraine, and that of the Crimean Khanate. This conclusion that V. Chumak made in the result of thorough studies of historical consequences for the said states of treaties and unions made between the Zaporozhian Sich and Bakhchisarai. The scholar came to idea that those bi-lateral treaties and agreements were in the interests of both Ukrainian Cossacks and Crimean Tatars. It is such mutual interests “that quite often dominated other reasons of the secondary significance” (Chumak, 1993, 80 p.; Chumak, 2013, pp. 14–28; Chumak, 2015, pp. 33–56). So, Vasyl Chumak was one of the Ukrainian historians who at the end of the last century drew attention at a conceptual studying problems related to the Ukrainian-CrimeanTatar relations in the historic retrospective.

When considering the situation with the Turkologic Studies related to the topic of our study one should not that in the development of directly Ukrainian Turkology an exceptional role was played by academic studies of Hryhoriy Khalymonenko who published a set of very interesting works in terms of development of the Ukrainian Cossackdom. We note that studies by this scholar are of an exceptional significance in the establishment and development of Turkology, particularly for making the CrimeanTatar Studies. The significance of the academic concept of this scholar concerning the consideration of the phenomenon of the Ukrainian Cossackdom is that he insisted on needs to analyse this phenomenon in connection with the

development of the Turkic Cossackdom (Khalymonenko, 1993b). Hryhoriy Khalymonenko expressed the idea that “the problem of the genesis of the Ukrainian Cossackdom, which had performed got a long time duties of the National Military Forces, cannot be considered without an objective analysis of specific features of the way of speaking of the Zaporozhian Sich, and primarily – of those in terms of the military lexis of that speaking” (Khalymonenko, 1993a). Besides, this turkologist, while considering the historic aspect of the genesis of the Institute for the Ukrainian Cossackdom (Khalymonenko, 2015, pp. 38–48), expressed his hypothesis in regard of the evolution of that layer of Ukraine’s population. Its point is the foundation of arising of Cossackdom was made by the State of Kyivan Rus-Ukraine, “... while foreseeing the type of the Institute for Cossackdom in frontier detachments that initially were formed from the Turks” (Khalymonenko, 1993a, pp. 11–13).

Hence, academic works by Hryhoriy Khalymonenko is of much interest for analysing historical conditions and nature of the origin of the Turkish-Ottoman written sources which we have studied. Larisa Pritsak should be mentioned among the Ukrainian historians who chose as the subject matter for their academic studies consideration of the contents of international treaties made in different times by the Hetman Government with the Crimean Khanate as well as with the High Porte during the government of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (Pritsak L., 2003; Pritsak L., 2015, pp. 80–113).

#### **The Conclusions:**

*Summing up the study of the above said problem we note the following:*

1. Turkic Studies were started in the 19th century by such Ukrainian intellectuals, as Mykola Hulak, Olexandr Navrotskyi, Lev Lopatynskyi very of essential importance for a further development of the Studies regardless of the complicated life conditions due to prosecutions from the side of the Muscovite-Russian totalitarian political regime;
2. There are needs to make studies of Turkish-Ottoman written documents relating to the History of the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine with taking in consideration the cultural measure;
3. The Ukrainian Language was of a special importance in Turkish-Ukrainian diplomatic correspondence;
4. Attention should drawn to applying proper methods of studying sources and of publication oriental (particularly Turkish-Ottoman) written documents relating to Ukraine’s History, Geography and Culture;
5. Conceptual studies of archival documents (particularly of the ones in the form of chronicled works) is important for the objective highlighting of the History of relations between Ukraine and Turkey, as well as for studying problems relating to the History of Origin of Cossackdom, in particular for the CrimeanTatar Studies, and for studying the historical and political genesis of the Institute for the Ukrainian Cossackdom;
6. Our study makes it possible to carry on objective consideration of the History of the Ukrainian Cossackdom’s struggling separately against the Muscovite-Russian aggression for the final establishment of Ukraine’s statehood on its own lands, the latter being lasted still currently;
7. In 1933 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was proclaimed being the Centre of the nationalistic and counter-revolutionary activities, which h resulted in a lot of such outstanding Ukrainian Orientalists, particularly Turkologists, such as Mykola Hulak, Olexandr Navrotskyi, Lev Lopatynskyi, Agatangel Krymskyi, Vasyl Dubrovskyi, Yevhen Zavalynskyi, Omelian Pritsak, Yaroslav Dashkevych, Hryts Khalymonenko, Valeriy Marchenko, Mykola Myroshnichenko and others, suffered much from prosecutions by the Muscovite-Russian and Soviet-Communist regimes.

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**Roman KORSAK**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Head of the Department of Tourism Infrastructure and Hotel and Restaurant Industry, Uzhhorod National University, 19 Ukrainian Street, Uzhhorod, Ukraine, postal code 88000 (korsakr@i.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-9245-252X

**ResearcherID:** B-9061-2019

**Ivan HODIA**

*PhD (Economic Sciences), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of Tourism Infrastructure and Hotel and Restaurant Management, Uzhhorod National University, 19 Ukrainian Street, Uzhhorod, Ukraine, postal code 88000 (dz2352@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-4027-8811

**ResearcherID:** F-5847-2019

**Роман КОРСАК**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри туристичної інфраструктури та готельно-ресторанного господарства, ДВНЗ “Ужгородський національний університет”, вул. Українська 19, м. Ужгород, Україна, індекс 88000 (korsakr@i.ua)*

**Іван ГОДЯ**

*кандидат економічних наук, доцент, доцент кафедри туристичної інфраструктури та готельно-ресторанного господарства ДВНЗ “Ужгородський національний університет”, вул. Українська 19, м. Ужгород, Україна, індекс 88000 (dz2352@gmail.com)*

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**HISTORICAL “PHENOMENON” OF CZECHOSLOVAK HOSPITALITY  
AND TOURISM AS AN EXAMPLE OF DEVELOPMENT OF HOTEL  
AND TOURISM INDUSTRY DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the process of hospitality infrastructure development in the First Republic, which at that time was represented by tourist cottages, mountain shelters (stations), private hotel and resort complexes. The authors also analyzed the influence of the hospitality industry on the formation of the Czechoslovak tourist movement, which became a peculiar “phenomenon” of the Czechoslovak society and was identified in the interwar period with the ideas of freedom, national patriotism and love of the native land and homeland. The methodology of the research is based on the ideological and theoretical principles of positivist historiography while carrying out the research on the hotel and tourism industry development issue in Czechoslovakia. The above-mentioned approach made it possible to avoid subjective statements and conclusions regarding the research. The authors of the article used general scientific methods of cognition: analysis, synthesis, systematicity,*



generalization, concreteness, historicism, and the dialectical method in order to solve scientific issues. The dialectical method has been used the most fully through the principles of historicism, therefore, during the research, the authors preferred historical methods: historical descriptive method (historical genetic, historical comparative, historical synthetic), historical diachronic, empirical analysis method, etc. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in domestic historiography, the historical process of formation and development of the field of hospitality and tourism has been analyzed on the example of the hotel and tourism industry development in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period (1918 – 1938). In the article there has been covered the process of tourist cottages, mountain “stations”, hotel and resort farms development comprehensively. **The Conclusion.** It has been proven that the prerequisites for the hospitality and tourism sphere establishment were laid on the territory of the Czechoslovak lands, as early as the 18th and the 19th centuries. During the interwar period the hotel and tourist industry development in Czechoslovakia was due to the construction of tourist cottages, private hotels and resorts. There were the following popular vacation spots: the Bohemian resorts, the Beskydy Mountains of Moravia and Silesia and other tourist destinations, which were rich in natural, historical and cultural attractions in 1918 – 1938. The above-mentioned factors instigated the tourist hotel and restaurant business development in Czechoslovakia in 1918 – 1938.

**Keywords:** hospitality, tourism, hotel facilities, Bohemian resorts, Moravian Karst, stations, mountain shelters, Club of Czechoslovak Tourists.

## ІСТОРИЧНИЙ “ФЕНОМЕН” ЧЕХОСЛОВАЦЬКОЇ ГОСТИННОСТІ ТА ТУРИСТИКИ НА ПРИКЛАДІ РОЗВИТКУ ГОТЕЛЬНО-ТУРИСТИЧНОЇ ГАЛУЗІ У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД

**Анотація. Мета.** У публікації авторами розглянуто процес розбудови інфраструктури гостинності у Першій Республіці, яка була представлена на той час туристичними котеджами, гірськими притулками (станіцями), приватними готельними та курортними комплексами. Також автори проаналізували вплив індустрії гостинності на формування чехословацького туристичного руху, який став своєрідним “феноменом” чехословацького суспільства, та ототожнювався у міжвоєнний період з ідеями свободи, національного патріотизму і любові до рідного краю і батьківщини. **Методологія дослідження.** Під час здійснення наукового дослідження щодо проблематики розвитку готельно-туристичної галузі Чехословаччини автори статті керувалися ідейно-теоретичними засадами позитивістської історіографії. Зазначений підхід дав можливість уникнути суб’єктивних тверджень та висновків. Для розв’язання наукових завдань автори публікації застосували загальнонаукові методи пізнання: аналізу, синтезу, системності, узагальнення, конкретності, історизму, а також діалектичний метод. В історичному дослідженні діалектичний метод найповніше реалізується через принципи історизму, тому під час здійснення дослідження автори віддали перевагу історичним методам: історико-описовому (історико-генетичному, історико-порівняльному, історико-синтетичному), історико-діахронному, методу емпіричному аналізу тощо. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше у вітчизняній історіографії розглянуто історичний процес формування та розвитку сфери гостинності і туризму на прикладі розвитку готельно-туристичної галузі Чехословаччини у міжвоєнний період (1918 – 1938 рр.). У статті комплексно розглядається процес розбудови туристичних котеджів, гірських “станіць” та готельних і курортних господарств. **Висновки.** Доведено, що передумови становлення сфери гостинності та туризму були закладені на теренах чехословацьких земель, ще у період XVIII і XIX ст. Розвиток готельно-туристичної галузі Чехословаччини у міжвоєнний період відбувався за рахунок будівництва туристичних котеджів, притулків, приватних готельних і курортних закладів. Популярними місцями відпочинку протягом 1918 – 1938 рр. були богемські курорти, Бескидські гори Моравії і Сілезії та інші туристичні дестинації, багаті на природні та історико-культурні пам’ятки. Зазначені фактори стимулювали до розвитку туристичного та готельно-ресторанного бізнесу у Чехословаччині протягом 1918 – 1938 рр.

**Ключові слова:** гостинність, туризм, готельні заклади, богемські курорти, Моравський Карст, станіце, гірські притулки, Клуб чехословацьких туристів.

**The Problem Statement.** The scientific paper focuses on the historical analysis of the development of Czechoslovak hospitality and tourism during the interwar period (1918 – 1938). The topicality of the above-mentioned issue is also due to the fact that the hotel and tourist industry development in Czechoslovakia was not covered in domestic historiography comprehensively. There are few publications, which are limited primarily to the study of tourism in Subcarpathian Rus, which at that time was a formally autonomous territorial unit of the Czechoslovak Republic. Other Czechoslovak territories were not studied by the Ukrainian researchers.

In addition, the relevance of this issue is determined by the content of the “phenomenon” of the Czechoslovak hospitality and tourism, which during the interwar period contributed to the economic growth of the newly formed European country, and over time became a symbol of the national freedom of the Czechoslovak democratic society, which united the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Ukrainian Ruthenians. Under the conditions of Ukraine’s war with the Russian Federation, when a large part of the country’s hospitality infrastructure and tourist complex was destroyed, the above-mentioned historical experience of Czechoslovakia during the post-war regarding the hotel and tourism industry development is relevant for Ukraine nowadays.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** It should be stated that there are very few domestic studies that analyze the hotel and tourism industry development of in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period comprehensively. It is worth noting the works, written by Zakarpattia (Transcarpathian) scholars, who dealt with the comprehensive study of the Czechoslovak “tourism” in the territory of Subcarpathian Rus. In our opinion, the indicated trend is primarily due to historical factors, since modern Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) was part of the Czechoslovak Republic in the past. Hence, the Czech sources are the basis of the authors’ research.

In general, the analysis of domestic works proved that the Ukrainian scholars consider the following issues mainly: the historical process of the tourist attraction formation of Zakarpattia (Transcarpathian) region (Korsak, 2017), tourism development peculiarities in Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia) during the Czechoslovak period (Nosa, 2017), the trends and the state of tourism development in Subcarpathian Rus in 1918 – 1938 (Furtii, 2017) and the others. There was one more comprehensive study on Bohemia tourist potential during the years of the First Republic among domestic publications, which should be highlighted (Furtii, 2020).

**The purpose of the research** is to study the process of the hotel and tourist industry development of in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period (1918 – 1938) comprehensively. The authors defined the main objectives in order to accomplish purpose: to do research on historical prerequisites and foundations of the hotel and tourism industry development in Czechoslovakia, to analyze domestic and foreign scientific sources on this issue and to draw reasonable conclusions about the conducted research.

**The Results of the Research.** It should be stated that in 1918 – 1938 the territory of the First Czechoslovak Republic included the following regions: Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia, and Subcarpathian Rus. The first mentions of the Czech travelers, who travelled to Devil’s and Black Lakes date back to the middle of the 18th century. At the same time, the first travel guides were compiled by woodcutters and foresters (Turistický lexikon A–Z, 2001, pp. 321–324).

The Czech hospitality and tourism further growth was facilitated by the first tourist cottage construction on Mount Klet’ (Šumava mountain range) and an observation tower in 1825 (Šumava, Turistický průvodce ČSSR, 1986, pp. 78–91).

The railroad construction, which connected different cities in Bohemia had a significant impact on the Czech resorts development since the second half of the 19th century. In 1907,

there were introduced high-speed direct carriages from Prague via Salzburg and Klagenfurt to Trieste at the Tower Railroad. The railroad led through a number of tourist attractions in Jesenice, Bled, Bohinjska Bistrica, and ultimately contributed to the ski tourism development in the Czech Republic. In addition, the above-mentioned railroad triggered the resorts development in Istria and Dalmatia at the beginning of the 20th, which became popular tourist destinations for the Czech tourists in the Adriatic (Slovinské Alpy, 1910, p. 55; Moře adriatické, 1911, p. 44; Hájek, 1999, pp. 173–177).

Some Czech railroad companies organized special excursion railway trips since the 1860s. These trains were departed on Sundays and holidays to a tourist attraction or cultural event and offered travellers a lower fare (Štemberk, 2009, p. 124).

Due to the transport infrastructure development, which was observed in the second half of the 19th century, there was the growth of hospitality enterprises. The main network of the Czech hotels and restaurants was formed in the 17th and 18th centuries along with the construction of the state road infrastructure and the postal system. In particular, there were inns every 30 to 50 km on the main communication routes, where people could get food and accommodation services. Travellers were offered single and multi-bed rooms for accommodation with a low level of comfort (Spode, 2011, pp. 13–14).

Since the second half of 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, summer vacations in rural homesteads and cottages, known as “litninský otvět” in Czech, became popular among the Czechs, and the vacationers were called “letňásci”. The wealthy families built manors that could be used for short weekend stays throughout the year, while the poor families could rent separate apartments or rooms (Štemberk, 2009, s. 50; Jiránek, Lenderová & Macková, 2009, pp. 272–274). Popular summer vacation destinations for the Czechs were the southern and southwestern outskirts of Prague at the beginning of the 20th century. The most prestigious settlements were Dobřichovice, Řevnice, and Senohraby (Prášek, Wiesenberger & Dvořák, 1909, p. 25).

In 1914 – 1918 there was World War I, which exacerbated economic and social situation of the Czech population significantly and affected the hospitality and tourism industry development negatively (Poláček, 2001, pp. 274–276).

There was intensification of tourism in the country after the end of the war and the First Czechoslovak Republic formation. The influx of tourists was facilitated by the Czechoslovak Tourist Club activities. In particular, the club participated in the development of tourist shelters for travellers throughout the country. Tourist rest houses or “stations” (the Czech for “stanice”) were facilities related to accommodation and catering services, such as hotels and taverns. The stanice was advertised in the club’s popular printed publication called “The Tourist’s Chronicle”. There was a sign with the inscription “Shelter of the Czechoslovak Tourist Club” (in Czech: “Stanice Klubu československých turistů”) outside the stanice. The price for the services was also indicated usually ranged from 25 to 100 Czech Kron in 1918 – 1938. Due to the Czechoslovak Tourist Club archival funds, we managed to find out that there were six shelters in Bohemia at end of the 19th century with the following locations: near Shustru (Šustrů), in Slavia (Slavii), near Petrohrad, near Korruniho prince (Korunního prince), near the Czech Garnet (Českého granátu), and near the Grandhotel [Zápisní kniha MČR Turnov, 1892 – 1898, pp. 24–31].

During the First Republic, the above-mentioned stations were very popular both among the country’s population and among foreign tourists. The general list of functioning stations and tourist cottages was regularly published in the club’s printed edition of the “Tourist Magazine” (Časopis turistů) during 1890 – 1945. (Časopis turistů, 1890; Časopis turistů, 1925).

The Club extended its activities to Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus after 1918. The Club changed its charter since 1920. The organization carried out the following activities already in 1924:

- 45 shelters and tourist cottages operated;
- there were 15 observation towers, 18 castles, and ruins;
- since 1925, the club founded its own printing house, which specialized in publishing tourism-related literature.

In general, there was the growth of a significant number of hotels and restaurants in Czechoslovakia, as well as an increase in hospitality services associated with the popularity of local resorts after World War I. There was a boom regarding the tourist infrastructure construction in the form of country villas during the period of 1919 – 1938 (Hruška, 1939, p. 281).

The post-war recovery of the economy contributed to the intensification of resorts' activities. It was facilitated by the introduction of air transport connections to Mariánské Lázně and Karlovy Vary in the second half of the 1920s (Rajlich, Sehnal, 1993, p. 66).

In the 1930s, the world economic crisis slowed down the Czechoslovak tourism and hospitality development significantly, which was manifested mainly in a decline in interest in visiting expensive resorts and a decrease in interest in foreign trips. But at the same time, it should be noted that the operation of most resorts during the specified period remained unchanged, since well-known Czechoslovak recreation areas, such as Karlovy Vary, were largely visited by a constant contingent of vacationers, who did not give up summer vacations even in the midst of the economic crisis (Štemberk, 2009, pp. 99–100).

Due to the crisis in Europe, there was a significant slump regarding the influx of tourist. Also, the economic crisis revived the Czech-German antagonism and strengthened the activity of the anti-Czechoslovak political parties. Against the background of the Nazi Germany military power growth, the anti-Czechoslovakism ideology resonated with an increasingly large part of the German minorities in Czechoslovakia. As a result, the western territory of Czechoslovakia, including the resort area, at the end of the 1930s became a centre of the Sudeten-German Free corps. Due to tension on the western border and sympathy for the Nazi Germany, which acted counterproductive in the resort towns of the western region of Czechoslovakia, guests were discouraged from visiting it (Brandes, 2012, pp. 47–80).

The most famous resort in Czechoslovakia was Karlovy Vary. This resort began to be developed in the 18th century for tourist purposes (Burachovič, Wieser, 2001, pp. 150–151). During the Czechoslovakian era, it became famous for its thirteen thermal springs. In particular, the following procedures were provided for treatment and recreation: hydrotherapy, baths, physiotherapy, light therapy, thermotherapy, kinesiotherapy (motor therapy), reflexology, balneotherapy, and the others (Kajlík, 2007, p. 36). There were similar popular resorts in Bohemia: Mariánské Lázně and Františkovy Lázně (Burachovič & Wieser, 2001, p. 189).

During the fascist annexation of the Sudetenland, which took place after The Munich Agreement in 1938, the economic situation of the Bohemian resorts worsened. The above-mentioned events led to forced administration and hospitality enterprises' sale. It should be noted that the leading place belonged to the Jewish capital in the resort business of Czechoslovakia. The first major wave of forced property changes took place after the occupation. In particular, in mid-1939, in the resort sector of the western lands, there were 567 enterprises with a total of 20,711 beds, of which 137 enterprises belonged to the Jews (6,830 beds) (Osterloh, 2010, pp. 135–143).

A significant number of hotel restaurants and tourist enterprises had to be closed during the occupation. The comparison data of 1913 and 1938 regarding the number of resort guests, who visited Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně, and Františkovy Lázně is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

**Attendance at Tourist Sites after the German Occupation of Czechoslovakia**

<b>№</b>	<b>Name of the resort</b>	<b>Attendance in 1913 (number of guests)</b>	<b>Attendance in 1938 (number of guests)</b>
1.	Karlovy Vary	65 000	28 000
2.	Mariánské Lázně	30 000	10 500
3.	Františkovy Lázně	15 000	6 400

It should be mentioned that the Bohemian resorts found themselves in complete international isolation due to the totalitarian and racist nature of the Nazi regime. During the war, the resort areas became branches of extermination camps that served the needs of the war and the Nazi government (Schönbach, 1993, pp. 145–157).

In 1918 – 1938, tourist travelling developed actively in the Ostrava Beskids, which are geographically located on the border between Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia. Tourist trips in the Beskids were difficult mainly due to the lack of marked trails and routes. Hence, during mountain trips in the Moravian-Silesian Beskids, there was a need for the construction of tourist infrastructure – mountain and hunting huts. In particular, for this purpose, in 1910, a hunting lodge was built in the Beskids at the foot of the Smrk Mountain peak. Other similar buildings include a cottage built on Lysa Hora in 1880 and other mountain huts that belonged to the Archbishop of Olomouc at that time. The above-mentioned huts served guests, who were invited to hunt in the area of the Olomouc archbishopric or the archduke’s land ownerships in Těšín (Barcuch, 2015, p. 12; Polášková & Polášek, 2009, p. 11; Všetěčka, 1924, p. 3).

Owing to demand of travellers for a similar hospitality infrastructure in the Czech Beskids, there was intensive construction development until 1938. The construction of cottages and shelters was carried out by the efforts of four tourist organizations, in particular:

- “Radhošť Mountain Association” (in Czech “Pohorskou jednotu Radhošť”);
- “The Czech Tourists Club” (in Czech “Klub českých turistů”);
- “Beskidverein” (in Czech “Beskidenverein”);
- “Silesian Beskids Unity” (in Czech “Pobeskydskou jednotu slezskou”) (Pohorská jednota Radhošť, 1931, pp. 122–126).

D. Yurkovych and Ya. Chermak were renowned architects, who designed the “Beskid” cottages. The cottages and shelters of that time were equipped with modern furniture. In particular, the “Pustevny” tourist hut (in Czech “Pustevne”) was built as the first tourist cottage in the Beskydy Mountains. The tourist cottage on Mount Prašivá was built by the organization “Silesian Beskids Unity”. It should also be noted that the tourist cottages and shelters in the Silesian Beskids were built mainly in the Pustevny resort and its surroundings (Parma, 1915, pp. 33–38).

It was D. Yurkovych, who designed a prominent tourist cottage the “Tantsivnytsia” hotel (“Tanečnica” in Czech). The hotel was located on the Pustevny tourist resort eastern side. The foundation of the hotel was laid in 1924. Due to complications related to the inconvenient location of the hotel on the mountainside, Ostrava architects F. Kolar and J. Ruby joined the project (Klučka & Sedláček, 2007, pp. 28–30).



The construction of the hotel began in August of 1925. It was the only mountain hotel of its kind in the Czechoslovak Republic at that time. The built hotel had sixty-three comfortably furnished rooms. There were also built two general dormitories in the building, with a total of 183 beds. There were guest rooms and several restaurants at the hotel complex. The total cost of building the hotel reached 3,547,052 krona (\$160,360.45). The building was completed and solemnly opened on December 19, 1926 and was originally named in honour the founder of the organization “Radhos’ Mountain Association” – “Shelter of Edward Parma” (Daněk, 2001, pp. 211–241).

During the period of 1923 – 1924, the Czechoslovak Tourists Club expanded its network of tourist cottages and shelters in the Beskydy Mountains significantly. In particular, new cottages were built: a cottage in the city Velká Polom, a cottage “Masarika” and a cottage in the city Ropička.

It should be noted that during the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1930s, the Club built other tourist cottages in the Beskydy Mountains, in particular in cities Gírová and Ostré, and built a tourist station near the city Stozek-Velki (Polášková & Polášek, 2009, pp. 72–77).

In the 20s and 30s, a popular tourist attraction was the Moravian Karst – natural caves (Obůrková, 2007, pp. 19–24). It should be mentioned that among visitors became popular to go on excursion to the cave complexes at that time. There were regular excursions through the labyrinth of Sloup Caves, which were characterized by long corridors without stalactites. The most attractive parts of the Sloupsko-Šošůvské Caves were the Elishka cave with its rich decoration of stalactites. The culmination of the tour was the Black Abyss (Absolon, 1932, pp. 14–15; Boček, 1928, pp. 156–174).

The Moravian Karst Cave Complex was visited by an average of about 15,000 people per year. According to information about visitors to these caves in the 1920s and in the early 1930s, attendance fluctuated significantly, especially during the World Crisis (Pakr, 1977, pp. 22–23).

Table 2

#### Attendance at the Moravian Karst Cave Complex in 1920 – 1930

№	Year	Number of visitors (person)
1.	1927	17 227
2.	1928	28 319
3.	1929	16 143
4.	1930	24 293
5.	1931	13 750
6.	1932	10 205

The hospitality infrastructure development was rebuilt in order to improve the tourists’ stay in the Moravian Karst. In particular, the hotel in Pusty Žleb opposite to the Punkva Caves was popular among tourists. There were eighteen rooms with sixty beds at the hotel. The hotel also had dormitories for 300 people. There was also a shop nearby with postcards, guides, souvenirs, etc., as well as an information desk, garages and even a gas station and a bus line (Absolon, 1932, pp. 127–128).

A guest cottage near the Sloupsko-Šošůvské Caves was popular among tourists – the Břoušek Hotel, which was located right next to the entrance to the caves. However, there was not enough space for all the visitors due to the capacity of the hotel. Therefore, in 1926, the owner of the hotel, J. Břoušek, decided to build his own hostel, which provided overnight

accommodation during excursions. As a result of increased income from tourism, A. Břoušek and his son J. Břoušek built a much larger hotel in 1935 (Břoušek, 2005, pp. 28–30). In addition to the mentioned hotel in Sloup, you could use the inn services at the Skotak Guest House in Sloup or the Mikulaszek Guest House near the caves in Shoshovka (Boček, 1928, pp. 156–174).

However, it should be noted that the economic crisis of the beginning of the 1930s had a significant impact on the hospitality and tourism development of, both in the Moravian Karst and in Czechoslovakia in general. The demand among travellers for accommodation and public food services decreased significantly at that time. As a result of the crisis, a significant number of the restaurateurs and hoteliers spotted that their incomes and profits decrease. As soon as the economic situation began to normalize, on September 30, 1938, the so-called Munich Agreement was signed in Berlin with the participation of four European states, according to which Czechoslovakia was forced to surrender the border territory (the Sudetenland) to Germany. The above-mentioned political situation and the threat of World War II outbreak contributed negatively to the hotel, restaurant and tourist business development in the First Republic in the following years (Brož, 1998, p. 31).

The development of the Czechoslovak tourist movement was influenced by the so-called “Kubat Law” (Kubátův zákon – Lex Kubát) issued on April 9, 1931. It was a decree of the Zemstvo head of the Czech lands as part of the First Czechoslovak Republic – H. Kubat (1928 – 1932), which referred to camping of travellers. In the 1920s, the Czechoslovak “tourist” contributed to the development of a negative phenomenon, the result of which there was an increase in the number of vagrants, homeless people and unmarried couples, who camped together, ran half-naked, sang obscene songs, carried weapons and bathed in forbidden places. In the second half of the 1920s, public conflicts became more frequent over the above-mentioned, public criticism of this phenomenon took place from a moral point of view due to the antisocial behavior of young couples and vagrants (Waic & Kössl, 1992, pp. 44–45).

The culmination of public discontent was the adoption of the “Kubat Law”, which was accompanied by a circular on the need to carry out the police checks against suspicious people. Furthermore, in accordance with the articles of the decree, all types of indecent behavior in public or publicly accessible places that violate or threaten public order, peace, security, good morals or decency were prohibited. Violation of this decree was punishable by fines from 10 Czech Krona to 5,000 Czech Krona or imprisonment from 12 hours to 14 days. Hence, numerous Czech tourists went to Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus with great pleasure, where it was possible to hike without the specified restrictions of the “Kubat Law” (Waic & Kössl, 1992, pp. 51–56; Krško, 2008, pp. 100–101).

The “Kubat Law” was met with protest from the supporters of “wild” camping and recreation. The mass protest took place on May 19, 1931. It was attended by 15,000 people. In response to the announcement of the “Kubat Law”, issues of the magazine the “Tramp” (literally in Czech – traveller, tourist) criticized the prohibitions regarding the above-mentioned (Melíšek, 1931, p. 3). Due to mass protests, lawsuits, appeals, and general agitation against the decree, initially forced the gendarmerie at the time to “remove momentum” and stop demanding that it be followed in practice. Ultimately, the above-mentioned decree, known as the “Kubat Law”, was cancelled by the Supreme Court in 1935. Therefore, his opponents could celebrate a great victory, not knowing what was waiting for them in the following war years and in the Soviet times. Long decades will come when the so-called “Kubat Law” will be remembered with slight nostalgia, as the good old days of the Czechoslovak “tourism”.

**The Conclusion.** Hence, the prerequisites for the hospitality and tourism sphere establishment were laid on the territory of the Czechoslovak lands, as early as the 18th and 19th centuries. The hotel and tourist industry development in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period was due to the construction of tourist cottages, private hotels and resorts. There were the following popular vacation spots: the Bohemian resorts, the Beskydy Mountains of Moravia and Silesia and other tourist destinations, which were rich in natural and historical and cultural attractions in 1918 – 1938. The above-mentioned factors instigated the tourist and hotel and restaurant business development in a newly formed country.

In turn, we can state that the the hotel and tourist industry development in Czechoslovakia was slowed down after the “Munich” conspiracy in 1938, which resulted in the annexation of the Sudetenland region, and with World War outbreak.

In our opinion, the Czechoslovak hospitality and tourism phenomenon of was the following:

1. The Czechoslovak “tourism”, as it was called at the time, became a mass popular and cultural movement that contributed to the revival of patriotic self-awareness and the national spirit of the Czechoslovak society.

2. The Czechoslovak “tourism” contributed to the post-war development of the country’s tourism and hospitality infrastructure, thereby, raising the standard of living and well-being of all regions of Czechoslovakia, including Zakarpattia (Transcarpathia).

3. The Czechoslovak “tourism” contributed to the development of the youth tourism and sports regional movement, contributing to the formation of the patriotic consciousness of the younger generation.

4. The Czechoslovak “tourism” gave impetus to the activities of numerous tourist organizations, among which the most significant influence on the development of tourism and the hospitality sphere had: the “Czechoslovak Tourists’ Club”, “Radhoš’ Mountain Association”, “Beskidverien”, “Silesian Beskids Unity”.

5. The phenomenon of Czechoslovak “tourism” became a prerequisite for the friendly relations formation between the ethnic groups of Czechoslovakia (the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Ukrainian Ruthenians) in the future. In particular, at the current stage of development of the independent countries of the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Slovakia, there is a positive trend towards cooperation in the field of hospitality and tourism (Korsak, Ilnytskyi & Hodia, 2018, pp. 181–185; Korsak, Ilnytskyi & Sichka, 2019, pp. 67–89).

We believe that the research on the hospitality and tourism sphere during the years of the Czechoslovak Republic is a promising aspect of the scientific research for domestic scientists. This is due to the fact that in the field of scientific research there are historical topics on the Czechoslovak tourism development, which were not studied. The following can be singled out among them: prerequisites for the tourism and hospitality development on the territory of Czechoslovakia; the hospitality and tourism development on the territory of Slovakia in 1918 – 1938; unstudied and little-known facts in the activities of the “Czechoslovak Tourists’ Club” and other popular tourist organizations at that time, etc.

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**Volodymyr BARAN**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Head of the Department of Ukraine's History and Archeology, Lesia Ukrainka Volyn National University, 24 Shopena Street, Lutsk, Ukraine, postal code 43000 (baranv@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-2420-5353

**Володимир БАРАН**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри історії України та археології, Волинський національний університет імені Лесі Українки, вул. Шопена, 24, м. Луцьк, Україна, індекс 43000 (baranv@ukr.net)*

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**ON THE ISSUE OF SUPPLY CRISIS IN THE USSR IN 1938 – 1941:  
ACCORDING TO THE DOCUMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE  
OF SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY**

**Abstract.** *The article focuses on the analysis of the issue of supplying population with food and basic necessities in the USSR in 1938 – 1941. **The purpose** of the article is to elucidate the peculiarities of the food crisis, commodity shortages during the period under analysis period and complete inefficiency of the Soviet economic model, inability of the authorities to satisfy the elementary needs of citizens. **The Methodology of the Research:** the article is based on the theory of totalitarianism and the principles formulated by Karl Friedrich; traditional general scientific and special historical methods have been used. The research is based on source science methods, in particular the method of internal criticism of sources, as well as on the requirements of archeography. **The scientific novelty** of the article consists in the inclusion of original documentary material from the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History. **The Conclusion.** Owing to the measures taken in the first half of 1941, it was possible to somewhat improve provision of population in some cities and districts, for example, Lviv. The Soviet authorities could never get rid of queues, shortages, low-quality products and other fundamental vices of a prescriptive, tightly centralized economy. As before, the norms for the release of goods into the same hands, determined by the Soviet People's Committee of the USSR, were in effect. During the 1930s, a tendency to reduce these norms was clearly visible, because the main attention in the economic policy of the Stalinist regime was devoted to the rise of heavy industry, each time neglecting the issues of light and food industries development. A significant disproportion in industry development of Group A (production of means of production) and Group B (production of consumer goods) became a distinctive feature of the Soviet economy, which negatively affected supply of food and industrial goods to the population, and a general standard of living of the of the USSR citizens.*

**Key words:** *the USSR, the Stalinist regime, supply crisis, card system.*

## ДО ПИТАННЯ ПРО КРИЗУ ПОСТАЧАННЯ В СРСР У 1938 – 1941 рр.: ЗА ДОКУМЕНТАМИ РОСІЙСЬКОГО ДЕРЖАВНОГО АРХІВУ СОЦІАЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ІСТОРІЇ

**Анотація.** У статті проаналізовано проблему постачання населення продуктами харчування і предметами першої необхідності в СРСР у 1938 – 1941 рр. **Мета роботи** – показати особливості продовольчої кризи, товарного дефіциту у вказаний період і цілковиту неефективність радянської господарської моделі, неспроможність влади задовольнити елементарні потреби громадян. **Методологія:** стаття базується на теорії тоталітаризму та принципах, сформульованих Карлом Фрідріхом; у ній використовуються традиційні загальнонаукові та спеціальні історичні методи. Дослідження ґрунтується на джерелознавчих методах, зокрема методі внутрішньої критики джерел, а також на вимогах археографії. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у залученні оригінального документального матеріалу з Російського державного архіву соціально-політичної історії. **Висновки.** Завдяки вжитим заходам у першій половині 1941 року в окремих містах і районах вдалося дещо полішити забезпечення населення, наприклад, Львова. Проте радянська влада ніколи не могла позбутися черг, дефіцитів, низької якості продукції та інших корінних вад директивної, жорстко централізованої економіки. Як і раніше, діяли визначені Раднаркомом СРСР норми відпуску товарів в одні руки. Упродовж 1930-х рр. чітко простежувалась тенденція до скорочення цих норм, адже основну увагу в господарській політиці сталінський режим надавав піднесенню важкої промисловості, зоразу нехтуючи питаннями розвитку легкої й харчової галузей. Значна диспропорція у розвитку промисловості групи А (виробництво засобів виробництва) і групи Б (виробництво предметів споживання) стала відмітною рисою радянської економіки, що негативно позначалося на постачанні населення продовольчими і промисловими товарами, на загальному рівні життя громадян СРСР.

**Ключові слова:** СРСР, сталінський режим, криза постачання, карткова система.

**The Problem Statement.** At all stages of the history of the USSR, there were acute problems with the supply of goods, in particular providing population with the most necessary food and consumer goods. In 1929, cards for bread were introduced in the USSR, during the years of 1931 – 1935 in the country there operated a card system for basic food and non-food products, which testified to the fundamental problems of the Soviet economy (Nikolaiuk, 2020, pp. 4–20).

After the cancellation of cards, abandonment of a strict regulation in the field of trade, supply under the conditions of open, so to speak, “free trade” improved somewhat. However, already at the beginning of 1938, signs of another crisis appeared, which significantly affected the population’s standard of living and led to actual introduction of products rationed distribution in some cities of the country.

**The purpose** of the article is to elucidate peculiarities of food crisis, goods deficit in 1938 – 1941, caused by inefficiency of the Soviet economic model and inability of the authorities to satisfy basic needs of citizens.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** The Soviet authors – H. Dikhtiar, O. [Alexei] Malafeyev, H. Rubinstein, domestic scholars – V. Danylenko, S. Kulchytskyi, V. Lantukh, T. Nikolayuk, Z. [Zinaida] Sviashchenko, foreign researchers – A. [Abram] Bergson, G. [Grzegorz] Hrytsiuk, R. [Robert] Davis, E. [Edward] Carr, A. [Alec] Nove, O. [Elena] Osokina, Sh. [Sheila] Fitzpatrick, O. [Oleg] Khlevniuk and the others focused on the above mentioned issue.

**The Basic Material Statement.** At the beginning of April of 1938, in a note of S. Kosior, the head of the Commission of Soviet Control under the RSC of the USSR, addressed to

the head of the Soviet government, V. Molotov, it was written: since February, in Moscow, especially near the central shops, “long queues were observed, mainly for cotton fabric, ready-made clothes, shoes”. S. Kosior emphasized that the majority of those who stood in the queues were not Moscow residents, that the increase in sale of manufacture, the expansion of store network “helped little”, and that “the queues became even longer” at that time. In the end, S. Kosior insisted that these queues “began to acquire a scandalous and politically dangerous character...”.

Detailed information about the queues in Moscow was provided in a note of S. Krylov, the acting head of the trade and cooperation group of the Soviet Control Commission under the USSR Central Committee, to S. Kosior, the head of the CRC under the USSR Central Committee about the results of checks in Moscow stores on the night of April 1 – 2 and in the morning of April 2, 1938 (see: Document No. 1). In the note it was stated: according to police estimates, about 20,000 people gathered in queues near the Central Department Store, 4,000 – near Mostorg No. 1 (former GUM), 1,200–1,500 – near Lenin Department Store, and 900–950 people – near Shop No. 2 (The Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, f. 82, d. 2, c. 686, pp. 2–7).

Archival sources indicate that the problem with queues affected not only the capital of the USSR. In addition, in the notes sent to the Soviet People’s Committee of the USSR from other places there was mentioned “difficult situation with payment of salaries”, the presence of large arrears in wages, non-fulfillment of plans “for importation of manufactured goods and flour sale”, etc. In December of 1938, a member of the editorial board of “The Pravda” newspaper, L. Rovynsky, informed the government that “major interruptions in the supply of bread to the population” had begun in Kharkiv, dozens of houses were not heated, and many plants and factories stopped operating due to a lack of electricity (RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 686, pp. 9–13).

In 1939, the difficulties with providing goods for the population worsened significantly, especially after the beginning of World War II. There were long queues not only for industrial goods, but also for bread and other foodstuffs. M. Kovalev, a resident of Kyiv, wrote indignantly to the Council of Soviets of the USSR: “Disgraceful things are being done”. Lines of many thousands gather at consumer goods stores and ready-to-wear in the evening. The police line up queues a block away in the alley...”. The author of the letter insisted: under such conditions, “speculation flourishes, arbitrariness of policemen, and they say, that it is not without bribes”; an honest man can buy the most necessary “only from speculators at a double price” (*Sovetskaya povsednevnost i massovoe soznanie...*, 2003, p. 159).

Immediately after the beginning of World War II, the People’s Commissar of Trade of the USSR O. [Aleksandr] Liubimov addressed a letter to the head of the Union Government, V. Molotov, in which he raised the issue of introducing a card system for food and consumer goods. However, the country’s political leadership categorically rejected even talk about curtailment of “free trade” and transition to a rationed supply. With the outbreak of the Soviet-Finnish Winter War, the commodity deficit reached its peak and turned into a real food crisis. The war clearly deepened contradictions that developed at consumer market, but the causes of crisis were rooted in something else – in the very nature of the Soviet system.

The aggression of the USSR against Poland, seizure of the eastern Polish voivodeships by the Red Army, forcible annexation of Western Volhynia and Eastern Galicia to the USSR was accompanied by the deployment of the so-called socialist transformations, implementation of the destructive policy of Sovietization, and ruthless destruction of established way of

life of millions of people. In the autumn of 1939, local population experienced significant interruptions in the supply of food and industrial goods, shortages of bread, sugar, flour, clothes and shoes, even salt and matches (see: Document No. 2). According to the NKVD authorities, in December of 1939 in Lviv, 500–1,500 people stood in lines for bread and sugar at some shops (Baran & Tokarskyi, 2009, pp. 73, 77; Baran, 2011, pp. 383–410; Baran, 2012, pp. 477–494).

In January of 1940, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Ukraine(b) approved the Resolution of the Soviet People's Committee of the USSR "On Getting Rid of Queues for Buying Food Products in the Cities of Moscow and Leningrad" (see: Document No. 3). The Resolution provided for a number of tough measures aimed at combating the so-called speculation of products and preventing queues and mass gathering of customers near shops in the capital. It is worth emphasizing: since the size of commodity resources for different regions of the USSR was determined by the Union Centre, the largest market funds were allocated to the Russian Federation (about 60%). At the same time, Moscow was in a special position, receiving the main part of the market funds of the USSR, including about 40% of meat and eggs, more than 25% of cheese and fats, 15% of sugar, fish, cereals, pasta, etc. Leningrad was also in need of increased provision of foodstuffs.

Moscow, Leningrad, Kyiv, Minsk and Tbilisi belonged to a special group of cities concerning "supply of planned and regulated industrial goods", although, of course, the lion's share of the mentioned regulated industrial goods belonged to Moscow. Due to the growing shortage of goods, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) raised the prices of fabrics, knitwear, underwear, and glassware as early as 1939. In January of 1940, prices were increased for one of the most scarce products – sugar, and a few months later – for food, fish, fats, cheese, potatoes, vegetables, dairy products. The aggravation of the commodity deficit also led to a noticeable increase in prices at collective farm markets, which played an important role in the supply of townspeople, especially vegetables, potatoes, and meat and dairy products (RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 686, p. 1; Baran & Tokarskyi, 2009, pp. 76, 77; Osokina, 1997, pp. 184, 187–190; Rubinshteyn, 1964, pp. 358, 359).

The situation of the population noticeably worsened, including the western lands of Ukraine. L. Beria, Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, reported to V. Molotov, the Chairman of the Soviet People's Committee of the USSR about major disruptions in the trade in sugar, salt, kerosene, soap, and matches in Ternopil, Volyn, Drohobych, Lviv, and Rivne regions (see: Document No. 4). Even Lviv was severely affected by the food crisis, although the authorities paid special attention to this city. According to the recollections, at the beginning of 1940 there were cases when "there was no bread at all for one week in Lviv". It is not surprising that people of Lviv bitterly joked: you can throw out the letter "m" from the alphabet, because there is no milk, butter, meat, flour, carrots, sorrel, but it is not worth preserving this letter for the sake of shaggy (Hryciuk, 2000, p. 70).

Under such conditions, the authorities sought to support the nomenklatura employees, in particular, they made additional payments at canteens for the food of managerial employees (see: Document No. 7), restored the work of departmental distributors, closed canteens and shops that served the party, Soviet, and military elite, and later, due to the aggravation supply crisis, employees of certain branches of industry as well. Horlov, the head of the Main Directorate of Moscow canteens, restaurants and cafes, informed the Deputy Chairman of the RSC of the USSR A. [Anastas] Mikoyan, that part of large restaurants in the centre of Moscow – "Aurora", "Livorno", "Prague", etc., were turned into closed canteens. Thus, the restaurant "Aurora" "was transferred to the closed canteen of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) staff on November



26, 1938...”, restaurant “Livorno” – the canteen for employees of the Moscow City Committee of the Communist Party since February 7, 1939. Canteen in street Kirova street, 24 was used as a closed canteen for employees of the NKVD of the USSR. Horlov wrote that the Department of Affairs of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b) and the Department of Affairs of the Central Committee of the VLKSM also insisted on the transfer of premises for the organization of closed canteens (RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 686, pp. 23–25).

In the spring of 1940, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party(b) approved the Resolution of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR on the organization of a closed atelier in Moscow for the tailoring and sale of ready-made clothes, underwear, knitwear, and shoes for authorities staff of the Union People’s Commissariat and other central institutions. The atelier was organized by the People’s Commissariat of Trade of the USSR, the service of officials in it was carried out by using name cards issued by the People’s Commissariat of Trade based on lists compiled by the Affairs Department of the Soviet People’s Commissariat of the USSR. In the Resolution it was stated: “To determine the limit for tailoring and purchase in a closed atelier of ready-made clothes, underwear, knitwear and shoes for one collection book during the quarter in the amount of 2,000 krb.” The Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party(b) and the Soviet government also made other decisions aimed at proper supplying the power elite, in particular, construction of another 10 dachas for the People’s Commissars of the USSR in 1940 (for this, 4.75 billion krbs were allocated from the reserve fund of the USSR Central Committee) (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 3, c. 1022, pp. 43, 45).

In some cities of the USSR, a card system was actually introduced, although official decisions regarding this were not adopted by the political leadership of the state (see: Document No. 5). In the spring of 1940, the Prosecutor of the USSR M. [Mikhail] Pankratiyev reported to V. Molotov, head of the RSC of the USSR, that a card system was introduced for the sale of bread in the city of Kostroma (population 125,000). The cards were made in a printing house, they were called “pre-order”. In the cards it was indicated: address, last name of a consumer, number of family members, norm of bread per person per day (600 g, including 30% wheat bread), as well as the store to which a consumer was attached. The cards were distributed to apartments by special “authorized people”, in the cards there was written the amount of bread according to the number of family members. In the shops of Kostroma, bread was sold almost entirely according to the card system, the norm of bread was 600 g, and in some shops – 700–800 g. Free sale of bread (without cards) was carried out only in two shops, where a ton of baked bread was delivered, which was about 1 % of its daily sales (RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 889, pp. 91, 92).

Despite strict measures taken by the authorities, neither queues at shops nor buying and reselling of goods could be overcome. The resolution of the Soviet People’s Committee of the USSR “On Fighting Queues for Food Products in the Cities of Moscow and Leningrad” was extended to other cities of the country, including Kyiv, Kharkiv, Stalino, Voroshylovgrad, Odesa, and later – to Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovsk, Mykolayiv, Poltava, Chernihiv and many other cities throughout the Soviet Union. In July of 1940, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party(b) adopted a decision “On the Fight against Speculation in Moscow”, which provided for the application of additional, even tougher measures (see: Document No. 6). People who were detained twice or more for buying or reselling goods in Moscow were subject to arrest; cases of people arrested for speculation were considered at the Special Meeting of the NKVD of the USSR (RSASPH, f. 17, d. 3, c. 1020, p. 36; c. 1022, p. 148; Baran, 2014, pp. 267–292).

Korolyev and Tsaryev, the employees of Volsky city planning department (Saratov region) wrote to the deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Volsky constituency A. [Andrei] Vyshynsky about long queues for bread – both in the city and at factories. They wrote about the queues, which had been gathering since two or three o'clock in the morning, and people stood in them until the morning. “That is, people stand for 7 – 8 hours in 35 – 40 [degrees] below zero. Along with the adult population, there are also children in the queues”. At the same time, almost half of the bread on sale was high-grade bread at the price of 1 krb 50 kopicks, 2 krb 70 kopicks and more expensive per kilogramme (the price of rye bread was lower than 1 krb). “A large part of the population does not have the opportunity to buy this bread, because a worker with an average monthly salary of 200 – 250 krb and a family of 4 – 5 people cannot afford buying this bread”. In addition, in the letter it was stated that “there are no cereals, flour and other types of food in the trading network” (Sovetskaya povsednevnost i massovoe soznanie, 2003, p. 161).

**The Conclusion.** Owing to the measures taken in the first half of 1941, it was possible to somewhat improve provision of population in some cities and districts, for example, Lviv (Baran & Tokarskyi, 2009, pp. 83–86). However, the Soviet government could never get rid of queues, shortages, low quality products and other fundamental vices of a directive, tightly centralized economy (Kulchytskyi, 2021, pp. 167–185). As before, the norms for selling goods to one hands, determined by the Soviet People’s Committee of the USSR, were in effect (see: Document No. 8). During the period of the 1930s, a tendency to reduce these norms was clearly visible, because in the economic policy of the Stalinist regime the chief focus was on promotion of heavy industry, each time neglecting the development issues of light and food industries. A significant disproportion in the development of Group A industry (manufacturing of production means) and Group B (production of consumer goods) became a distinctive feature of the Soviet economy, which negatively affected the supply of food and industrial goods to the population, and a general standard of living of the citizens of the USSR.

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The publication presents a selection of documents from the funds of the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (the former central party archive, in particular in 1956 – 1991 it was called the Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU; in 1991 – 1999 it was called the Russian Centre for storage and study of documents of recent history; since 1999 – a modern name).

The selection includes documents from Fund 17 – Central Committee of the CPSU, descriptions: 3 – Minutes of meetings of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b); 117 – Materials for the minutes of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b), as well as Fund 82 – V. Molotov, Description 2.

The texts of the documents are submitted without any corrections. The publication preserves the spelling and punctuation of the originals.

## **Selection of Documents**

### **No. 1**

**Excerpt from a note of the acting head of the trade and cooperation group of the Soviet Control Commission under the USSR Central Committee<sup>1</sup> S. Krylov to S. Kosior, head of the CRC under the USSR Central Committee, about the results of inspections in Moscow stores on the night of April 1 – 2 and the morning of April 2, 1938  
April 3, 1938**

Центральный Универмаг НКТорга СССР<sup>2</sup> (ЦУМ).

Очереди у магазина начали собираться, примерно, с 6-ти часов утра. К 8 часам очередь на тротуарах вдоль магазина охватывала почти весь квартал (Петровка, Кузнецкий мост, Неглинная, Театральный проезд), оцепленный милиционерами. С 9 часов начала выстраиваться дополнительная очередь на мостовой возле Малого Театра. Кроме того, несколько тысяч человек собрались кучками на углах примыкающих к Универмагу улиц.

Впуск покупателей в Универмаг начался с 8 ч. 40 мин. Через два входа: с Неглинной и с Кузнецкого моста. Несмотря на усиленный наряд милиции до 200 человек во главе с зам. нач. Гормилиции т. Орловым и наличие 150 дежуривших на улице работников Универмага, в момент открытия дверей толпы людей, стоявших на мостовых и на противоположных тротуарах, ринулись к дверям, сбили очередь и цепь милиционеров. У дверей началась давка, крики, плач женщин. В сутолоке люди теряли шапки, платки, галоши, сумки. Трамвайное движение на Неглинной, троллейбус и автобус по Кузнецкому мосту и Петровке остановились. Часть людей выбежала из очередей из боязни быть задавленными. Фактически, в момент впуска, не милиция и не администрация регулировали впуск покупателей при входе, а группы хулиганов и спекулянтов, орудовавших локтями, кулаками и криком.

По подсчетам милиции, к открытию Универмага вокруг него в очередях на мостовой и на тротуарах собралось примерно до 20 тыс. человек. [...]

Несмотря на попытки администрации Универмага упорядочить торговлю промтоварами, внутри магазина с самого утра невообразимый хаос; покупатели густой массой запрудили все здание, лестницы и особенно первый этаж, где продается хлопчатка. Доступ в другие отделы Универмага почти недоступен.

При скоплении внутри магазина такой массы людей какой-нибудь несчастный случай – замыкание проводов, пожар, обвал потолка или провокационная вражеская или хулиганская выходка – несомненно приведут к катастрофе со многими человеческими жертвами.

Вылавливание спекулянтов в Универмаге, по заявлению администрации, прекращено милицией с начала марта. Дежурившие в Универмаге работники милиции ведут борьбу лишь с кражами и хулиганством. [...]

*Source:* The Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History, f. 82, d. 2, c. 686, pp. 3, 4.

**No. 2**

**Excerpt from the message of the commissioners of the State Bank of the USSR  
for Western Ukraine Kochenbara and Western Belarus Naumenko  
“On the State of Trade in the Western Regions of Ukraine and Belarus”**

**December of 1939**

**II. По западной Украине.**

Состояние товарооборота в Западных областях Украины совершенно неудовлетворительное, основная масса частных магазинов закрыта.

Организована кооперативная сеть, значительно расширившаяся по сравнению с довоенным временем, например во Львове в 9 раз она не перекрывает убыль других торговых предприятий.

Совершенно недостаточно развернута государственная торговля, количество государственных магазинов исчисляется, буквально, единицами.

Облторготделом с 15 декабря открыто 5 торговых единиц, торгующих продуктами: сахаром, кондитерскими изделиями, кофе, чаем, вином, водкой. Кооперативы торгуют крупой, хлебом, кондитерскими изделиями, овощами, спичками, солью.

Оборот одного кооперативного магазина в среднем 300–350 руб. в день. Торготделы очень слабо осведомлены о состоянии торговли и очень плохо организуют это дело. Во Львове Облторготдел, Гортторготдел не в курсе хода разверстывания товарооборота и не имеют сведений об удельном весе госторговли в общем товарообороте. В Дрогобычской области<sup>3</sup> еще нет торготдела. Отдельные конторы оценивают удельный вес госторговли и кооперации в размере 20–30 % (цифры эти очень приблизительные).

Государственные и кооперативные организации совершенно не торгуют промтоварами. Большинство частных магазинов торговавших промтоварами национализированы: товары стянутые на базы организаций НКТорга в продажу не выпускаются, впредь до установления цен.

Вся торговля промтоварами фактически сосредоточена в руках спекулянтов и продажа идет с рук.

По данным четырех областей Западной Украины, на складах НКТорга имеется национализированных товаров на сумму около 20 млн рублей в довоенных ценах.

К числу достаточных следует отнести: овощи, крупу ячменную, и в некоторых областях колбасные изделия. Совершенно недостаточно сахара, крупяных и мучных изделий, муки, водки, табака, махорки, спичек, растительного масла, мыла хозяйственного, соды питьевой и стиральной, сельдей и консервных изделий.

Во Львове кооперативные организации отпускают в одни руки не больше 250 грамм сахара. Имеются случаи, когда вместе с сахаром продается принудительный ассортимент в виде суррогата чая.

Из Тарнополя<sup>4</sup> сообщают о полном отсутствии железно-скобяных изделий, подков, гвоздей, последнее создает затруднение с гужевым транспортом. Из Тарнополя-же сообщают об отсутствии мебельных кустарных изделий, в связи с тем, что кустари прекратили работать, а организация промысловой кооперации проходит медленно.

Из Ровно сообщают о прекращении подвоза крестьянами сельскохозяйственных продуктов на рынок, в связи с тем, что в городе не организована встречная торговля промтоварами. Почти из всех областей сообщают о значительных перебоях в торговле хлебом. Так, например: в Перемышле выдают хлеб только коллективам.

Цены на товары в государственной и кооперативной торговле держатся на уровне близком к довоенному. По существу регулированием цен никто не занимается.

Из областей сообщают, что твердых цен нет, и что в кооперативной торговле существуют расценки против довоенных цен примерно на 25 %. Товары, завозимые в Западную Украину продаются по общеустановленным ценам для других районов СССР, однако, этих товаров недостаточно.

В связи с очень ограниченным завозом товаров, государственной и кооперативной сетью завозятся, главным образом, товары местного производства и в связи с тем, что государственная и кооперативная торговля далеко не удовлетворяет спроса населения, цены на частных рынках резко возросли не только после довоенного уровня, но и по сравнению с ценами на 1-ю декаду декабря.

*Source:* RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 686, pp. 28–30.

No. 3

**Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR "On Getting Rid of Queues for Food Products in the Cities of Moscow and Leningrad", approved by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b)**

**January of 1940**

Совет Народных Комиссаров Союза ССР ПОСТАНОВЛЯЕТ:

1. Предложить органам милиции не допускать образования очередей до открытия продовольственных магазинов.

Разрешить органам милиции лиц, приезжающих в Москву для скупки продовольственных товаров, нарушающих общественный порядок и создающих очереди, привлекать к административной ответственности, штрафуя на месте в размере до 100 рублей, в особо злостных случаях привлекать к уголовной ответственности по 73-й статье УК РСФСР<sup>5</sup>.

2. В целях борьбы со скупкой продовольственных товаров разрешить органам милиции у всех лиц, закупающих продтовары свыше установленных норм отпуска в одни руки, отбирать излишек товара сверх нормы с возвратом по стоимости.

В случаях закупки продтоваров одним лицом в количестве, более чем вдвое превышающем норму отпуска в одни руки, разрешить органам милиции, кроме отобрания излишка товара против нормы, налагать на месте штраф до 100 рублей.

Лиц, неоднократно подвергнутых штрафу за скупку товаров сверх нормы и несмотря на это продолжающих такие закупки, привлекать к уголовной ответственности по ст. 105 УК РСФСР<sup>6</sup>. Лиц, закупающих продовольственные товары с целью перепродажи, привлекать к уголовной ответственности за спекуляцию по ст. 107 УК РСФСР<sup>7</sup>.

3. Предложить Наркомюсту СССР<sup>8</sup> обеспечить рассмотрение народными судами г.г. Москвы и Ленинграда дел о спекуляции и незаконной скупке продовольственных товаров в 5-дневный срок по поступлению дел в суд.

Обязать органы Прокуратуры рассматривать указанные дела немедленно.

4. Обязать органы Суда и Прокуратуры провести показательные процессы над злостными спекулянтами продовольственными товарами с опубликованием материалов в печати.

5. Обязать Наркомторг СССР, Московский городской и Ленинградский городской исполнительные комитеты проверить и упорядочить работу торговой инспекции, пресекая злоупотребления со стороны работников торговли, а органам милиции усилить работу по выявлению и привлечению к административной и уголовной ответственности работников торговли, допускающих сделки со скупщиками и спекулянтами и нарушающих установленные нормы отпуска продовольственных товаров в одни руки.

6. Совнаркому РСФСР<sup>9</sup> обязать исполкомы областей, прилегающих к г.г. Москве и Ленинграду, предупредить председателей и секретарей сельских советов и колхозов о недопустимости выдачи населению всякого рода справок и документов для поездки в г.г. Москву и Ленинград с целью закупки продовольственных товаров.

7. Предложить НКВД<sup>10</sup>, совместно с НКПС<sup>11</sup>, принять меры, затрудняющие выезд населения в г. Москву и г. Ленинград из некоторых местностей, откуда имеет место большой приток скупщиков продуктов.

8. Предложить Отделу Торговли гор. Москвы упорядочить планирование и распределение фондов продовольственных товаров по торговым точкам районов, учитывая населенность каждого района.

*Source:* RSASPH, f. 17, d. 3, c. 1018, pp. 113, 114.



**No. 4**

**A note of L. Beria, the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR,  
to V. Molotov, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR,  
on the state of providing the western regions of Ukraine with food and industrial goods  
February 25, 1940**

По дополнительному сообщению Управлений НКВД Западных областей Украинской ССР, положение со снабжением населения Западных областей Украинской ССР по ряду продовольственных и промышленных товаров продолжает оставаться напряженным.

Большие перебои наблюдаются в торговле сахаром, солью, керосином, мылом, спичками в Тернопольской, Волынской, Дрогобычской, Львовской и Ровенской областях.

В Волынской области в январе 1940 года, вместо запланированных 600 тонн сахара, получено только 250 тонн; мыла вместо 180 тонн получено 52 тонны. Из занаряженных для города Луцка на первый квартал 1940 года 1.700 тонн керосина, получено только 526 тонн.

В Дрогобычской области в январе 1940 года план завоза сахара выполнен только на 41 %. Отдельные районы, области совершенно не получили в январе 1940 года сахара, соли, спичек и керосина.

В Ровенской области на 1-й квартал 1940 года Потребсоюзом<sup>12</sup> решено было отпустить: соли – 3.040 тонн, фактически же поступило 609 тонн; спичек – 4.050 ящиков, но до сих пор ничего не получено; керосина – 1.250 тонн, поступило же 320 тонн.

В сельских местностях Ровенской области совершенно нет в продаже спичек и мыла.

В Львовской области в сутки продается 10 тонн сахара, тогда как потребность его составляет 40 тонн. В государственных магазинах отсутствует в продаже мясо. На базах области нет достаточных запасов керосина и спичек. При месячной потребности в 850 тонн керосина, имеется запас только в 30 тонн. Спичек имеется всего 3-х дневный запас, при суточной потребности в 120–130 ящиков.

В Станиславовской области, в результате принятия мер, положение со снабжением населения продовольственными товарами несколько улучшилось, однако недостает жиров и промтоваров.

Облпотребсоюз в феврале месяце 1940 года должен был поставить Станиславовскому Госторгу 8,2 тонны животного масла, на 20 февраля сдал только 1,2 тонны; за это же время растительного масла вместо 10 тонн сдано только 4 тонны.

Выделенные на 1-й квартал 1940 года для Станиславовской области промышленные товары на сумму 6.955 тысяч рублей, до сего времени из-за отсутствия вагонов не завезены.

Подвоз сельским населением продуктов питания на городские рынки производится слабо. Рыночные цены на продукты продолжают оставаться высокими. Спекулятивный элемент пытается вздуть цены на товары.

В Дрогобычской области рыночная цена 1 кг. мяса равна 35–40 рублям, 1 кг. сливочного масла – 80–90 руб.; в Волынской области – 1 кг. сахара стоит 40 рублей, 1 кг. соли – 30 рублей, 1 кг. мыла – 35–40 рублей, 1 литр керосина – 2–3 рубля, 1 куб. метр дров 200–250 рублей; в Львовской области цена 1 кг. мыла доходит до 120 рублей; в Ровенской области 1 катушка ниток – до 25 рублей.

Напряженное положение со снабжением населения имеет место и в западных областях Белорусской ССР. [...]

*Source:* RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 688, pp. 37–40.

## No. 5

Report note of V. Merkulov, the Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, to A. [Andrei] Andreyev<sup>13</sup>, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b)

June 14, 1940

По сообщению УНКВД Ярославской, Калининской областей и НКВД Марийской АССР, в связи с перебоями в торговле продовольственными товарами, торгующие организации системы Наркомторга и Центросоюза, допускают извращения принципов советской торговли.

Постановление Экономического Совета при СНК СССР от 1/ХІІ – 39 г. «О порядке торговли хлебом», разрешающее в сельской местности производить торговлю хлебом через столовые и буфеты, нарушается.

Большинство торгующих организаций в сельской местности работу продуктовых магазинов перевели на закрытую форму торговли.

В ряде городов и районов, указанных областей введена карточная система, предварительные заказы по доставке хлеба на лом с прикреплением населения к определенным магазинам и ограничением нормы отпуска хлеба.

Так, в городе Костроме Ярославской области с санкции секретаря ГК<sup>14</sup> ВКП(б) тов. Ишанова в торговле хлебом введена карточная система с прикреплением населения к определенным магазинам и с ограничением нормы отпуска хлеба (500 грамм на человека).

В городе Солигаличе снабжение населения продовольственными товарами, организовано через буфеты учреждений, при чем значительная часть населения снабжением не охвачена.

Работники Мышкинского РК<sup>15</sup> ВКП(б) вместо борьбы с нарушением принципов советской торговли, сами ввели выдачу у себя в аппарате талонов на отпуск прод. товаров.

В городе Нерехта, по указанию РК ВКП(б) один из магазинов города перевели на закрытую систему торговли, для пассива.

В городе Бежецке Калининской области до последнего времени хлеб населению доставлялся на дом по количеству членов семьи с дополнительным взиманием за доставку по 5 копеек за килограмм. В настоящее время Горисполком эту практику отменил и дал указания торгующим организациям раскрепить население города к магазинам по территориальному признаку. Каждый магазин имеет списки прикрепленных с указанием количества членов семьи, по которым отпускают хлеб. При отсутствии справки домоуправления о количестве членов семьи, дирекция магазина в списки не включает.

В городе Красном Холме торговля хлебом производится по организациям, согласно составленным заранее списков. Работники нарсуда, прокуратуры, отделений Госбанка и связи хлеб получают в помещении Нарсуда. В артелях инвалидов «Труженик» хлеб продается в красном уголке.

В Луковниковском районе, поступивший для открытой торговли сахарный песок, продавался в помещении Районного Комитета ВКП(б) для узкого круга районных работников и служащих райорганизаций.

В Оленинском районе по распоряжению секретаря РК ВКП(б) Сидорова производилась торговля сахарным песком в помещении РК ВКП(б) для слушателей лекций по истории ВКП(б).

В Марийской АССР торговля хлебом производится путем прикрепления населения к определенным магазинам, с обязательным представлением в торговую организацию справок домоуправлений о количестве членов семьи. На основании этой справки торговая точка заводит бланк-заказ на имя потребителя, который по этому документу получает ежедневно определенную норму хлеба.

Source: RSASPH, f. 17, d. 117, c. 119, pp. 68–70.

**No. 6**

**Resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b)  
“On the Fight against Speculation in Moscow”**

**July 5, 1940**

Для усиления борьбы со спекуляцией промышленными и продовольственными товарами в гор. Москве дополнительно провести следующие мероприятия:

1. Лиц, задерживаемых органами милиции два и больше раз за скупку или перепродажу продовольственных и промышленных товаров в гор. Москве, арестовывать.

2. Аресту подвергать также лиц, прибывающих в гор. Москву из других городов и областей СССР, уличенных в скупке продовольственных и промышленных товаров в спекулятивных целях.

3. Арестовывать лиц, занимающихся скупкой и перепродажей промышленных и продовольственных товаров, прикрывающих свою спекулятивную деятельность работой в советских учреждениях и колхозах.

4. Дела на лиц, арестованных за скупку и перепродажу продовольственных и промышленных товаров, рассматривать на Особом Совещании НКВД СССР<sup>16</sup>.

*Source:* RSASPH, f. 17, d. 3, c. 1025, p. 22.

**No. 7**

**Excerpt from the Memorandum of the People’s Commissar of State Control  
of the USSR L. Mekhlis<sup>17</sup> to the head of the USSR National Academy of Sciences  
V. Molotov about the facts of abuse and waste of industrial goods by the leadership  
of the Committee on Geology at the USSR<sup>18</sup> National Academy of Sciences**

**October 29, 1940**

Всего в 1940 году Управлением Делами Комитета было выдано 78 пар обуви, 931 предмет белья и 123 метра шерстяных тканей. [...]

Доплата в столовых за обеды руководящих работников незаконно производилась в повышенном размере: вместо допустимых 80 рублей, доплачивалось по 100 и 121 р. 70 коп. в месяц<sup>19</sup>. Главный бухгалтер отдела снабжения МИХЕЛЕВ незаконно получил пособие 1000 рублей при отсутствии фонда премирования. [...]

По системе Комитета по Делах Геологии за первое полугодие смета по административно-управленческим расходам перерасходована на 433 тыс. руб. (5,9 проц.). [...]

*Source:* RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 681, pp. 33, 34.

**No. 8**  
**Extract from the certificate on the norms of selling food and some industrial goods**  
**(in kg) per person**

**October of 1940**

Наименование товаров	Год					Предлагаемые с 20 октября 1940 г.
	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	
Мясо всех видов и птица	2	2	2	2	1	0,5
Колбаса и копчености	2	2	2	2	0,5	0,4
Консервы (банок)	3	-	-	-	2	1
Рыба	3	3	3	3	1	1
Рыбопродукты	2	2	2	2	1	1
Масло животное	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,2	0,1
Маргарин	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,2	0,2
Масло растительное	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,4
Сыр	-	-	-	-	0,2	0,2
Яйца (штук)	-	-	-	-	-	5
Сахар	-	-	2	2	1	0,5
Чай	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,05	0,05
Хлеб печеный	2	2	2	2	2	1
Макаронные изделия	-	2	2	2	1	1
Крупа	-	2	2	2	1	1
Соль в городах	-	-	-	1	1	1
Соль в сельских местностях	-	-	-	-	3	3
Мука в городах	1	16	16	4	4	1
Мука в сельских местнос	-	-	-	8	8	4
Мыло хозяйствен. (шт.)	-	-	2	2	2	1
Мыло туалетное (шт.)	-	-	-	1	1	1

*Source: RSASPH, f. 82, d. 2, c. 686, pp. 36, 37.*

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> On February 11, 1934 the Soviet Control Commission under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR was established to replace the People's Commissariat of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the USSR. The heads of the commission were V. Kuibyshev, M. Antipov (repressed), S. Kosior (repressed), Z. Bielenky (repressed), R. Zemliachka.

<sup>2</sup> The People's Commissariat of Trade of the USSR was created on January 15, 1938 as a result of the renaming of the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade of the USSR. The People's Commissariat was headed by M. Smirnov (repressed), O. [Aleksandr] Liubymov.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of December 4, 1939, Volyn, Drohobych, Lviv, Rivne, Stanislav, and Tarnopol regions were created as part of the Ukrainian SSR.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR dated August 9, 1944 on clarifying the names of a number of cities in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR, the city of Tarnopol was named Ternopil (respectively – Ternopil region).

<sup>5</sup> Art. 73 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR provided punishment for resistance of citizens to representatives of the authorities: resistance connected with violence – deprivation of liberty for a term of not less than one year; not related to violence – imprisonment or correctional labour for a term of up to six months or a fine of up to 500 kr.

<sup>6</sup> Art. 105 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR provided punishment for violation of the rules governing trade: if they do not specifically provide for prosecution in an administrative order, – correctional labour for a term of up to one year or a fine of up to 2 thousand krb.; if committed by a person who was a member of the authorities bodies of a cooperative or credit institution, – correctional labour for a term of up to six months or a fine of up to 500 krb.

<sup>7</sup> Art. 107 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR provided for punishment for the purchase and resale by private individuals for the purpose of profit (speculation) of agricultural products and items of mass consumption – imprisonment for a term of not less than five years, with full or partial confiscation of property.

<sup>8</sup> The People's Commissariat of Justice of the USSR was created on July 20, 1936. It was headed by M. Krylenko and M. Rychkov.

<sup>9</sup> The Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR – the government of Soviet Russia in 1917 – 1946. The heads of the governments were V. Lenin, O. [Alexei] Rykov, S. Syrtsov, D. Sulimov, M. Bulhanin, V. Vakhrushev, I. Khokhlov, K. Pamfilov, O. [Alexei] Kosyhin.

<sup>10</sup> The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR was created on July 10, 1934. It was headed by H. Yahoda (repressed), M. Yezhov (repressed), L. Beria (arrested and executed after Stalin's death), S. Kruhlov.

<sup>11</sup> The People's Commissariat of Communications of the USSR was created on July 6, 1923. It was headed by F. Dzerzhynsky, Ya. Rudzutak, M. Ruhymovych, A. [Andrei] Andreyev, L. Kahanovych, O. Bakulin, A. [Andrei] Khruliov, I. Kovaliev.

<sup>12</sup> Union of Consumer Societies, Body of Consumer Cooperation. During the period under analysis, the central body of consumer cooperatives of the USSR was called the Central Union of Consumer Societies of the USSR (Central Union), in the Ukrainian SSR – the Ukrainian Union of Consumer Cooperative Organizations (Ukoopspilka). At local places, the governing bodies of consumer cooperative were regional and district consumer unions, respectively. In the second half of the 1930s, the consumer cooperative served only villagers.

<sup>13</sup> During the indicated period of time, A. [Andrei] Andreyev simultaneously held the positions of secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party(b) (1935–1946), chairman of the Party Control Commission under the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party(b) (1939 – 1952), and chairman of the Union Council of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1938 – 1946).

<sup>14</sup> CC – city committee.

<sup>15</sup> DC – district committee.

<sup>16</sup> A repressive body of the Stalinist regime that operated under the NKVD of the USSR in 1934–1946, and under the Ministry of State Security of the USSR in 1946 – 1953. Sentences were formulated without court decision.

<sup>17</sup> The People's Commissariat of State Control of the USSR was created on September 6, 1940, in place of the Commission of Soviet Control under the USSR Central Committee. The People's Commissariat was headed by L. Mekhlis and V. Popov.

<sup>18</sup> The Committee for Geological Affairs at the USSR Academy of Sciences functioned in 1939 – 1946. It was headed by I. Malyshev.



<sup>19</sup> For comparison: according to official data, the average salary of workers and employees of the USSR as a whole in the national economy was 339 krb. in 1940, and 357 krb. per month in 1941.

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**Oleksiy HONCHARENKO**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Professor of the Department of Theory and Methods of Technological Education and Computer Graphics, Hryhorii Skovoroda University in Pereiaslav, 30 V. Suhomlynskyi Street, Pereiaslav, Kyiv Region, Ukraine, postal code 08401 (oleksijghoncharenko@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-8882-6397

**ResearcherID:** AAC-1919-2020

**Alina IVANENKO**

*PhD hab. (History), Associate Professor of the Department of Law, Philosophy and Political Science, T. H. Shevchenko National University “Chernihiv Colehium”, 53 Hetman Polubotko Street, Chernihiv, Ukraine, postal code 14013 (alina.a.ivanenko@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-9303-7395

**ResearcherID:** V-9056-2018

**Олексій ГОНЧАРЕНКО**

*доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри теорії і методики технологічної освіти та комп'ютерної графіки, Університет Григорія Сковороди в Переяславі, вул. Сухомлинського, 30, м. Переяслав, Київська обл., Україна, індекс 08401 (oleksijghoncharenko@gmail.com)*

**Аліна ІВАНЕНКО**

*докторка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри права, філософії та політології Національного університету “Чернігівський колегіум” імені Т. Г. Шевченка, вул. Гетьмана Полуботка 53, Чернігів, Україна, індекс 14013 (alina.a.ivanenko@gmail.com)*

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**RECEPTION OF THE HOLODOMOR OF 1932 – 1933 IN THE PRACTICE  
OF THE NAZI OCCUPATION REGIME IN UKRAINE AS A MEANS  
OF FORMING THE MODEL OF HISTORICAL MEMORY**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the materials of the occupation periodicals, as well as the institutions of the German occupation administration's practice activities in Ukraine regarding the use of the facts of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as a tool of propaganda influence and a means of forming a new model of historical memory of the Ukrainians. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematic analysis, objectivity and complexity, general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, methods of historical science and source*

studies, theoretical developments of modern research on propaganda and propaganda operations, the corresponding conceptual and categorical apparatus. **The scientific novelty** is determined by the attempt to form the author's concept of the Nazi propaganda's influence regarding the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 on the Ukrainians' historical memory formation, their denial of the imperial ambitions of the Russian imperialism. **The Conclusion.** In the occupied Ukrainian lands the Nazi policy was based on the intensive ideological support, which used the theme of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as one of large-scale crimes of the Stalinist regime in order to implement a new model of historical memory in the mass consciousness of the Ukrainian society. The Ukrainian society found out the true scale of this tragedy owing to the propagandistic inspirations of the German authorities. In general, the Nazi propaganda blamed the Soviet government and its main socio-political support – the Jews, in particular, for organizing the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933. The German propaganda, based on the methods of suggestion, persuasion and argumentation, using true (in the case of the Holodomor) material, led to a certain deformation of the legal consciousness of the Ukrainians, the specific manifestations of which were legal conformism, legal nihilism and reborn legal consciousness. The collective historical memory of the Ukrainians, which was not completely destroyed by the Soviet authorities, the core of which was the Russian imperialism rejection in all its forms and manifestations, and the narrative of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, formed by the German propaganda, manifested itself quite clearly during the period when Ukraine regained its independence.

**Key words:** Nazi occupation, propaganda, propaganda operation, Holodomor, Holocaust, historical memory, memory space, conformism, nihilism, legal consciousness.

## РЕЦЕПЦІЯ ГОЛОДОМОРУ 1932 – 1933 рр. У ПРАКТИЦІ НАЦИСТСЬКОГО ОКУПАЦІЙНОГО РЕЖИМУ В УКРАЇНІ ЯК ЗАСІБ ФОРМУВАННЯ МОДЕЛІ ІСТОРИЧНОЇ ПАМ'ЯТІ

**Анотація.** Метою статті є аналіз матеріалів окупаційної періодики, а також практики діяльності установ німецької окупаційної адміністрації в Україні щодо використання фактів Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. як інструменту пропагандистського впливу й засобу формування нової моделі історичної пам'яті українців. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системного аналізу, об'єктивності та комплексності, загальнонаукових методах аналізу й синтезу, методах історичної науки та джерелознавства, теоретичних напрацюваннях сучасних досліджень пропаганди і пропагандистських операцій, а також відповідному понятійно-категоріальному апараті. **Наукова новизна** визначається спробою формування авторської концепції впливу нацистської пропаганди у частині тематики Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. на формування історичної пам'яті українців, заперечення ними імперських амбіцій російського імперіалізму. **Висновки.** Нацистська політика на окупованих українських землях базувалася на інтенсивному ідеологічному супроводі, що за мету імплементацію у масову свідомість нової для українського суспільства моделі історичної пам'яті використовувала тему Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. як одного із наймасштабніших злочинів сталінського режиму. Саме завдяки пропагандистським інспіраціям німецьких властей українське суспільство дізналося про справжні масштаби цієї трагедії. Провина за організацію Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. покладалася на радянську владу загалом та її головну (у нацистській пропаганді) соціально-політичну опору – євреїв, зокрема. Німецька пропаганда, базуючись на методах навіювання, переконання та аргументації, застосовуючи правдивий (у випадку – Голодомору) матеріал, призвела до певної деформації правосвідомості українців, конкретними проявами якої стали правовий конформізм, правовий нігілізм і переродження правосвідомості. Не повністю знищена радянською владою колективна історична пам'ять українців, серцевиною якої було неприйняття російського імперіалізму в усіх його формах і проявах, та сформований німецькою пропагандою наратив Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. доволі рельєфно проявилися у період відновлення Україною незалежності.

**Ключові слова:** нацистська окупація, пропаганда, пропагандистська операція, Голодомор, Голокост, історична пам'ять, простір пам'яті, конформізм, нігілізм, правосвідомість.

**The Problem Statement.** Historical memory as a set of simplified knowledge and mass ideas about the past, society's reception of shared experience belongs to crucial elements of a social identity formation and is a means of self-identification of certain communities, including the national ones. Individual and collective reception of a particularly tragic past, which, moreover, is within the "horizon" of the space of memory, is actualized at critical moments of the historical process and is able not only to ensure homogeneity and consolidation of society, but also to direct all its potential to defeat the hostile political regime and ideology, the bearers of which historical memory preserves the guilt of committing an act of genocide or other type of mass crimes. We believe that the collective historical memory of the Ukrainian people, which was not completely destroyed by the Soviet government, the core of which was the Russian imperialism rejection by the majority, in all its forms, played an important role in the restoration of Ukraine's independence in 1991.

There are events in the history of every society, the memory of which remains forever in its collective self-consciousness. The Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 was one of these events for the Ukrainians – an unprecedented crime in European history, committed by the top leadership of the Bolshevik government of the USSR against the entire nation. Despite the active opposition of the Soviet totalitarian regime and official denials of the very fact of this national tragedy, the memory of it still remained at the level of individual and collective self-awareness, woven into the mental and spiritual matrix firmly, the very existence of the Ukrainians as an ethnic group. During the Soviet period, this post-genocide memory was unofficial, banned by the authorities, peripheral, but never completely forgotten. At the same time, no matter how paradoxical it sounds, the fact of the Holodomor influenced a mental matrix of a historical memory of the Ukrainians strongly during the extremely tragic and difficult period of World War II and the Nazi occupation. At that time, the Bolshevik occupation power was superseded by the Nazi occupation regime with its administrative formations in Ukraine, the same – no less cruel regime, framed in carefully thought-out organizational and legal forms: the District "Galicien" ("Halychyna"), the Reichskommissariat "Ukraine" and the Military Zone of Occupation. Different scholars analyzed the specifics of the Provisional Military Administration's area of responsibility in separate works (Honcharenko & Potylchak, 2021; Honcharenko, 2022; Honcharenko & Ivanenko, 2023). The Governorate of Transnistria was established on the territory of the southwestern Ukrainian lands and the left bank of the Dniester in modern Moldova, which was under temporary Romanian administration. At the same time, the supreme jurisdiction in this occupation formation belonged to Germany.

It was obvious that the Ukrainian society was in a drastic need of both new models of social organization and a new model of memory space, which their occupiers set out to create and implement in the occupied territories under the new historical conditions. The model of "a new historical memory" was not only supposed to reveal to the Ukrainians their past, to explain the situation in which the society was until now, but also to mark the lines of behaviour in the ambiguous coordinate system of the Nazi occupation regime. At the same time, a specifically managerial logic of influence on the controlled society provided for not only the creation of a new legal system that would regulate the behaviour of the local population, but also certain procedures for the legitimation of the new regime.

It was precisely for the sake of legitimizing the new occupation regime in the Ukrainian society that its administrators were in a drastic need of such a delicate and precise tool as historical memory. It was about some correction of the memory space for the Ukrainians, primarily about its de-Sovietization. The new regime was "just", because it was purely

officially fighting against the Bolsheviks, who actually and repeatedly committed crimes against the Ukrainian people. Hence, the Nazi occupation authorities only had to show it to the local population, and no one had any doubts about the scale of the crimes. It should be noted that the Ukrainians' memory space began to change almost immediately right after the emergence of the new government, and it happened outside the conscious wishes of the occupying authorities, at the initiative of the active national intelligentsia primarily. The authorities offered a new system of values and coordinates of behaviour to the society, tried to prove the cruelty and inhumanity of the Bolshevik regime, based on the historical past, through the broadcasting channels available to it. In the case of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, the factor of time worked for this task, because not much time passed since those tragic years. Hence, the Nazi occupation authorities were in charge of the first widespread informing of the Ukrainian society about the consequences of the Bolshevik crime of genocide.

The propaganda remained a dominant tool for the formation of a new model of memory space for the Ukrainian society in 1941 – 1944 as during the Bolshevik regime. It should be noted that we are not talking about propaganda as a means of solving the tactical tasks of the administration of subdued territories for the time being. The range of tasks of the new government's propaganda activities included the issues of informing local residents, preventing deviant manifestations and observing lawful behaviour from the point of view of the occupiers, forming its conformist model, as well as neutralizing the political and racial enemies of the Third Reich.

In our case, the Nazi propaganda on the occupied territories of Ukraine is considered primarily as a tool for correcting the space of memory, a means of forming a certain memorial practice determined by the ideological and political priorities of the new government.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** Despite the existence of quite a large number of historical narratives devoted to various aspects of the occupation regime of 1941 – 1944, the issue of forming a new model of historical memory of the Ukrainian society during the Nazi occupation remains practically uncovered. It is obvious that the Soviet historians and party ideologues did not even try to polemize in the discourse on the topics of the Bolshevism and Stalinism crimes committed against the Ukrainians in the 1930s, widely promoted in the occupied territories. The image of the communist totalitarian system was not impeccable, hence, in order not to aggravate the situation in the eyes of the world community and its own citizens, complete silence on this issue seemed to be the only “correct” way in Moscow. It is clear that at that time there was no question of reflecting the tragedy of 1932 – 1933 in the historical memory of the Ukrainian people. The historiographical situation in the indicated thematic niche changed nowadays noticeably. We have a fairly wide range of works in which the Nazi propaganda influence on the local population of occupied Ukraine was reconstructed. First of all, the authors of these studies were scholars, who studied the German information space during the period of 1941 – 1944 – O. Lysenko (Lysenko, 2011), T. Zabolotna (Zabolotna, 2008), M. Mykhailiuk (Mykhailiuk & Nesterenko, 2006), D. Tytarenko (Tytarenko, 2002), K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2010), V. Nesterenko (Nesterenko, 2005). There was a significant group of works in which the subject of research was the Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda. As a rule, the above-mentioned studies, related to the general principles and main directions of the Nazi propaganda in the occupied territory. The majority of these authors believed that the effectiveness of the German propaganda was at a low level, because it contradicted the realities of the occupation regime. In our opinion, the Candidate's thesis, written by K. Dolhoruchenko was the only work that dealt with adequate



consequences of the Nazi propaganda on the local society of Ukraine as it covered the relevant activities of the “Vineta” special department. Thus, analyzing the effectiveness of the activity of this propaganda structure, the author of the work used methods and criteria on the basis of which it was generally possible to analyze this line of work of the occupation authorities. K. Dolhoruchenko, was not as unequivocal in her analysis as other researchers of this issue. There was a thesis about significant shortcomings in her research, primarily related to the inconsistency of propaganda with a real political and social situation in the country. It was as a “tribute” to the modern historiographical tradition, but, nevertheless, the scholar claimed that active propaganda became an effective a way of (de)forming public consciousness and behaviour, as it was convincing, informative, credible and reasoned (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, pp. 188, 199, 200).

According to the language of lawyers, the scholars don't pay much attention to the objective side of this issue. After all, neither the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 nor the Great Terror of 1937 – 1938, as well as other numerous crimes of the Bolshevik regime, were the fantasies' product of the employees of J. Goebbels' department. Those crimes were a terrible reality that the Soviet authorities hid from their own people, and the Nazi propaganda used it to fight against its political and ideological antipode. Hence, the publication of information content about the crimes of the Bolsheviks by the Nazi propagandists also had objective consequences, despite the specific goals of its distributors (anti-Bolshevism and anti-Semitism). And this was not so much informing about the fact of the Holodomor (few Ukrainians doubted this), but the fixation of this fact itself in the public discourse, which was the first step towards consolidating and legitimizing the concept of the Holodomor crime in the mass consciousness and collective memory of the people, ultimately a step to the formation of a new model of the historical memory of the Ukrainians.

**The Methodology of the Research.** Taking into account the state of scientific study of the issue on the Nazi propaganda influence in Ukraine in 1941 – 1944, **the purpose of the article** is to analyze the materials of occupation periodicals, as well as the institutions of the German occupation administration's practice activities in Ukraine regarding the use of the facts of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as a tool of propaganda influence and a means of formation a new model of historical memory of the Ukrainians.

**The Results of the Research.** As you know, the leading countries of the world, having a sufficient amount of information about the crimes of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine, in particular about the Holodomor organized by them, were in no hurry to announce these facts. At the same time, the leadership of Germany was perhaps the first among the leaders of the great powers of the world to recognize the de facto Bolshevik crime of the Holodomor in Ukraine. It is obvious that, it was done not out of sympathy for the suffering people, but rather to discredit their political opponents, as always in “big politics”. And as history showed, during the war with the Soviet Union the top of the Nazi Third Reich used the issue of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine primarily as an informational excuse for criticizing the ideology and practice of Bolshevism – its political antipode and main rival in the global military and political conflict for the achievement of world domination.

The Nazi occupation of Ukraine presented our people with a kind of moral choice: on the one hand, the claims of the Nazi propagandists that the Third Reich brought freedom to Ukraine turned out to be false, and on the other hand, the local society was introduced to the actions of the Soviet occupying forces, which were no less criminal than those of the Nazi regime that took place during the period of 1918 – 1941. At the same time, the Nazis

characterized the entire political line of the Soviet regime towards the Ukrainian people as criminal. In fact, the local population found itself between two totalitarian systems, because both sides of the geopolitical armed confrontation fought for influence over the population of occupied Ukraine, seeking to gain its support. Both the Soviet and the Nazi regimes built their own, diametrically opposed models of the historical memory of the Ukrainians. The very policy of the Soviet government towards the Ukrainian people was called criminal (*Zlochyny bilshovykiv shchodo ukrainskoho narodu. Holos Dnipra. 1941. 30 veresnia*). In fact, the local population found itself between two totalitarian regimes, the struggle between which was at its peak. Striving for the population support of occupied Ukraine, both totalitarian powers competed for influence over it. At the same time, both Stalinism and Hitlerism built their own, diametrically opposed in content but similar in character, models of memory space for the Ukrainians.

Focusing on the Ukrainian society under occupation, the anti-Soviet messages were quite effective in subjugating the natural desire of the Ukrainians to reclaim their historical memory as a condition for the future of the nation. This task was achieved due to the creation of a network of regional and local, mainly the Ukrainian-language, periodicals. From the point of view of the Nazi propagandists, it was the press that had to act as a public mediator for the Ukrainians “to remember” and reinterpret the dramatic and tragic pages of their Soviet past.

In periodicals, numerous materials on the historical subjects were published and they covered different times: from ancient times to the events of the 20th century. And one of the central themes, which was used actively and fully in the propaganda activities and practical work of the Hitlerite occupation administrations in the district “Galicien” (“Halychyna”), the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” and the military zone of occupation was the theme of the most terrible crime of Stalinism in Ukraine – the artificial famine of 1932 – 1933 organized by the Bolshevik leadership of the USSR. This informational excuse simply could not remain unnoticed by either the Nazi propagandists or the occupation administrators. Both the former and the latter perfectly understood that the moral and psychological influence caused by the wide publicity of the facts of this recent crime of Bolshevism could objectively contribute to the disposition of the local Ukrainian population against the Soviet government and the former party and economic functionaries, a significant part of whom could not evacuate and remained in occupation. The hopes of the Nazis to neutralize in this way the future Opir (Resistance) Movement, the population’s opposition to the occupation policy, as well as to contribute to “a final solution of the Jewish issue” were crucial motives for publicizing the facts about the Holodomor.

The fact that the truth about the Holodomor was heard in the German-occupied Ukraine can be partly seen as a journalistic, initial stage of the formation of the corresponding historiographical tradition. The fact is that together with the Wehrmacht, the structures of the OUN of both directions entered Ukraine, and the Western Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian political emigration did have information about the events in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933. Numerous nationally conscious Ukrainians, natives and residents of the western regions of the country, joined the journalist teams of the occupation periodicals in the east. The editorial team also included a part of the local intelligentsia – these were people, who knew about the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 not from stories, but from their own life experience. The goals and the objectives of the occupation administrators and nationalists coincided in this segment of the reconstruction of the truth about the life of Ukrainians in the USSR. After the administrators and nationalists were removed from the editorial offices of the periodicals, and

in some cases their physical liquidation, as happened for example with the editorial office of the “Ukrainske Slovo” (Kyiv), informational content about the Holodomor still continued to be heard in the materials of the occupation press. The Nazi propaganda exploited the above-mentioned topic actively and widely.

Despite the administrative partition of Ukraine by the Nazis and the creation of several occupation zones on its territory, stories about the Holodomor were one of the key in the topic of the press propaganda materials not only in the RKU or in the east of Ukraine under the control of the military authorities, but also in Galicia – on the lands that on September 1, 1939, were part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and whose Ukrainian population was not subjected to the Bolshevik torture by starvation. It should be mentioned that only the content of the publications differed to a certain extent: in the eastern Ukraine it sometimes relied on local material, and then Galicia’s periodicals reprinted mostly articles published by the press of the RKU or the military zone. At the same time, people were frequently reminded about the recent bitter experience of their life in the “Soviet paradise”, about how at one time Western Ukrainians collected aid for “starving brothers from Naddnyprianshchyna”. Hence, the thematic content about the famine of 1932 – 1933 as a crime of the Bolshevik government against the Ukrainian people, spread to the Ukrainian population in all German occupation zones. At the same time, the Holodomor issue became a powerful factor that really motivated and consolidated a part of society on the basis of anti-Bolshevism, and formed a new model of memory space for the Ukrainians for both the Germans and the nationalists.

The search for an effective version of the Nazi propaganda for the occupied territories of Ukraine led to the modification of its main concepts – the anti-Bolshevism and the anti-Semitism and the emergence of a completely new propaganda structure – the so-called “Jewish-Bolshevism”. Thus, as time passed by it was clear that the occupiers received a convenient and, quite efficient propaganda tool, which enabled the new authorities to identify the Jews, communists and workers of the Soviet penal authorities, to accuse them of persecuting the Ukrainian population, and to call themselves the “liberators” from a deadly “Jewish-Bolshevism virus”. According to this logic, all the crimes of the Stalinist regime committed against the Ukrainians were transferred exclusively to the Jews. Thus, the Nazi propagandists used a proven means of manipulating mass public consciousness, individual subconsciousness, and the moral and psychological attitudes of the local population. The occupiers used a similar algorithm to correct the Ukrainians’ memory space and to form a new model of vision of the historical past. Such kind of active use of manipulation and suggestion tools allowed the Nazis to adjust the occupied people’s space of memory in a certain way, to harmonize the model of the Ukrainians’ historical memory with their own propaganda concepts, already existing at the level of individual consciousness and subconsciousness.

In 1941, the Ukrainian society looked deeply demoralized. It happened due to the military defeats of the Red Army and also large-scale social experiments conducted by the Soviet authorities during the entire period of the Bolshevik rule in Ukraine. It took a long time for the “foreign” and occupying power, which in 1918 was brought in with bayonets from the Bolshevik Russia, not least owing to the New Economic Policy and Ukrainization, to be legalized in the eyes of the majority of the Ukrainian society. The subsequent social experiments of the Bolsheviks with tragic consequences, for example, famine terror, waves of deportations and mass repressions, led to fundamental deformations of the Ukrainian society, the field of its memory and, ultimately, to the formation of a new, “Soviet” model, the historical memory of the Ukrainians. At the same time, the individual subconsciousness

continued to preserve stereotypes, one of which was domestic anti-Semitism. A significant social distancing between the Ukrainians and the Jewish community in the UkrSSR contributed to the preservation of this phenomenon in public consciousness. Hence, the Nazi propaganda spread the slogan of the “Jewish-Bolshevism” and it was accepted due to previous propaganda actions. In the summer of 1941, many people blamed the Jews not only for committing the crimes of the Bolshevik regime, but also the military defeat of the Red Army. The presence of such sentiments in the non-public discourse was particularly recorded by the NKVD’s operational reports, based on the results of intelligence work among the population of Kyiv on the eve of the occupation (Vronska, Kentii, Kokin, Lysenko & Smyrnov, 2004).

According to the authors, when determining the background against which the memory space correction processes unfolded, it is necessary to take into account the crisis moral and psychological state of the Ukrainian society during the first weeks and months of “a new order”. The military defeats and the retreat of the Red Army, as well as the first large-scale repressions by the occupation authorities, were factors of influence here. Along with this, the realities of “the total war with Bolshevism” gave grounds to talk about the existence of political, social, moral and psychological prerequisites for the reception of the mass terror of the Nazis by a part of the population of Ukraine not as something extraordinary, apocalyptic and repulsive, but as an ordinary manifestation of war. It does not mean that a certain part of the population (except those who did not perceive the anti-Semitic measures) approved the punishers’ actions completely. The reality was that under the conditions of a direct threat to the life of a specific person in society, as a protective reaction, peculiar behavioral strategies for survival under war conditions were gradually formed: getting used to the Nazi terror, negligence, indifference, inertia and passivity. This mental matrix of the behaviour of yesterday’s Soviet citizens, on which the reality of the wartime was superimposed, was formed by the dramatic and tragic events of the interwar history of Ukraine, which were affected by mass political terror, genocide-famine and repression against real and pretended enemies. They brought in a devaluation of a human life, formed a psychology of collective guilt and responsibility. In addition, the denial of elementary civil rights to the representatives of entire social groups was an everyday phenomenon during the pre-war USSR. But obviously, the Holodomor was the most tragic reminder of the Soviet reality. The tragic events of 1932 – 1933, known and understood by almost every Ukrainian, apparently accumulated the vast majority of the anti-Soviet theses from the columns of the occupation periodicals.

The occupiers’ propaganda impulses, which were aimed at transforming the consciousness of the Ukrainians, were nothing more than an informational and psychological influence. According to the definition, information-psychological influence is the production and dissemination of special information aimed at having a positive or negative impact on the functioning and development of the information-psychological environment of society, the population’s psyche and behaviour, which is directed mainly to the emotional sphere of consciousness. At the same time, the process of reception by the object of informational and psychological influence is quite specific, because only reception and memorization function in it, but comprehension almost does not take place (Saienko, 2015). Despite this, the occupation propaganda also used a mechanism of persuasion, which not only transmitted informational content, but also analyzed it using a system of logical proofs. When applying the mechanism of persuasion, the rational sphere of a person’s consciousness is included, which in turn involves his active participation in the process of cognition. Persuasion is effective if the examples are given based on analogies, evidence, include statements of

famous people, authoritative for the audience, and if they coincide with previously learned opinions and assessments.

K. Dolhoruchenko believed that the Nazi occupation propaganda had all the signs of a permanent information and propaganda operation. The Ukrainian society as a whole was the main focus of the Nazi occupation propaganda; it had a controlled and well-thought-out character. The actual information attack was intended to suppress any manifestations of rational or critical thinking in society. Classic methods of the Nazi propaganda were: assertion and repetition, suppression and distortion of facts, methods of half-truths, destruction of authority, labelling, and demonization of the enemy (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, p. 91). Taking into consideration the above-mentioned set of characteristics, the German propaganda regarding the local population of occupied Ukraine looked like informational and psychological, manipulative actions of a negative, and sometimes destructive, nature. Their goal was to devalue the Soviet-Bolshevik ideas, to undermine and weaken a moral and psychological state of population, to provoke ideologically motivated people to commit illegal actions for the purpose of undermining or destroying the Soviet socio-political system. Propaganda theorists tried to determine the formula for the effectiveness of the propaganda influence and enumerated three fundamental principles: propagated ideas should be of interest; informational content should be simple and clear; the purpose of propaganda determines the methods of its implementation (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, pp. 93, 170).

Even a cursory review of the titles of the editorial and author articles of the occupation press in 1941 – 1944 makes it possible to make sure that informational and propaganda stories about the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 were key in the subject matter of its materials, in particular those aimed at such a wide readership as the Ukrainian peasantry. The following was clearly emphasized: the artificial famine organized by the Bolsheviks in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933 became the apogee of the offense inflicted on the Ukrainians by the Soviet authorities, and the blame for the organization of the Holodomor was unequivocally on Yo. Stalin and his supporters. One of the expressive emotional moments present in diverse press materials devoted to the Holodomor theme was the motive of revenge against the Bolshevik authorities for the death of innocent people. The press materials also included assessments, understandably most often emotional, because of the scale of the artificial famine organized by the Stalinist regime in Ukraine. For example, in the columns of the “Ukrainske Slovo” issued on November 4, 1941, this famine was characterized as “unprecedented in history” (Zub za zub. Ukrainske slovo. 1941. 4 lystopada), and in 1933 the Holodomor was called as the terrifying figure of “starving” (Kazka i diisnist. Podolianyn. 1941. 4 hrudnia). № 25. S. 3). It is known that many publications were published in a verse form (Trydtsiat tretii. Chasopys. Literaturno-mystetska hazeta. (Khabne). 1943. 1 zhovtnia).

The author addressed the readers with a rhetorical question in one of the typical publications: “Where did these people go?” These are millions of Ukrainian peasants, who died of hunger in 1931 – 1934, when a famine was artificially organized throughout Ukraine by order of the cannibal Stalin, when entire villages died of hunger, when all people walked around swollen from hunger, when there were cases of cannibalism in many villages”. People were reminded that in the 20th century they became “cannibals” (Holod 1933 roku. Holos. 1941. 10 lypnia.). The authors of newspaper articles recreated the chronology of those tragic events, often calling specific villages, whose residents had the highest mortality rate. The same applied to the publication of the memories of eyewitnesses of those tragic events (Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1933 r. (spohad). Sambirski visti. 1941. 28 serpnia). The overestimation of the number



of artificial famine victims was a characteristic feature of such publications (Korotenko V. Shtuchnyi holod na Ukraini v 1933 rotsi. Ukrainski visti. 1942. 2. travnia). Moreover, the numbers sometimes differed: from 7 – 8 million (Sviatotatti i vbyvtsi. Horokhivski visti. 1943. 10 kvitnia) to 10 million (De znyklo 10 milioniv ukrainsiv? Dzvin. 1941. 24 zhovtnia; Koshyk I. (1941). V yednosti – syła narodu. Ukrainske slovo. 31 zhovtnia), and even more dead (Kinets bilshovytskii panshchyni. Vilna Ukraina. 1941. 14 zhovtnia.). For example, in the editorial of the newspaper “Ukrainskyi Donbas” issued on March 10, 1942, we read about 13,200,000 Ukrainians who died of hunger, but “[...] and not a single Jew and communist died of hunger [...]” (Ukraina v zmini podii vsesvitnoi istorii. Ukrainskyi Donbas. 1942. 10 bereznia). In May of 1943, the newspaper “Volyn” wrote that every person died in 3.5 seconds during the peak of the famine in Ukraine. Later on the author of the editorial added the following: “[...] But the Jews did not suffer from starvation and only mocked and laughed at the dead [...]” (Slukhaite, Ukraintsi i nikoly toho ne zabuvaite. Volyn. 1943. 9 travnia). In other publications, it was noted that 4,8 million people died of the famine of 1932 – 1933, which was 18,8% of the entire population of Ukraine (Holodom khotily zamoryty Ukrainu Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rokakh. Nova Doba. Berlin. 1943. 30 travnia; Orhanizatsiia holodu. Holos. 1942. 20 hrudnia). In some places, these statistical data were specified on the example of individual villages of Ukraine (Do statystyky Holodu. Holos. 1942. 1 lystopada).

Despite the obvious propagandistic nature of such materials, the Ukrainians, nevertheless, connected logically and clearly the prerequisites, causes and events of the Holodomor with the Bolshevik forced collectivization and political repressions of the 1930s. It is obvious from the content of the publications: their authors clearly understood that it was initiated by Yo. Stalin personally and the artificial Holodomor organized by the Bolshevik authorities in Ukraine became one of the methods of subjugating the Ukrainian peasantry through collectivization (Spravzhnie oblychchia bolshevyzmu. Visti Lkhvychchyny. 1942. 25 hrudnia). According to the authors of the editorial materials, the Ukrainian peasant-owner was the main political obstacle to the implementation of the Soviet government’s plans to subjugate Ukraine. It was noted that this circumstance became the main reason for the unprecedented terror of hunger (Stalinova brekhnia pro kolektyvizatsiiu. Ivankivski visti. 1943. 28 sichnia). Practically, all publications on the subject of the Holodomor linked the reasons for its organization to the Ukrainian peasantry’s resistance to Stalin’s policy of collectivization (Holod na Ukraini 1921 i 1933 roku. Ukrainskyi visnyk. 1944. 2 lypnia), demonstrated the foreignness and hostility of the collective farm system to the very nature of the Ukrainian peasant, (Serp i molot – smert i holod. Donetska hazeta. 1942. 15 bereznia), who was “driven to the collective farm by hunger” (Vidstalykh biut. Donetska hazeta. 1943. 24 sichnia).

Another, no less important reason for the organization of the Holodomor crime, the newspaper publications call the lack of political disloyalty and support of the Ukrainian peasantry for the Soviet (in the interpretation of that time – the “Jewish”) government (Holod na Ukraini v 1933 r. Holos Novhorod-Sivershchyny. 1942. 16 zhovtnia). The logic of this discourse was based on the thesis that although all the peoples of the USSR suffered from the Bolshevik government, only the Ukrainians were punished the most severely. Ukraine was the greatest danger to the Kremlin regime, along with a multimillion-strong community of single-person peasants and “a constant and irresistible desire for its national liberation” (Mohyly. Vasylykivski visti. 1943. 9 veresnia) Hence, the artificial famine campaign was nothing more than Moscow’s revenge on the Ukrainian people, who did not want to become slaves of the “Jewish-Bolsheviks” (Ukraina i Moskva. Ukrainske slovo. 1941. 16 zhovtnia),

did not want to become a collective farm worker voluntarily (Selianska polityka bilshovykiv. Ukrainske slovo. 1941.16 zhovtnia), and became revenge on the Ukrainians, who did not want to “turn into speechless and submissive slaves” (Strashnyi 1933 rik. Desiat rokiv tomu. Khabnivski visti. 1943. 8 lypnia). The laconic formula used to explain the causes of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 was the following: “Moscow needs Ukraine, not the harmful Ukrainians”: (Nyshchennia ukrainsiv. Umanskyi holos. 1941. 21 veresnia.). At the same time, only the Ukrainian peasantry became the object of Stalin’s persecution. But the peasants of other Soviet republics did not suffer from famine (Batih holodu [Ukrainskyi visnyk. 1944. 27 serpnia.). Famine came to Ukraine along with Moscow state (Orlyk Iv. Holod. Zemlia: tyzhnevnyk ukrainskykh silsko-hospodarskykh robitnykiv u Nimechchyni. 1944. 1 veresnia).

As it was above-mentioned, the Soviet authorities were exclusively responsible for the organization of the Holodomor. However, in the Nazi interpretation, this topic also received a distinct anti-Semitic tone. The role of the one and only socio-political support of the Bolshevik regime was assigned exclusively to the Jews by the Nazi propaganda. Therefore, the anti-Semitism was a mandatory component of almost all press materials on our topic. It was in the paradigm of the inter-racial struggle of the Ukrainians (“Aryans”) and the Jews (“Semites”) that the Holodomor events of 1932 – 1933 were considered. Who was responsible for the Holodomor organized by the Soviet regime? The answer was unequivocal – “The Jews will pay for their numerous crimes against the happiness and peace of mankind. The day will come when they will be punished all over the world” (Viina i zhydy. Ivankivski visti. 1943. 29 chervnia).

As it was evidenced by the contextual analysis of the press publications during the occupation period, editorial and author’s materials united by the theme of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 were always in the newspaper columns during the occupation period. These motives, abundantly diluted with the anti-Soviet and the anti-Semitic propaganda rhetoric, were present both at the beginning of the occupation and during the retreat of the German troops.

Taking into account the spread of the paradigm of extreme anti-Semitism in the occupation press of Ukraine in 1941 – 1944, the question may arise as to whether the so widely promoted concept of “the Jewish Bolshevism” was a peculiar justification of the Nazis for the Holocaust, organized and carried out by them in the occupied Ukrainian territories almost openly? In our opinion, the occupation administration did not even try “to legitimize” the policy of genocide against the Jews in the eyes of the local non-Jewish population. The Nazis did not need any approval, and they were equally unconcerned with the local population of Ukraine’s disapproval of the fact of the total extermination of the Jews. The algorithm of actions was simplified to the elementary: society was faced with this fact and no communication on this matter was not only not allowed, but could not be in principle. The analysis of the content proved that the propaganda campaign against “the Jewish Bolshevism” during the period of occupation was in no way synchronized with actions to exterminate the Jews, but actually had a permanent character – similar structures sounded like before the actions for “a final solution of the Jewish issue”, during mass murders, and after committing it.

The sources testified that the actualization of the subject of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 during the studied period was far from being limited to the level of its use as an effective propaganda tool in occupation periodicals. In 1941 – 1944, other propaganda practices became widespread, which, in particular, used the grassroots initiative of the local Ukrainian subsidiary administration. Thus, the practice of officially honoring the memory of innocent Ukrainians killed by holding prayers at the places of the Holodomor victims’ mass burials was introduced. The sermons preached by the priests, the public speeches

delivered by the German and local authorities' representatives were mandatory elements of such events. The above-mentioned elements reminded people of the collective suffering from the Soviet government. At the same time, measures were taken to visualize this space of memory: commemorative crosses and signs were installed at the places of mass burials of the Holodomor victims (Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine – SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 72467-FP, pp. 55–57), graves with memorial crosses were created (Hidno vshanuvaty pamiat pomerlykh vid holodu 1933 roku Tarashchanski visti. 1943. 08 serpnia.; Pryklad Myrhorodshchyny (pamiatnyk u seli Marchenkakh pomerlykh 1943 roku) Sumsnyi visnyk. 1943. 23 lypnia). The basis of the commemorative actions was a religious service, at the end of which the priests addressed the parishioners, who in their sermons did not forget to remind the faithful about the Soviet reality, in particular, about the artificial famine organized by the Stalinist authorities in Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 71876-FP, p. 115).

Mass memorial and political events honoring the victims of the Bolshevik terror were practiced in all regions of occupied Ukraine. Taking into consideration, that not much time passed separating them from the war, and the acuteness of the local society's reception of the mass murders by the Soviet authorities, the Nazis used their revelations with all their might to discredit the communist system and win the favour of the autochthonous inhabitants. We are inclined to think that such local memorialization practices, such as commemorating the victims of the Holodomor, in terms of their impact (determined primarily by their prevalence and nationwide coverage) exceeded the much larger one-off actions of the occupiers to spread information about the crimes of the Bolsheviks in the public space.

The use of the issue on the artificial famine of 1932 – 1933 by the occupying institutions in Ukraine had purely applied significance, and even more so if we consider such a discourse in the context of the Nazi plans for the future development of the eastern space. First of all, this concerns the activities of the Operational Headquarters of A. Rosenberg in the occupied territories of Ukraine. It was this agency that initiated the study of the demographic consequences of the Holodomor. Two scholars S. Sosnovskyi and B. Rudenskyi did the calculations independently and used scientific methods of demography exclusively in order to obtain a more objective picture of the scale of the artificial famine. The results of their calculations differed. Thus, according to B. Rudenskyi in 1933, 5,5 million people died of famine in Ukraine. According to his colleague, direct demographic losses amounted to 4,5 – 5,0 million people, and another 2,5 million people were the so-called anthropological consequences of the Holodomor (Marochko, 2018). One thing, which draws attention is the statistical correspondence of the results of these studies with the data of modern scholars studying the issue of demographic consequences of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. It could be applied to the research carried out by S. Sosnovyi especially, whose statistical calculations actually coincided with the modern scholars' evaluations. Despite the fact that the above-mentioned demographic studies were carried out under the seal of “secret”, their general results were published in the occupation periodical. It should be noted that excerpts from the work of S. Sosnovyi were published in many periodicals of the occupation zones of Ukraine (Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Kostiantynohradski novi visti. 1942. 16 hrudnia; Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Myrhorodski visti. 1943. 3 chervnia; Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Nizhynski visti. 1942. 5 hrudnia; Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Nova Ukraina. 1942. 8 lystopada).

We could also come across the appeals to a kind of “social justice” in the form of cruel retribution to the offenders of the Ukrainians among the methods of propaganda work

practiced by the Nazi occupation administration at local places. This trend gained particular momentum in the first months of the Nazi rule, but it did not stop thereafter. We are talking about the formal justification of the physical extermination of that part of the communists, the Soviet nomenclature and the so-called “activists”, who committed crimes against the Ukrainian people, but due to various reasons and life circumstances were unable or unwilling to evacuate. According to the logic of the occupation authorities, large-scale crimes of these people were supposed to legitimize punitive actions in the eyes of local population. Those people, who did not do anything bad were usually exonerated from criminal liability and could even serve in the police or local administration. The occupying authorities pursued at least two goals by doing this: exterminating their overt and hidden enemies and seeking loyalty from the local population. Therefore, the statements and appeals of the local population to the occupation authorities with requests to punish their offenders were usually directed “to the Gestapo”, which did not predict anything good for those involved (Honcharenko, 2020). The executions of these people usually took place in public, and their main method, and not by chance, was the hanging of the condemned. The above-mentioned method of execution was supposed to emphasize that the criminal is being executed, who does not deserve a “noble” execution by shooting. Such kind of visualization of the delineated space of death of the Ukrainian crimes’ perpetrators stayed in the memory of local residents for a long time. The practice of the occupation regime demonstrated that the “cleansing” of the local society from the “former” was widespread and lasted from the first to the last day of the occupation. Even on the eve of evacuation, when death sentences seemed to be “business as usual”, the occupation administration continued to collect signatures from locals about their attitude towards the arrested persons. It should be noted that the cases when people stood for the arrestees to be exonerated from criminal liability were not isolated.

The above-mentioned facts quite logically lead to reflections on the Nazi propaganda strategy effectiveness both on the specific behaviour of people under the conditions of occupation and on correction of the space of memory, on formation of new memorial practices determined by ideological and political priorities of the occupation authorities. Did the Nazi manage to achieve at least some success in this activity? Currently, the question remains open. Modern scholars emphasize the fact of extremely low effectiveness of Hitler’s propaganda influence on the population of the occupied Soviet territories, while analyzing the issue. In this case, a logical question arises regarding the scientific motivation of such studies. Indeed, why do we have to waste time and make intellectual efforts, if the problem is irrelevant, even more so, “trivial” and was “covered/clarified” in historical science long ago?

According to the authors of the article, such statements are nothing more than a certain “shy tribute” of modern researchers to the Soviet historiographical tradition. In addition to this confirmation, there is another “side of the coin” of this discourse. Historians, who study the politics of the Holocaust believe that, on the contrary, the Nazi propaganda reached some success, which was manifested, in particular, in the formation of such phenomenon of the occupation era as collaborationism (Honcharenko, 2021, pp. 149–161). For example, A. Podolskyi expressed the diametrically opposite, but, in our opinion, insufficiently substantiated statement that it was the Nazi propaganda that contributed to the participation of the local non-Jewish population in spontaneous massacre and murders of the Jews. In his opinion, the propaganda basis of such actions was precisely the accusation of the Jews for the crimes of the Stalinist regime (Podolskyi, 2007). Based on this paradigm, the historian considered Stalin’s crimes as a provocative factor that, under the corresponding

Nazi propaganda, contributed to the outbreak of the anti-Semitism in the occupied territories (Podolskyi, 2003). I. Hridina made an attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of occupation propaganda. According to the scholar, the Nazi propaganda had a significant impact on the population of the occupied regions of Ukraine, and there was practically no person in the country, who did not feel the influence of Germany's ideological machine (Hridina, 2009, p. 130).

The obvious controversy of the outlined discourse prompts the authors of the article to express some remarks on this matter, which will obviously require discussion and clarification. Despite the current state of domestic humanitarianism, which reluctantly says goodbye to the Soviet legacy of black and white, victimized reflection of the occupation past, such discussion is necessary.

The fact that it was the Nazi occupation administration that was the first authority to legitimize the Holodomor discourse in Ukrainian society is obvious and undeniable. Despite the fact that this information content was interpreted by the Nazi propaganda by mixing in an anti-Bolshevik and anti-Semitic component, the objective facts about the tragedy of the Ukrainians Naddnyprianshchyna in 1932 – 1933 became available to the general public precisely because of occupiers' will. Moreover, the level of this discourse quickly grew from journalistic to scientific and theoretical. The Ukrainians learned a lot about the fact of the artificial famine itself from the pages of the occupation periodicals – everyone in Ukraine knew about it, who reached the age in 1932 – 1933, which made possible, even if uncritical, awareness of what they experienced. The most important thing was that society finally got access to an alternative version of history, which, despite the other extreme, turned out to be not so far from reality. The editorial and author's materials on this topic informed familiarized a reader of the causes of the Holodomor-genocide, its organizers and direct executors, reported data about the demographic consequences of this crime of Stalinism partly exaggerated, and sometimes close to objective.

Unlike the Jews, the reality of the occupation left the Ukrainians with much better chances of survival under the war conditions, provided, of course, that they renounce resistance and maintain loyalty to “a new order”. The facts show that the collective massacres of the Nazis against the Ukrainian population, widespread during the years of occupation, were almost exclusively in the nature of retaliatory actions for the actions of the Soviet partisans and saboteurs against the occupiers. In this context the “people's avengers” acted essentially as the provocateurs who, carrying out attacks on the military and the occupation administration within the boundaries of populated areas, then usually sat in places of permanent dislocation, having neither the strength nor, apparently, the desire to oppose the punitive actions of the Hitlerites. The tragedies of thousands of residents of dozens of villages and towns burned by the Nazis in Ukraine are an illustration of this vile tactic.

The Nazi propaganda used the Holodomor topic fully, using the chance provided by the tragic reality of the pre-war Soviet history (Honcharenko, 2022, pp. 58–73). The artificial famine organized by the Stalinist regime in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933 acted both as a completely self-sufficient plot among a number of other crimes of the Bolshevism, and as one of the convincing arguments for discrediting the Soviet government in general (Honcharenko, 2022, pp. 108–119). This broader context led to the reasons for the organization of a large-scale famine relief campaign by the Soviet authorities. In the occupation periodicals discourse, the main reasons for its inspiration were the opposition of the Ukrainian peasantry to the policy of collectivization and revenge against the Ukrainians for their desire to gain independence in 1918 – 1920. The press materials of the time interpreted the Holodomor organized by the Bolsheviks as another stage of the aggressive war of Bolshevik Russia against Ukraine.



In the materials of the occupation press the Ukrainian peasantry was depicted as a speechless victim of the Bolshevik regime, thrown into the maelstrom of the Holodomor. The majority of newspaper publications did not mention any confrontation with the authorities, and descriptions of peasant uprisings against the participants of which armed local communist units, artillery and aviation used were rare. It is quite obvious that the occupiers, wanted to compromise the Bolshevik government in the eyes of the Ukrainians, did not want to awaken the spirit of resistance in this people. The line beyond which thirst for revenge and hatred of the Bolsheviks could easily turn into the same feelings for another occupier was very thin, and parallels between the two regimes under the conditions of war and the reality of occupation did not lack.

Unless the oversight of censorship can be explained by the appearance in the press (in particular in publications that were under the influence of the OUN underground of both directions) of individual materials in which the lack of national unity and political leadership was cited as one of the reasons for the Bolsheviks' impunity against the Ukrainians in the 1920s and 1930s, and also mass fear of the Soviet power. In these publications, we could come across not only the terror of famine, but also other crimes of the Bolsheviks – forcible collectivization, dekulakization, and mass repressions. The above-mentioned crimes were explained as tools used by Bolshevik Russia solely for the purpose of exterminating the basis of the Ukrainian nation – the peasantry, in order to ultimately make the national-state revival of Ukraine impossible in the future.

Despite the Nazi's real goals, the most important thing that the German occupiers did to fix the space of the Holodomor in the historical memory of the Ukrainians was the official publication of this information by the authorities legitimate under the international law of war. Under the conditions of an acute information blockade, in which the population of occupied Ukraine was, a reminder of real events from the not-so-distant past triggered the mechanisms of fossilizing the memory of this tragedy at a subconscious level. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, it does not seem surprising that a significant number of Ukrainians, nevertheless, feared the return of the Soviet regime more than the Nazi occupation authorities.

“Hitler's truth” about the Holodomor had a meaning understandable to an average person. Simple answers to complex everyday questions are always positively received by society. Despite the fact that the Nazi occupation regime turned the Ukrainian society against itself with its brutal actions, the elements of some correction of the space of memory of the Ukrainians formed during that period, as well as stereotypes, turned out to be quite durable. Could it be that the level of anti-Semitism in Ukrainian society increased against the backdrop of material and household problems during the first post-war years. Even more, there were recorded numerous cases of domestic conflicts on this ground, not isolated direct physical clashes with the Jews. In this context, we support the K. Dolhoruchenko's opinion that the result of the purposeful permanent information and propaganda operation of the Nazi in the media space of the occupied Ukraine was the launch of an irreversible process of negation, distortion and deformation of the public legal consciousness of the Ukrainians, which took the form of legal conformism, legal nihilism and reborn legal consciousness (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, pp. 130–138).

**The Conclusion.** The Nazi policy in the occupied Ukrainian lands was based on intensive ideological support, which was supposed to ensure, first of all, a complex process of legitimizing “a new order”; second of all, to form the basis for the loyalty of the local population and effectiveness of mobilization resources of the occupation structures, third of all, a systematic discrediting of the Bolshevik ruling elite in the USSR and its policies.

The Nazi occupation administration used the topic of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as one of the large-scale crimes of the Stalinist regime in order to implement its own ideological guidelines in the mass consciousness and to form a new matrix of historical memory for the Ukrainian society. The Ukrainian society found out the true scale of this tragedy owing to the propagandistic inspirations of the Nazi occupation authorities.

The Nazi propaganda blamed the Soviet government and its main socio-political support – the Jews, in particular, for organizing the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933. The exploitation of the thesis about the hostility of “the Jewish Bolshevism” for both the Ukrainians and the Germans was aimed at creating a favourable background for “the final solution of the Jewish issue”, as well as the successful implementation of a large-scale programme “development of the eastern conquered territories”, which were supposed to become “a living space” for the German colonists.

The Nazi occupation propaganda, based not only on methods of persuasion and argumentation, but also on methods of suggestion and manipulation, using truthful (in the case of the Holodomor) material, led to a certain level of deformation of the legal consciousness of the Ukrainians, concrete manifestations of which were legal conformism, legal nihilism, and reborn legal consciousness. If the Soviet authorities, who returned to Ukraine due to a widespread use of repressive and punitive means, managed to neutralize these negative consequences of the occupation, then in the case of widely publicized facts of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, they remained latent in public consciousness of the Ukrainians. The collective historical memory of the Ukrainians, which was not completely destroyed by the Soviet authorities, the core of which was the rejection of the Russian imperialism in all its forms and manifestations, and the image of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 formed by the Nazi propaganda were quite clearly reflected during the period of Ukraine’s independence restoration in 1991.

Hence, the Holodomor issue of 1932 – 1933, along with other crimes of the Stalinism committed against the Ukrainians, became for the Nazis one of the informational reasons used to legitimize the occupation regime and implement their tactical and strategic goals in the war quite effectively. Relying on available channels of informing the population (mainly local occupation periodicals), the occupation administration in Ukraine exploited the real facts of the Bolshevik crime of the Holodomor actively, which were fresh in the minds of the Ukrainians. At the same time, the Nazi propagandists used a tried and tested tool – manipulation of mass public consciousness, individual subconsciousness and moral and psychological attitudes of local population. The active use of tools of manipulation and suggestion allowed the Nazis to adjust the memory space of the occupied people in a certain way, to harmonize the model of historical memory of the Ukrainians with their own propagandistic concepts. The facts of the Holodomor were presented in the context of the policies of the Soviet regime in the 1930s, and the blame for the organization of the famine was on the Bolshevik government in general and, in particular, on the Jews as its “main socio-political support”.

One of the objective consequences of the Nazi propaganda, the assessment of which in modern national historiography is now acquiring an increasingly distinct positive connotation, was a tangible correction of the memory space of the Ukrainians in the direction of filling it with a new content and meaning clusters, where the memory of the crime of artificial famine committed by the Bolsheviks occupied one of the key positions. On the other hand, the occupation reality dictated the conditions under which the changes above-mentioned in the structure of the memory space took place even without the conscious desire

of the new government, primarily at the initiative of an active part of the nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia. Even with the restoration of the Soviet domination in Ukraine at the final stage of World War II, certain elements of the model of historical memory of the Ukrainians adjusted during the years of occupation at the level of individual and collective consciousness continued to exist latently during the Soviet period. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain a rapid revival of the Holodomor memorial practices in Ukraine in the second half of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s.

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**Stepan KOBUTA**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine and Methods of Teaching History, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, 57 Shevchenko Street, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, postal code 76000 (step-ko@i.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-9210-3319

**Pavlo TKACHUK**

*Adjunct of the Department of Humanities, Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Ground Forces Academy, 32 Heroiv Maidanu Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (tkachuk90@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-2601-2742

**Стенан КОБУТА**

*кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії України і методики викладання історії Прикарпатського національного університету імені Василя Стефаника, вул. Шевченка, 57, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна, індекс 76000 (step-ko@i.ua)*

**Павло ТКАЧУК**

*ад'юнкт кафедри гуманітарних наук Національної академії сухопутних військ імені гетьмана Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (tkachuk90@ukr.net)*

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## THE 2008 RUSSO-GEORGIAN WAR THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE UKRAINIAN POLITICUM

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to characterize the Ukrainian political community's reaction to the armed conflict in Georgia (2008) comprehensively, to determine the range of problems that were most often raised by the Ukrainian political elite in the public discourse in the context of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War. The methodology of research is based on general scientific and special historical methods (a complex of problems related to the vision of the Ukrainian political community of military events in Georgia (2008). The methodological basis of the article consists of the principles of historicism, consistency, scientific pluralism, objectivity, systematicity, and comprehensiveness. In the research there have been widely used a number of theoretical methods, in particular (comparative, dialectical, structural and functional), which allowed to reconstruct the historical process as a symbiosis of facts in their integrity and historical connection. The scientific novelty of the research: the position of the President of Ukraine and the “democratic coalition” regarding the 2008 Russo-Georgian War have been critically analyzed; the suggestions of the opposition political forces (the Party of Regions, the Communist Party of Ukraine) regarding the situation settlement in Georgia at the height of the hostilities have been considered; the efficiency of Parliament's actions and the attitude of the leading*

factions to the events in Transcaucasia have been determined. **The Conclusion.** The unprecedented actions of the Russian Federation in relation to Georgia, which in 2008 carried out a full-scale invasion of the territory of a sovereign state, caused a heated discussion among the Ukrainian politicians. Pro-government political parties led by the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko criticized Russia's actions sharply and called on the world public to help resolve the military conflict. Political parties that were in opposition to the authorities after the Orange Revolution limited themselves to theoretical calls to stop the bloodshed, criticized the authorities for involving the state in the military conflict, taking into account the latter's critical attacks on the Russian Federation and the aggravation of the problem of the aggressor's Black Sea Fleet on the Crimean Peninsula. After Russia's invasion of Georgia, many politicians predicted further escalation in the Russian-Ukrainian relations and the inevitability of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

**Key words:** Russo-Georgian War; Ukraine, political elite, President of Ukraine, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, armed aggression

### РОСІЙСЬКО-ГРУЗИНСЬКА ВІЙНА (2008) У ВІЗІ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПОЛІТИКУМУ

**Анотація.** *Мета статті* – всебічно охарактеризувати реакцію українського політикуму на збройний конфлікт у Грузії (2008), визначити коло проблем, які найчастіше порушувала українська політична еліта у суспільному дискурсі у контексті російсько-грузинської війни. **Методологія дослідження** комплексу проблем, пов'язаних із візією українським політикумом військових подій у Грузії (2008), базується на загальнонаукових та спеціальноісторичних методах. Методологічну основу статті становлять принципи історизму, послідовності, наукового плюралізму, об'єктивності, системності та всебічності. У дослідженні широко використано низку теоретичних методів, зокрема (компаративний, діалектичний, структурно-функціональний), які уможливають реконструювати історичний процес як симбіоз фактів у їх цілісності та історичному зв'язку. **Наукова новизна статті:** критично проаналізовано позицію Президента України та “демократичної коаліції” щодо російсько-грузинської війни; розглянуто пропозиції опозиційних політичних сил (Партія Регіонів, Комуністична партія України) щодо врегулювання ситуації у Грузії у розпал воєнних дій; визначено ефективність дій парламенту та ставлення провідних фракцій до подій на Закавказзі. **Висновки.** Безпрецедентність дій Російської Федерації щодо Грузії, яка у 2008 р. здійснила повномасштабне вторгнення на територію суверенної держави, викликала жваву дискусію серед українського політикуму. Провладні політичні партії на чолі з Президентом України В. Ющенком гостро розкритикували дії Росії, закликали світову громадськість посприяти у врегулюванні військового конфлікту. Політичні партії, які після Помаранчевої революції перебували в опозиції до влади, обмежувалися теоретичними закликами до припинення кровопролиття, критикували владу за втягування держави до військового конфлікту, зважаючи на критичні випадки останньої на адресу Російської Федерації та загострення проблеми перебування Чорноморського Флоту агресора на Кримському півострові. Чимало політиків після вторгнення Росії на територію Грузії прогнозували подальше наростання ескалації у російсько-українських відносинах та неминучість російсько-української війни.

**Ключові слова:** російсько-грузинська війна, Україна, політична еліта, Президент України, Верховна Рада України, збройна агресія.

**The Problem Statement.** The Ukrainian political elite always paid attention to the epoch-making military and political events in Transcaucasia, which received a wide response in Ukrainian socio-political opinion. The so-called “five-day war” in Georgia (2008) was not an exception. The state's political elite, mass media, public opinion leaders, regardless of ideological beliefs, had their “own recipe” for solving the military problem, tried to teach lessons for the Ukrainian state, because many experts directly connect the events of 2014 with the Russo-Georgian armed conflict on the Crimean peninsula – de facto, the President of the

Russian Federation V. Putin realized his impunity, convinced himself of the “irreversibility” of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), which demonstrated its inability to respond to the challenges of today promptly.

**The Analysis of Recent Research Papers.** Partially, the military and political events in Georgia (2008) became already the subject of scientific interest of the Ukrainian researchers. In scientific papers, (see H. Perepelytsia “Genesis of Conflicts in the Post-communist Space of Europe” (Perepelytsia, 2003). Chief focus is on the milestone periods of the military conflict in Georgia, in the majority of cases with an emphasis on the political components. Numerous researchers (O. Zvezdova (Zvezdova, 2016), O. Brusylovska (Brusylovska, 2011), S. Troian & A. Kyrydon (Troian & Kyrydon, 2017), P. Chernyk (Chernyk, 2011), D. Solomko (Solomko, 2020), V. Machulskyi (Machulskyi, 2012), I. Habro & A. Kurilenko (Habro & Kurilenko, 2021) and the others) were dedicated to the foreign policy of the Russian Federation in the post-Soviet space. The war in Georgia is often considered by scholars in the context of the so-called “frozen conflicts” (I. Zelmanovych (Zelmanovych, 2016), O. Alieksieichenko (Alieksieichenko, 2013) and the others). There are diverse publications which focus on the informational component of the Russo-Georgian war in Ukrainian scientific opinion (V. Savintsev (Savintsev, 2009), Yu. Liebidieva (Liebidieva, 2018), O. Hapeieva (Hapeieva, 2017), A. Shumka (Shumka, 2009), L. Pavliuk (Pavliuk, 2012), N. Mutina (Mutina, 2009), N. Nechaieva-Yuriichuk (Nechaieva-Yuriichuk, 2011), P. Artymyshyn (Artymyshyn, 2018), S. Vidnianskyi (Vidnianskyi, 2020), O. Pokotylo and O. Nashyvochnikov (Pokotylo & Nashyvochnikov, 2021), I. Soliar (Soliar, 2022), A. Sorokivska-Obikhod and I. Chobit (Sorokivska-Obikhod & Chobit, 2022) and the others.

Nevertheless, for the time being there is no comprehensive scientific study in Ukrainian historiography, which focuses on the 2008 Russo-Georgian War through the prism of the Ukrainian political community, despite considerable work done by Ukrainian scholars in the context of the studied thematic niche. The source basis of the article is materials from the periodical press (printed, online media), memoirs, sociological studies. **The main purpose of the research** is to characterize the 2008 Russo-Georgian War through the prism of the Ukrainian political elite’s analysis.

**The Results of the Research.** The 2008 Russo-Georgian War stirred up the Ukrainian society, splitting it into sympathizers of Georgia and the Russian Federation. The political elite of Ukraine had also its vision of the events in Transcaucasia. The President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko was perhaps the first official of our state to react to Russia’s armed aggression, who did not hesitate to support the President of Georgia M. Saakashvili, and strongly condemned the actions of the Russian Federation, unlike European leaders. The President’s Secretariat was convinced that the war in Georgia was not a local conflict and, probably, “the time-tested principle “the right of the stronger” will be applied, as it happened in Kosovo, and as it is happening in Georgia...” (U SP perekonani, 2008). Central authorities led by V. Yushchenko tried not only to express verbally “the concern about the actions of the aggressor country”, but also to provide moral and psychological assistance to the Georgian people, as it was evidenced by the President’s visit to Georgia on August 12. Yushchenko also emphasized that “the ball is on the Russian side of the field now” (Zlaz, 2008), therefore European countries should resolve the issue of the conflict on the territory of the Georgian state as soon as possible (Zlaz, 2008).

On August 13, 2008, in order to avoid “Ukraine’s involvement into the international conflict” (Yushchenko zaiavyv, 2008), V. Yushchenko signed two decrees that regulated

the presence of the Russian Black Sea Fleet on the Crimean Peninsula (a new procedure was established for the crossing of Ukraine's border by the military personnel, military ships and aircraft of the Russian Federation) (Samar, 2008). On August 15, 2008, the press service of the President of Ukraine once again disseminated his comment on the situation in Georgia. V. Yushchenko's basic position was that Ukraine should consider the threat to the territorial integrity of Georgia as a possible threat to its own territorial integrity (Yushchenko: *Dopustyty reviziiu suverenitetu Hruzii*, 2008). It should be noted that such statements were usually not approved by the allies and opponents of the President of Ukraine, who considered it impossible to destabilize the situation in the Crimea according to a scenario similar to the one in South Ossetia (Nalyvaichenko, 2008).

Due to the propaganda by the pro-Russian mass media in Ukraine, the statement about the Ukrainians' participation in the Russo-Georgian War, the President of Ukraine, V. Yushchenko was forced to make a statement in which the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, as noted by the Internet resource "RBK-Ukraine", was "ready to support any international investigation into the participation of the Ukrainian citizens in the Russian-Georgian conflict" (V. Yushchenko *zaiavliaie*, 2008). In particular, the President of Ukraine noted the following "this is a big lie [participation in the conflict on the Georgian side – auth.]" (V. Yushchenko *zaiavliaie*, 2008).

We should add that during the Russo-Georgian War the sociological services recorded an extremely low rating of V. Yushchenko. 71.5% of respondents answered negatively to the question: "Do you trust the President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko as the Supreme Commander?" Young people aged 20–29 (73.4%) were in majority, who supported the above-mentioned position. In the regions, the mistrust rating ranges from 51.1% in the West to 78% in the East and 84.3% in the South (Ukrainci *vvazhaiut*, 2008). Only 22.2% of the respondents expressed confidence in V. Yushchenko as the Supreme Commander (Viina *v Hruzii*, 2008).

The Russo-Georgian War caused a wave of contradictions between V. Yushchenko, President of Ukraine and Yu. Tymoshenko, Prime Minister. Thus, the Deputy Head of the Presidential Secretariat A. Kyslynskyi told the Presidential Secretariat that there were "certain agreements between BYuT (Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko) and its leader [Prime Minister of Ukraine Yu. Tymoshenko – the auth.] with Russia concerning support in the upcoming Presidential elections". In contrast, the government of Ukraine called "a challenge the announcement of the Deputy Head of the Office of the President of Ukraine" and expected that the President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko would give these applications a proper assessment (Z *chyioho holosu?*, 2008). In particular, at a briefing in Kyiv Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine H. Nemyria stated the following: "This statement is shameful. It borders on challenge" (Z *chyioho holosu?*, 2008).

However, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, headed by Yu. Tymoshenko took a truly extremely cautious position on the issue of the Russo-Georgian War. In the relevant statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, it was emphasized that our state supported the territorial integrity of Georgia and was ready "within the framework of the international diplomatic efforts to contribute to a peaceful settlement of the situation in the region" (Krit, 2008). Ukraine, expressing regret that Russia had turned from an intermediary to a direct participant in the conflict, called on the Russian Federation, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, "to withdraw its troops from the territory of Georgia, to exercise restraint in its actions and to exert the necessary influence on the separatist regime of Tskhinvali in order to return its representatives to the negotiating table" (Krit, 2008).

On August 12, 2008, the position of the Ukrainian government in the Russo-Georgian War was expressed by the First Vice-Prime Minister O. Turchynov who stated the following: “Regarding the events in South Ossetia and Georgia, our position is quite specific – we are exclusively for a peaceful way to resolve this problem. None of the parties to the conflict can solve their internal and external issues by force” (Boiko, 2008). Such statements caused a mixed reaction in the Ukrainian society. “Such “game of silence” is quite strange, taking into account that Yulia Tymoshenko and Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili had quite friendly relations,” wrote, in particular, daily Ukrainian informational and political newspaper “Ukrayina Moloda” (Boiko, 2008).

According to some analysts, Tymoshenko’s unclear position was dictated by political factors. Thus, according to the leader of the “Yedyni Tsenter” party, I. Kril, Tymoshenko “was worried about how to satisfy the Russian leadership and secure its support during the next presidential campaign, rather than about the steps that could prevent the Georgian option from repeating in Ukraine” (Boiko, 2008). A bit later (September 2008), Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko stated that the political partners of BYuT were engaged in provocations on the topic of the Russo-Georgian conflict, and “the position on this conflict on the part of BYuT and NY-NC is the same”. In particular, it consists in protecting the territorial integrity of Georgia and supporting N. Sarzoki’s plan (Yu. Tymoshenko, 2008).

The Ukrainian Parliament also did not remain aloof from the Russo-Georgian War. The Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine A. Yatseniuk held consultations (over the phone) with the Speaker of the Georgian Parliament D. Bakradze, the Chairman of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation S. Mironov and the Speaker of the State Duma of the Russian Federation B. Hryzlov already on August 8, 2008. The main topic of discussion was the situation in the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict zone (Holova Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy, 2008). In the framework of the consultations, A. Yatseniuk urged his interlocutors to do everything possible “to stop the hostilities immediately and start peace negotiations” (Holova Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy, 2008).

The parliamentary group on relations with Georgia had its own vision of the development of the Russo-Georgian War. Its representatives expressed “concern in connection with the events taking place on the territory of a sovereign state of Georgia” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a). The members of the group stated that the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation committed an act of aggression against the independent state of Georgia under the pretext of carrying out a “peacekeeping mission” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a). The parliamentary group on relations with Georgia believed that by using armed force in violation of its obligations under the UN Charter and international law, the Russian authorities were speculating with the categories: “coercion to peace”, “humanitarian catastrophe”, “ethnic cleansing” and “genocide” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a). The following was mentioned in the statement: “By providing armed support to the separatist regime of South Ossetia, Russia encroaches on the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of another state. Particularly dangerous in this context is the recognition by the Russian Federation of the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which is tantamount to the territorial dismemberment of this state” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a).

During the period of an active escalation of confrontation in the Russian-Georgian relations, a platform where the representatives of diverse political forces, the Ukrainian state bodies and special services, Heads of other Committees of the Verkhovna Rada were able to discuss the situation in the Caucasus professionally in connection with military actions



between Russia and Georgia “without journalists and television cameras”, as well as the issue of minimizing its possible negative consequences for our country, became the parliamentary Committee on National Security and Defense (Sylina, 2008). Head of the Committee on National Security and Defense, A. Hrytsenko noted that “Russia’s response to the events in South Ossetia was clearly inadequate in terms of its strength and scale – Russia violated the norms of international law when it introduced its regular troops into the territory of a sovereign state and launched a large-scale military aggression against Georgia. It is difficult to call such actions for peacekeeping, let’s be straightforward – it is war” (Sylina, 2008).

The Ukrainian Parliament tried to express its own position on the Russo-Georgian War. On September 2, 2008, the political party “Nasha Ukraina – Narodna Samooborona” offered to convene a coalition council in order to determine a common position on the issue of assessing events related to the Russian-Georgian conflict, before the start of consideration at the meeting of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the Russian-Georgian conflict. However, V. Kyrylenko, the head of the faction “Nasha Ukrayina – Narodna Samooborona” informed the public about the fact that BYuT ( Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko) refused to hold the meeting. According to him, “it means BYuT’s rejection of the agreed position within the framework of a democratic coalition on this issue” (BluT vidmovyvsia, 2008).

In general, People’s Deputies of Ukraine prepared 7 resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada of the VIth convocation, in which they expressed their position on the Russian-Georgian armed conflict, uniting them into the thematic block “On Russia’s Military Aggression in Georgia”. None of these resolutions received enough votes to be adopted (Yak Verkhovna Rada, 2018). The initiators of 5 resolutions were deputies from the coalition (“Nasha Ukrayina – Narodna Samooborna”, “Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko”), and two more were initiated by opposition deputies. Deputies from the “NUNS” faction initiated 4 resolutions, deputies from the Party of Regions, the Communist Party and Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko – one each (Postanova Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy, 2008).

The fact that it will be difficult for the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to reach a consolidated position on the issue of the Russo-Georgian War became obvious, given the large number of draft laws submitted for consideration by the Parliament (№ 3053-d, № 3054-d, № 3070-d, № 3076-d, № 3076-1d, № 3082-d, № 3083-d, № 3089-d, № 3059-d.). The first was the draft resolution “On Condemnation of the Military Intervention by the Russian Federation on the Territory of Georgia” was introduced by people’s deputies V. Aryev and T. Stets (№ 3053-d-d). The authors of the project noted that “what happened next was a humanitarian disaster on the territory of Georgia, when Russian troops entered there” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). V. Aryev noted that the most important thing was Ukraine was involved in this conflict not because of the position of the Ukrainian leadership, but because the Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation, which was temporarily based on the territory of Ukraine, went from the territory of Ukraine to the Georgian shores (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

Draft Law No. 3054 (sponsored by People’s Deputy of Ukraine Yu. Kostenko (UNP)) caused a lot of discussions within the walls of the Parliament. The head of the UNP noted in his speech the following: “If we talk about what happened in Georgia directly, then this is an act of annexation of a sovereign state and a full-scale military aggression in the Caucasus” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). Answering the question of V. Zubov (Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko): How do you consider the position of the President of Ukraine that he took in the conflict? Yu. Kostenko noted that his position was based on the protection of the national interests of Ukraine, “as required by the Ukrainian Constitution, according to which he is the

guarantor of security in Ukraine” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

Draft Law No. 3059, prepared by a member of the Party of Regions (author – I. Konovaliuk) had a diametrically opposite consideration of the situation in the Caucasus region. The regionalists convinced that “attempts today to transfer this conflict ... to the territory. Ukraine has not only been condemned by our citizens – the voters of Ukraine, but they also demand from us... the adoption of immediate decisions that would contribute not only to achieving a certain control on the part of the Verkhovna Rada, but also, most importantly, to ensure that illegal actions are not carried out with the Ukrainian weapons, peaceful people are not killed and so that we understand that the funds that Ukraine receives as a state from the arms trade do not provoke conflicts and do not create tensions in our region” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

Another draft law initiated by the Party of Regions (No. 3076-1) called on the parties to the armed conflict to resolve it peacefully, to cover the events objectively by the mass media, and also proposed to “involve international organizations in order to develop proposals for determining the future status of unrecognized state entities by expressing the will of the population living in these territories, in accordance with the UN Charter, the 1970 Declaration on the Principles of International Law and the Helsinki Final Act of 1975...” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

Draft Law No. 3070 “On Condemnation of Georgia's Military Aggression against the People of South Ossetia”, which was registered in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine by the leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) P. Symonenko, was the most pro-Russian on its content and shifted all responsibility on Georgia for the Russo-Georgian War breakout (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). The leader of the Ukrainian communists described the actions of the Georgian army as a “punitive operation” and the central authorities as the “national militarist regime of Saakashvili” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). According to P. Symonenko, Russia “had to use combat troops in order to protect its citizens, including the peacekeepers, who were in South Ossetia at that time” in that situation (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

Draft Law No. 3083-d considered the Georgian-Ossetian conflict “a typical example of an ethnic conflict engendered by the nationalist reactionary regimes in the period of historical time” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a). At the same time, V. Kyrylenko, a member of the political alliance “Nasha Ukraina – Narodna Samooborona”, offered to testify their commitment to the standards of international law, to support the active efforts of the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs to restore peace in the Caucasus and to remove all the issues regarding the commitment of the majority Ukrainian deputies of Verkhovna Rada in draft law No. 3076 (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

The draft law initiated by the BYuT faction was quite similar to the draft law brought in by “Nasha Ukraina – Narodna Samooborona”. The faction made comment and limited to “deep concern” about the armed conflict between Russia and Georgia and its serious negative consequences for the regional security in Europe and the world, as well as expressed “deep sadness” about the deaths and the situation that led to the suffering of the civilian population, the increase in the number of refugees, the destruction of social and economic infrastructure and threatens to turn into a humanitarian catastrophe (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a).

The “Lytvyn Bloc” faction in the Verkhovna Rada also expressed great concern over the aggravation of the situation that took place in Georgia around South Ossetia and Abkhazia (Draft Law No. 3094). S. Hrynevetskyi emphasized out that “the course of events in the Caucasus was predictable in a certain way” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a). He persuaded

the People's Deputies that "in recent years there has been an increased militarization of the region. The potential for conflict in the Black Sea region as a whole is also growing, which is becoming one of the main areas of confrontation between the West and the East, in particular over access to energy resources and their transportation routes. The source of these conflicts is not only an external factor..." (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a). The "Lytvyn Bloc" faction truly believed that the conflict in the Caucasus also revealed a number of problems for Ukraine, first of all, the GUAM organization turned out to be completely helpless in a crisis situation, although the topic of solving "frozen conflicts" was declared as one of the main ones in its activities (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a).

It should be mentioned that voting for draft laws was not unexpected – none of the suggested proposals received the necessary votes: draft resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, registration number 3053 – 65 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3054 – 66 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3070 – 196 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3076 – 72 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3076-1 – 201 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3076-2 – 167 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3082 – 70 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3083 – 167 votes in favour; draft resolution No. 3094 – 22 votes in favour (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a).

The political parties of Ukraine were characterized by diversity regarding the issue of the Russo-Georgian War. The block of political parties "Nasha Ukraina – Narodna Samooborona" and the President of Ukraine expressed unequivocal support for Georgia. According to the members of these political parties, the armed action of the Russian Federation against Georgia, as well as the subsequent recognition of the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia was an unconditional violation of the key standards of the international law and a challenge to the entire civilized world (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

According to the party "Nasha Ukraina – Narodna Samooborona", the prerequisite for lasting peace and stability in the Caucasus the following: the Russian troops withdrawal from the entire territory of Georgia and the replacement of the Russian contingent in Abkhazia and South Ossetia with the peacekeeping forces of an authoritative international organization such as the UN, OSCE, European Union or NATO (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). V. Kyrylenko noted the following: "It is obvious that the Russian troops did not cope with the peacekeepers mission, as they took part in hostilities as a party to the conflict, including far beyond the borders of Abkhazia and South Ossetia" (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

The Narodnyi Rykh Ukrainy (People's Movement of Ukraine), led by B. Tarasiuk, also kept to a pro-Georgian position. The leader of this political force compared Russia's act of armed aggression against the sovereign state of Georgia to the terrorist attacks in the USA on September 11, 2001, when approaches to the concepts of "a citizen security", "state security" and "collective security" were changed radically (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a). According to B. Tarasiuk, "the Russian side was cynically, manipulating the terms "coercion to peace", "humanitarian catastrophe", "ethnic cleansing", "genocide", encroached on the territorial integrity of the sovereign state. The events in the Caucasus once again confirmed that the so-called peacekeeping, in which Russia was engaged in allegedly, was a cover" (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a).

Ivan Stoyko (Narodnyi Rykh Ukrainy (People's Movement of Ukraine)) noted that the war in the Caucasus "has been going on for more than a century", but Russia never conquered and will not conquer the Caucasus. "Nowadays I draw an analogy with the 1930s of the last century, when the regime of Adolf Hitler began, who later became who, you know, conquered Europe and became the Führer. These days, Putin wants to do the same in the post-Soviet

space. This is a struggle for democracy and nothing else” – one of the leaders of the Narodnyi Rykh Ukrainy believed (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008a).

The Ukrainiska Narodna Partiya (Ukrainian People’s Party) (UNP) also gave its assessment of the events in Georgia. According to its authors, the draft Statement of the UNP gave a clear answer to three questions: the first question was: what happened in Georgia; the second – why did this happen and the third – how should the Ukrainian authorities react? (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). The Ukrainiska Narodna Partiya (Ukrainian People’s Party) took into consideration the norms of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the final provisions of the OSCE, when they were analyzing what happened. Yu. Kostenko stated the following: “According to the conclusions of our experts, we offer to state that the actions of the Russian authorities fundamentally go beyond the format of the peacekeeping activities and we should regard them as Russia’s military aggression against sovereign Georgia” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). The members of the UNP, while pondering over the reasons for such actions of Russia, believed that it had begun “the practical implementation of its aggressive military doctrine and foreign policy, which are aimed at establishing the dominance of Russian political, military, and economic interests in the post-Soviet space” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

Ya. Dzhodzhyk (UNP) stated that Russia was preparing for this aggression in Georgia in advance by introducing an additional contingent of railway and other types of troops and started this aggression under the pretext of protecting Russian citizens, who received previously Russian citizenship by the thousands (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). The UNP member stated the following: “Nowadays, we are witnessing the continuation of the same scenario in Ukraine, when thousands of people in the Crimea receive Russian citizenship. These days we witness that the leadership of Russia prefers to demonstrate that the Russian troops on the territory of Ukraine would behave as if they were at home” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

The nationalists were much more radical, who on August 11, 2008 organized a spontaneous rally near the embassy of the Russian Federation (more than 300 people gathered). The main group of protesters consisted of the Georgian diaspora representatives in Ukraine, as well as the Ukrainian public and political organizations UNA–UNSO, VO “Tryzub”, “Pora” (Bykodir, 2008b). The protesters criticized the Ukrainian authorities and the international community for their “inadequate response” to recent events (Bykodir, 2008b). One of the picket participants noted the following: “The Ukrainian state should respond to the Russian aggression in Georgia more actively. It is quite possible that the Ukrainians will soon feel Russia’s imperial ambitions” (Bykodir, 2008b).

The head of the UNA–UNSO Kyiv organization, I. Mazur, noted that more than 50 statements from young patriots “about the desire to help the Georgian people” were sent to the leadership. However, one of the leaders of the UNA–UNSO noted that “UNSO citizens consider the possibility of humanitarian aid only”, and the representatives of the organization “can appear in the conflict zone only as military journalist – for the objective and impartial coverage of the situation in Georgia...” (Bykodir, 2008b).

The Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) took a clearly pro-Russian side in the conflict. The party had its own position on the issue of the war in the Caucasus. First of all, according to the communists, it was Georgia that acted as the aggressor. Thus, P. Tsybenko (CPU) emphasized that the aggression was launched by Georgia on the eve of the opening of the Olympic Games and, in his opinion, this was “sacrilege” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). Second of all, the communists believed that Russia had a full right to invade the territory of a sovereign state. On this occasion, P. Symonenko stated the following: “Russia had every

reason to respond adequately to the armed attack of the “Saakashists” and conduct a military operation to force the Saakashvili regime to peace”. Russia had every reason to respond to the request of the people of South Ossetia and protect them from physical destruction, as, by the way, it was Russia’s right to recognize. Shouldn’t we recognize the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, taking into account the nation’s right to self-determination and at the request of the peoples of these republics...” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

Thirdly, the Communist Party of Ukraine demanded the impeachment of V. Yushchenko, who questioned partnership relations with Russia. According to the leader of the Ukrainian communists, “the August events in the Caucasus and the informational hysteria organized by Bankova and Ukrainian national extremists around the alleged annexation of Georgia by Russia and its encroachment on the territorial integrity of Ukraine, in particular on the Crimea, raised the question of further strategic partnership relations with by the Russian Federation impolitely” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). Fourthly, the Communist Party demanded that the international community respond adequately to the “punitive operation” of the President of Georgia M. Saakashvili (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b).

The Party of Regions also took the pro-Russian side in the Russo-Georgian War. To begin with, we should mention that V. Yanukovich (the Party of Regions), who tried not to make odious statements, at the end of August 2008 took the initiative to recognize the independence of the pseudo-republics of the Caucasus unexpectedly. The newspaper “Dzerkalo Tyzhnia” wrote with sarcasm the following: “Probably, the leader of the Party of Regions or his advisers really suspected that Tymoshenko was trying to seize the role of “Russia’s best friend”. And the white-blue (the Party of Regions) can not allow this. We had to react quickly, and it seems that they went too far...” (Mustafin, 2008).

In general, the Party of Regions suggested that the Ukrainians did not worsen the Russian-Ukrainian relations, warned that our state could be involved in a “serious international conflict” (Yanukovich zaproponuvav, 2008). According to V. Yanukovich, the Party of Regions “always insisted on conducting a friendly and non-confrontational foreign policy with all of Ukraine’s neighbors”, therefore, condemned the actions of the current government, which “causes irreparable damage to the national interests of the Ukrainian state” (U Yanukovicha, 2008). The Party of Regions also demanded the introduction of an embargo on any deliveries of Ukrainian weapons to Georgia and other hotspots of the planet (U Yanukovicha, 2008). The following was written in the party’s statement: “We are initiating the creation of a temporary investigation commission in the Parliament of Ukraine, which would investigate the circumstances and conditions under which Ukrainian weapons were supplied to Georgia” (U Yanukovicha, 2008). At the same time, the regionalists condemned any “aggressive actions aimed at resolving regional conflicts by force” and called for “ceasing hostilities and proceeding to peace negotiations immediately” (U Yanukovicha, 2008).

On September 1, 2008, the Politrada of the Party of Regions approved the Statement on the events in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The document expresses “concern about the situation that has developed in South Ossetia and Abkhazia as a result of the armed confrontation between the military units of Georgia and the peacekeeping contingent of the Russian Federation” (Verkhovna rada Ukrainy, 2008b). However, it should be noted that not all members of the Party of Regions held similar beliefs. Hence, R. Bohatyrieva, answering journalists’ questions about whether she supports the position of President V. Yushchenko regarding the territorial integrity of Georgia, or is leaning towards V. Yanukovich, who called for the recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, R. Bohatyrieva said that “Yanukovich



expressed only his own opinion, which does not reflect the position of the party” (Chy rozkoluivetsia Partiia rehioniv, 2008). As a result, she was expelled from the Political Council (Chy rozkoluivetsia Partiia rehioniv, 2008).

Actually, the events in Georgia forced the Ukrainian authorities to take a closer look at the activities of pro-Russian political and public organizations in Ukraine. “We are concerned about the activities of the radical pro-Russian organizations. You know that the registration and activity of most of them has been suspended by the decision of the Ukrainian courts, – said the Acting Head of the Security Service of Ukraine V. Nalyvaichenko during this period. – The first such organization is “Proryv” (Breakthrough) with its headquarters in Transnistria. The second is the “Eurasian Union of Youth”, an extremist organization close to terrorist manifestations”. According to the head of the SBU, the investigation into the case of another radical pro-Russian organization, “Sevastopol – Crimea – Russia” was currently ongoing (Nalyvaichenko, 2008).

On August 12, 2008, a rally-picket “to protect the people of South Ossetia from genocide by the leadership of Georgia” (Bykodir, 2008a) was held in Simferopol near the representation of the President of Ukraine in the Crimea. According to the Interfax-Ukraine agency, about 250 people took part in the action, which was organized by representatives of the Russian community of Crimea, local organizations of the parties “Russian Bloc”, “Soyuz”, “Union of Left Forces”, KPU and PSPU. An action in support of Russia’s actions in Georgia with the participation of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Party of Regions, and the Progressive Socialist Party was also held in Kharkiv (Bykodir, 2008a).

The armed conflict in the Caucasus improved the opinion about Russia of every third supporter of P. Symonenko and every fifth supporter of V. Yanukovich (data from a telephone survey conducted by the “First Rating System” on September 13-16, 2008 by telephone interview method at the respondents’ place of residence in five large cities of Ukraine. The sample consisted of 990 respondents over the age of 18. The statistical error did not exceed 3.2%) (Posle voiny v Gruzii, 2008). At the same time, the attitude towards Russia of half of P. Symonenko’s supporters and 64% of V. Yanukovich’s supporters remained unchanged (Posle voiny v Gruzii, 2008). Potential voters of V. Yushchenko and A. Yatseniuk reacted the worst to Russia’s recent actions in the Caucasus region. About half of their supporters condemned the actions of this state. A little more than a third of supporters of Yu. Tymoshenko and V. Lytvyn also worsened their attitude towards the northeastern neighbor (Posle voiny v Gruzii, 2008). At the same time, more than half of Yu. Tymoshenko’s voters did not change their attitude, as did a third of supporters of V. Yushchenko and A. Yatseniuk (Posle voiny v Gruzii, 2008).

**The Conclusion.** The Ukrainian political community was divided in its vision of the aggressor in the Russo-Georgian war and in general assessment of the events of the “five-day war”. The then President of Ukraine, V. Yushchenko, as well as pro-presidential political forces, expressed unquestionable support for M. Saakashvili. V. Yushchenko drew the public’s attention to the fact that assessments of the conflict in the Ukrainian information space, de facto, were identical to those that sounded in the Russian mass media. The chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine A. Yatseniuk expressed his own assessment of the Russian-Georgian armed conflict, who was concerned by the fact that the situation in South Ossetia was far from a local bilateral military conflict. The Ukrainian opposition, primarily the Party of Regions, the Communist Party of Ukraine, deliberately hushed up the dangers and geopolitical challenges of the Russo-Georgian war for Ukraine. Communist leader P. Symonenko generally considered it necessary to open a criminal case on the fact of illegal supply of Ukrainian weapons to Georgia. The Parliament of Ukraine tried to express its own position on the issue of the Russian-Georgian

war. People's deputies prepared several resolutions in which they tried to express their vision of events in Georgia. None of these resolutions received a sufficient number of votes for adoption (five resolutions were initiated by deputies from the coalition (“Our Ukraine – People's Self-Defense”, “Bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko”), two more by opposition deputies (Party of Regions, Communist Party of Ukraine).

The Prospects of The Further Research is the analysis of the prospects for the settlement of “frozen conflicts” in the post-Soviet space against the background of the decline of the geopolitical influence of the Russian Federation on the states of the former socialist camp at the beginning of the 21st century.

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**Radym HUBAN**

*PhD hab. (Law), Associated Professor, Deputy Head of the Secretariat of the Legal Policy Committee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 5 Hrushevskoho Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01008 (rad\_80@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-9354-0222

**Dmytro MALEZHYK**

*PhD (History), Associated Professor of the Department of History and Historiosophy, Dragomanov Ukrainian State University, 9 Pyrohova Street, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 01601 (d.i.malezhyk@npu.edu.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-1242-2134

**Радим ГУБАНЬ**

*доктор юридичних наук, доцент, заступник керівника секретаріату Комітету з питань правової політики Верховної Ради України, вул. М. Грушевського, 5, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01008 (rad\_80@ukr.net)*

**Дмитро МАЛЕЖИК**

*кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії та історіософії Українського державного університету імені М. Драгоманова, вул. М. Пирогова, 9, м. Київ, Україна, індекс 01601(d.i.malezhyk@npu.edu.ua)*

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**BORDERS OF THE LATE HETMANATE:  
CURRENT TOPICS AND PROSPECTS OF THEIR RESEARCH**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to analyze the prospects of interdisciplinary research on the late Hetmanate borders with Russian territories and Zaporizhzhian Sich, borders of Ukrainian autonomy with Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The methodology of research includes the methods of historical and legal sciences and based on the principles of historicism and consistency. Both general scientific (analysis and synthesis, generalization, system analysis), special and historical (critical analysis of sources, retrospective, historical and comparative) methods as well as legal science (formal and legal, comparative legal) methods have been used. The Scientific Novelty. For the first time, in the article there have been singled out separate directions of historical and legal research on the example of the activities of government officials related to the delimitation and demarcation of borders. Prospective ways of the “direction” (in some cases, we can talk about modernization) of borders, such as: delimitation and demarcation of borders, activities of the Ukrainian and Russian government officials, who were engaged in delimitation and demarcation, have been determined. The perspective of a systematic analysis of the Cossack starshyna views, involved in border commissions, on Hetmanship and on the Russian Empire,*

on the neighbouring Zaporizhzhia, on the western neighbour of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, has been also done. **The Conclusion.** The study of the demarcation of the late Hetmanate borders is a promising object for interdisciplinary research by a whole group of researchers in the field of historical and legal research. The evidence suggests that representatives of the administration of the Hetman region tried to carry out border demarcation profitably, while some of them showed an inappropriate attitude to work in joint demarcation commissions. It is shown that the border demarcation was a difficult task; its implementation was carried out by personalities known in the history of Eastern Europe.

**Key words:** Hetmanate, borders, delimitation, demarcation, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Russian Empire.

## КОРДОНИ ПІЗЬНОГО ГЕТЬМАНАТУ: СУЧАСНІ АКТУАЛЬНІ ТЕМИ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ ЇХ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ

**Анотація.** Метою роботи є аналіз перспектив міждисциплінарного дослідження кордонів пізнього Гетьманату з російськими територіями та Запорізькою Січчю, кордонів української автономії з Річчю Посполитою. **Методологія дослідження** включає методи історичних та юридичних наук і ґрунтується на принципах історизму, науковості та системності. Застосовано загальнонаукові (аналізу та синтезу, узагальнення, системного аналізу), спеціально-історичні (критичного аналізу джерел, ретроспективний, порівняльно-історичний) та юридичні (формально-юридичний, порівняльно-правовий) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше виокремлено напрями історико-правового дослідження на прикладі діяльності урядовців щодо делімітації та демаркації кордонів. Визначено перспективні шляхи «напряму» (у деяких випадках йдеться про модернізацію) кордонів, таких як делімітація і демаркація, розкрито діяльність українських і російських урядовців, залучених до встановлення кордонів. Проаналізовано перспективи системного аналізу поглядів козацької старшини, залученої до прикордонних комісій, на гетьманство і на Російську імперію, на сусідні Запорізьку Січ та Річ Посполиту. **Висновки.** Вивчення демаркації кордонів пізнього Гетьманату є перспективним предметом міждисциплінарного дослідження для цілої групи науковців у галузі історії та права. Факти засвідчують, що більшість представників гетьманської адміністрації намагались якісно провести демаркацію кордонів, у той час як деякі з них показували неналежне ставлення до роботи в спільних комісіях. Демаркація кордонів була складним завданням, і була здійснена особистостями, добре відомими в історії Східної Європи.

**Ключові слова:** Гетьманщина, кордони, делімітація, демаркація, Річ Посполита, Російська імперія.

**The Problem Statement.** The border is an immanent feature of the state, its necessary attribute. In this regard, the delimitation and demarcation of borders is of great importance, the essence of which is the line of its passage established on the map. Before demarcation of the border, in fact, one cannot speak of establishing a border per se. Since its definition on the ground makes it possible to protect it from illegal crossing. In this aspect, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the demarcation of the borders of the Hetmanate for the settlement of Russian-Ukrainian relations and the protection of the remaining state sovereignty of Ukrainian lands.

In 18th century there were boundaries between the Hetmanate and Russia (the Russian provinces and Slobozhanshchyna, or Slobidska Ukraine), between the Hetmanate and Zaporizhzhia. In some periods of history, the entire commissions were assembled to work on a clear definition of the border between the Hetmanate (and the Russian Empire) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Taking this into account, it is important to highlight the role of the Cossack authorities in the demarcation of the Hetmanate boundaries during the rule of K. Rozumovskiy.

**The Analysis of Publications and Recent Research.** The problem of delimitation of the Hetmanate border is a subject of both Ukrainian and foreign researches. General issues of

state boundaries were analyzed in O. Putro's research on political and administrative issues of the Ukrainian-Russian relationship during the O. Rozumovskyi's Hetmanship (Putro, 2008). The formation of the boundaries of the Hetmanate from its beginning was analyzed in the studies of O. Hurzhii (Hurzhii, 2015), Z. Kohut (Kohut, 2011) and M. Krykun (Krykun, 2016). The problem of personnel policy in the Hetmanate was the subject of V. Patlachuk's research (Patlachuk, 2013). K. Halskyi focused on trade issues and customs duties between the Hetmanate and Russian Empire (Halskyi, 2006). The researches, written by V. Brekhunenko (Brekhunenko, 2014), S. Rusakov (Rusakov, 2022), V. Sklokin (Sklokin, 2019) and T. Chukhlib (Chukhlib, 2014) deal with the study of the political, socio-economical, cultural and legal status of Ukrainian territories in 18th century. Ukrainian researcher Ya. Vermenych turns to the problem of the phenomenon of borders and borderlands as special areas of interaction (Vermenych, 2021). Despite a number of works on the Hetmanate history of 18th century, boundary issues in terms of activity of the Cossack leadership have not become a special subject of study, adding urgency of our paper.

**The Purpose of the Research.** The main purpose of this research deals with the analysis of the prospects of interdisciplinary research on the late Hetmanate borders with Russian territories and Zaporizhzhian Sich, borders of Ukrainian autonomy with Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

**The Results of the Research.** The Hetmanate inherited the Ukrainian-Russian border from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It began to be established in accordance with the terms of the Truce of Deulino (1618). However, the exact border was not established at the time. The main obstacle for this issue was the lack of a natural geographical border and the temporary status of the delimitation of the territory of Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to the Peace of Polyanovka (1634), this border was specified and adjusted, and also determined by special border features. However, even after 1634, there were frequent border conflicts, an example of this might be the "Putyvl border case" (1638) (Hurzhii, 1997, pp. 16–17).

In 1648, the border between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Tsardom of Muscovy was more or less established. However, it continued to be not clearly defined, one of the reasons for which was the lack of sufficient funding in the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for a clear demarcation of borders and the integration of new eastern territories into the state. The Left-Bank Hetmanate received this border as its legal border with the territory of Tsardom of Muscovy. At this border customs duties were charged, some goods were not allowed to pass, quarantines were introduced, fugitives were detained, completely different laws and judicial systems operated on both sides of the border, so different lives were raging. This Ukrainian-Russian border existed until the abolition of the Hetmanate institution in 1764 (with certain exceptions, such as in 1709, the city of Kotelva was taken from the Hadiach regiment and transferred to the Okhtyrka regiment, which was part of the Slobozhanshchyna).

The problem of the border between the Hetman state (as part of Russian Empire) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which existed until 1772, is interesting and multidimensional. It began to be legally formalized according to the Treaty of Andrusovo (1667). Finally, it was formed in accordance with the Eternal Peace of 1686, although de facto it was not the same as de jure. Both the Russian Empire and the Hetmanate wanted him to be pushed to the west in the 18th century. Russia did this during the Great Northern War (1700 – 1721). The Ukrainian administration tried to take control of Right-Bank Ukraine during the reign of Ivan Mazepa in

1704 – 1709. Even subsequent hetmans made attempts to preserve at least a little bit of land on the opposite bank, in order to justify the title “Hetman of both sides of the Dnipro River”. After the Peace of Belgrade (1739) between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, the starshyna (officers) of the Poltava and Myrhorod regiments extended his administration to a large area of North-Western Zaporizhia (Hurzhii, 2015, p. 32).

Since K. Rozumovskiy gained power over Zaporizhzhia, a large new territory came under his rule. The border between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire can be considered as the southern border of the Hetmanate. This is evidenced not only by the imperial document, but also by the perception of the elite of the Hetmanate. In particular, this can be seen from the “Petition of the Little Russian Nobility”. In the paragraph “On the Establishment of a Port on the Dnipro River”, which can safely be attributed to the modernization concepts of “educated government” and “well-ordered state”, it was proposed that: “having chosen a suitable place lower the rapids on the Dnipro River, to establish a port and make a petition to the Ottoman Porte, so that, although on Turkish and other foreign peoples’ ships, the merchants of the Little Russian people would be free to travel across the Black and Mediterranean Seas” (point 25) (Proshenie, 1993, p. 94).

It should be mentioned that there are quite a lot of archival materials remaining on the demarcation of the borders between the Russian Empire (Hetmanate) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the time of the Governing Council of the Hetman Office (1734 – 1750) and the reign of K. Rozumovsky (1750 – 1764), as well as the border between the Russian Empire (Hetmanate) and the Ottoman Empire (the Crimean Khanate). There are also a number of interesting materials and subjects about border life from the Ukrainian side during the reign of K. Rozumovskiy. All this makes the issue “Borders of the Late Hetmanate” interesting for in-depth research.

A relevant and versatile research issue is the demarcation of the border along the Dnipro River, which, as it was mentioned, existed until 1772. The wish of the Senate of the Russian Empire to carry out the demarcation of this border by the Ukrainian-Russian commission in the 1740s was never fulfilled. Thus, in 1741, engineer-captain Fedir Molkanov worked on this issue (Hurzhii, 1996, p. 70). In 1742, on the Russian side, adviser Polyakov was appointed to the joint Ukrainian-Russian commission. On November 25 of the same year, General Bunchuk Officer Obolonskyi was appointed to the commission by the General Military Office (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 260, d. 1, c. 454, p. 6). According to the order of the Russian authorities, when demarcating the borders, it was necessary to involve the starshyna of the regiments where the demarcation was carried out. However, at the same time, the commission still had to be guided by the instructions, according to which the Ukrainian members of the commission were forbidden to argue with the Russians. This clearly indicates an active position in defending the interests of the representatives of the central administration of the Hetmanate in the demarcation of borders that was favorable for the Ukrainian side.

The involvement of a knowledgeable regimental starshyna in the border demarcation process did not help to resolve issues related to setting boundaries in the area. On January 31, 1744, the General Military Office, taking into account the requests of both sides, established a new procedure for determining the passage of the border. According to it, in order to avoid disputes, the owners (or their representatives) of arable land and haymakers from both the Ukrainian and Russian sides were involved in this process (CSHAUK, f. 260, d. 1, c. 454, p. 8). After that, the demarcation process slightly intensified.

It should be noted that problems with demarcation were not only on the Ukrainian-Russian border. Thus, in 1745, the Board of Foreign Affairs of Russia, referring to the fact that the state borders with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had not yet been definitively defined, prohibited by a special decree from issuing documents for the right to own estates in the border strip to Polish nobles. In the same year, Crimean Khan Selim II Giray complained to Kyiv Governor-General M. Leontyev about the inappropriateness of skirmishes on the border between Zaporozhzhian Cossacks and Nogai Tatars. The authorities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in its turn, specified the distances of villages and towns to the Polish-Ukrainian border (Hurzhii, 1996, p. 71). Demarcation of the border was a difficult task, so it was successfully carried out by famous personalities. For example, the well-known Russian historian, military engineer, topographer, Major General O. Rigelman made a significant contribution to the process of establishing the border between the Hetmanate (Russian Empire) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth along the Dnipro River (Hurzhii, 1996, p. 71).

Determining the border line absolutely wouldn't provide an effective guarantee of its enforcement. We have analyzed a significant number of documents that reported on border violations and the consequences associated with this. Moreover, one of the reasons for the massive violation of the state border was the insufficiently clear definition of it on the ground. For example, individual outposts could be moved in winter or spring for various reasons, such as flood, ice, etc.) (Hurzhii, 2015, p. 40).

An interesting topic on the borders of the late Hetmanate was the constant movement of "illegitimate" persons. For example, on September 20, 1750, in a copy of the letter sent from the State Board of Foreign Affairs to the Hetman of Little Russia, Count K. Rozumovskiy, Kyiv Governor-General Leontiev reported to the Senate that the captain and his team sent by him captured 51 people with 2 cannons, one small mortar and other weapons. These people engaged in robberies in the Polish towns and villages closest to the Pereiaslav Regiment. A significant fact was a reply to Leontiev's question about the punishment of those caught, given by the Senate authorities of the Russian Empire. It proposed to use torture, "so that others will be afraid because of it" and thus discourage the desire to "theft" (Materialyi istorii, 1886, pp. 193–194). These robbers were different people, who violated the legislation of that time, and did it with not always the same motives. It should be said, as it follows from the report of the chief of Haisyn, the cupbearer of Bratslav, Antoni Sudymontovych Chechel, that the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was attacked not only by mounted Cossacks, but also by infantry. Moreover, he reported that these raids were carried out with the permission of the Kish otaman. The captured Cossacks said that Kish otaman and sotnyk (a captain) of Arkhanhelohorod Potapenko were "in cahoots" with them) (Materialyi istorii, 1886, pp. 201–209).

At the same time, the Russian government did not leave the issue of the demarcation of Ukrainian and Russian lands. Thus, on October 6, 1749, a decree was issued on the delimitation of the lands of the Empress and Countess Golovkina. It was assumed that General Bunchuzhny Obolonsky had to take part in this case. However, after the election of Hetman K. Rozumovsky, Obolonsky went to the Hetman's court. Instead, State Councilor Poliakov insisted on the return of Obolonsky or the appointment of another person in his place, since he himself was already in Hlukhiv. In the end, Osavul Yakubovych was appointed by the Ukrainian side. However, even this decision did not solve the problem, as Yakubovych, referring to his illness (arthritis), refused to go to the place of demarcation, although the documents preserved the information



that he left his residence the day before. After that, the Board of Foreign Affairs requested to replace Yakubovych with a colonel, who was to be determined by the General Military Chancellery. At the same time, it was decided that in case of Yakubovych's absence, one of the three colonels – Hadiach (Haletskyi), Poltava (Horlenko), Chernihiv (Bozhich) – should take part in the work of the Commission in his place (CSHAUK, f. 269, d. 1, c. 67, p. 3). Moreover, this time it was planned to involve not only the owners of the respective territories, which were on the border of Little Russia and Great Russia, but also old-timers in the demarcation line of the border (CSHAUK, f. 260, d. 1, c. 454, p. 6).

According to the decree of the empress dated October 30, 1751, in 1752, a second meeting of the joint Commission was foreseen, which was to continue without a stop until “the most inconvenient for the delimitation winter time”. At the meeting the Russian side was to be represented by Poliakov, and from the Ukrainian side, the responsible person was to be appointed by the Hetman (CSHAUK, f. 260, d. 1, c. 454, p. 6). The seriousness of the intentions of the Russian empress is evidenced by the fact that, in accordance with its Decree of May 23, 1753, the Board of Foreign Affairs was ordered to appoint a surveyor with proper tools for drawing up land maps, since the hetman did not have them (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 19). On May 28, 1753, the issue on the need to demarcate Great Russian and Little Russian lands was again raised. Moreover, this demarcation was ordered to be carried out from the beginning of spring until winter (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 19).

Investigating the work of the Commission on the demarcation of the Ukrainian-Russian border provides an opportunity to reconstruct the traditional and modernizing views and ideas of the representatives of the central administration of the Hetmanate. It also helps us to reconstruct relations between Ukrainian and Russian government officials at a lower level. The list of candidates submitted to the hetman for participation in the Commission for the demarcation of the Ukrainian-Russian border was quite extensive. It consisted of such colonels: Lubny (Apostol), Poltava (Horlenko), Gadiach (Galetsky), Chernihiv (Bozhich), Myrhorod (Ostrogradsky). Among the Bunchuk's comrades the Commission included Yakiv Markovych, Ivan Dyiakovskii, Vasyl Hudovych, Ivan Andreiev, Ivan Skorupa, Hryhorii Borozna, Hryhorii Ivanenko, Ivan Yanovskiy. From this list, only the candidacies of the Myrhorod colonel Ostrogradsky and Bunchuk Comrade Yanovsky gained the support of the Hetman. This choice was explained by the fact that they had already participated in the work of the demarcation commission. The will of the hetman was enshrined in his order to the General Military Chancellery dated March 15, 1755. It is obvious that such haste of the General Military Chancellery was explained by the need to implement the Decree of the Empress dated March 9, 1755, in which it was recalled that on February 23, 1755, the Senate made a decision on the demarcation of Russian and Ukrainian lands (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 19). Therefore, the hetman ordered Colonel of Myrhorod regiment, Fedir Ostrohradskiy, and Bunchuk comrade Ivan Yanovskiy to arrive immediately in Hlukhiv. They had to arrive there earlier than State Councilor Poliakov, since they had to receive instructions in Hlukhiv (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 33). As we realize later, as of May 26, 1755, Yanovsky would never arrived in Hlukhiv (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 33). Colonel F. Ostrohradsky also did not arrive in Hlukhiv. He explained that he was absent due to a sore leg (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 38). Meanwhile, Polyakov had already arrived and was waiting at the border (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 42).

It was curious and unpleasant for the Ukrainian side that Polyakov left the meeting point before the arrival of the Ukrainian delegation. On July 7, 1755, Colonel Fedir Ostrohradskiy

and Bunchuk comrade Ivan Yanovskyi complained that they came to the place of work of the Commission, but did nothing, and being there was financially burdensome for them. The letter also stated that the colonel's leg hurt, so he needed to leave. In connection with Ostrohradsky's illness, Major Standard-bearer Mykola Khanenko proposed his candidacy to the commission on August 13, 1755 (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 50). Instead, the Hetman wrote in a letter to the General Military Chancellery on October 20, 1755 that it was not necessary to appoint M. Khanenko, who proposed himself, but it was necessary to appoint Lubny Colonel D. Apostol (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 55). There was no point in remaining Bunchuk comrade without a colonel. They also asked the hetman to appoint a meeting place for the Russian and Ukrainian delegation not far from the border, so that they would not have to go far (CSHAUK, f. 51, d. 3, c. 1390, p. 47). On October 3, 1755, Bunchuk comrade Ivan Yanovsky once again informed the hetman that he lacked money to be a member of the Commission in Hlukhiv (CSHAUK, f. 260, d. 1, c. 454, p. 15). In the same letter, Ostrohradskyi and Yanovsky reported that during the determination of the demarcation line between them and the head of the Russian delegation Poliakov, a dispute arose regarding the settlements in Starodub and Nizhyn regiments. In Starodub regiment, the dispute arose around the settlement of Kamianka, and in Nizhyn regiment – around Chuikivka and Zhuravka. Since the Ukrainian delegation did not agree with Polyakov, it prepared own version of demarcation, which had to be submitted to the Foreign and Patrimonial Collegium (CSHAUK, f. 260, d. 1, c. 454, p. 47).

It should be emphasized that Russian government officials ignored the interests of the Ukrainian side sporadically. Also, some representatives of the Ukrainian administration did not see great prospects for themselves in defending the borders of the Hetmanate. Thus, in 1760 Bunchuk comrade Danylo Treblianskyi wrote to Hetman K. Rozumovskyi that he had come to the Commission meeting, but he turned out to be one of the Ukrainian side. In this regard, he asked for permission to leave the commission, as he does not want to leave it arbitrarily so that he is not fined (CSHAUK, f. 269, d. 1, c. 3124, p. 1). As follows from the letter, Yakym Lytvynov was also supposed to take part in the work of the Commission. In September, 1760, he wrote a letter in which he apologized to Trebliansky and informed that he was forced to leave for St. Petersburg because he was summoned by the empress. At the same time, he claimed that he left all the documents necessary for negotiations with the "copyist" (CSHAUK, f. 269, d. 1, c. 3124, p. 2).

Problems in the work of representatives of the Hetmanate in the Commissions on border demarcation can be seen from the clarifications of the border between the Russian Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1753 – 1754. When establishing the border, the main criterion was the exact demarcation of the territory of both countries. Old-timers respected in a particular area were used in the work on border demarcation (Hurzhii, 1996, p. 74). However, the demarcation process was difficult. This is evidenced, in particular, by a letter to Hetman K. Rozumovskyi, which the empress sent to him, summarizing the materials received from Colonel Myronov. In the letter, the hetman wrote that Bunchuk comrades from the Commission are often irresponsible in performance of their duties. Often they do not appear at the commission meeting at all. Even more often, they come next to close of its work. Even when they arrived at the Commission meeting, they were often not ready for constructive work. As a result, the representatives of the Polish side simply mocked them, and the commission meeting could never begin. In the end, the empress concluded that Bunchuk comrades should appear immediately after receiving the summons. Also, the

empress ordered to prepare carefully for participation in the work of the Commission, and not to come unprepared (CSHAUK f. 269, d. 1, c. 1232, p. 2).

**The Conclusion.** Therefore, the process of demarcation of the borders of the late Hetman state is a promising object for interdisciplinary research of a whole group of researchers in the field of both history and law. The study of the borders of the late Hetmanate sheds light on the views of the Cossack starshyna on their state and empire. Contrary to the official statements of the imperial authorities about a parity approach to the formation of joint commissions and their conventional activities, the final word in defining the border line still remained with the Russian representatives. On the one hand, representatives of the Hetmanate administration tried to demarcate the borders profitably. On the other hand, a large part of them showed an inappropriate attitude to work in joint commissions on border delimitation.

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**Roman PORONYUK**

*PhD Student Scientific and Organizational Department, Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Army Academy, 32 Heroes of Maidan Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (rporon@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-5289-9431

**Olga GAPEYEVA**

*PhD (History), Senior Researcher, Professor of Department of Mobilization and Personnel Organization, Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Army Academy, 32 Heroes of Maidan Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (o.gapeewa@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-3145-7025

**Роман ПОРОНІЮК**

*ад'юнкт штатний науково-організаційного відділу Національної академії сухопутних військ імені Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (rporon@gmail.com)*

**Ольга ГАПЕЄВА**

*кандидатка історичних наук, старша наукова співробітниця, професорка кафедри мобілізаційної, організаційно-штатної та кадрової роботи Національної академії сухопутних військ імені Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (o.gapeewa@gmail.com)*

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**COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF INFORMATION  
AND MEDIA DEPARTMENTS OF THE POLISH ARMY  
AND THE ARMED FORCES OF UKRAINE IN 2014 – 2022**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is to do a comparative analysis of the objectives, organizational and staff structure, individual aspects of information and media departments activities and public relations units of the Polish Army and the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism and scientificity, the author's objectivity, as well as the use of general scientific methods and special historical methods, primarily historical-comparative, historical-systemic, historical-typological methods. The scientific novelty consists in the following: for the first time the activity and organizational staff structure of the information and media departments of the Polish Army in 2014 – 2022 have been analyzed and a comparative analysis with the Armed Forces of Ukraine has been carried out. The Conclusion. Poland is a strategic partner of Ukraine, a member of NATO and the European Union, but until 1991, Poland was one of the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. This fact gives grounds for asserting that the training system and*



forms and methods of operation of the military mass media of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (during the first years of independence) and the Polish Army had many common features. In the article there has been determined that the information departments of the Polish Army and the Armed Forces of Ukraine have a lot in common, in fact, as well as the army structure itself. The hybrid war started by the Russian Federation prompted not only Ukraine, but also Poland to strengthen the information front. The affinity of the two systems of informing the population to support the army was tested in the joint Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian brigade. It is important that after 2014, the Armed Forces of Ukraine, when forming a new communication system, generally focused on Poland, the country that is mentally close, which allows active communication with its own population. In its turn, Poland also uses the experience of Ukraine gained in the war actively and tries to make the necessary changes quickly.

**Key words:** Press services, public relations, media, the Polish Army, the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

## ПОРІВНЯЛЬНА ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА ІНФОРМАЦІЙНО-МЕДІЙНИХ СТРУКТУР ВІЙСЬКА ПОЛЬСЬКОГО ТА ЗБРОЙНИХ СИЛ УКРАЇНИ У 2014 – 2022 рр.

**Анотація.** Метою статті є порівняльний аналіз завдань, організаційно-штатної структури, окремих аспектів діяльності інформаційно-медійних структур та підрозділів зі зв'язків із громадськістю Війська Польського та Збройних Сил України. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму та науковості, авторської об'єктивності а також на використанні загальнонаукових методів і спеціально-історичних методів, насамперед історико-порівняльного, історико-системного, історико-типологічного. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше досліджено діяльність та організаційно-штатну структуру інформаційно-медійних структур Війська Польського у 2014 – 2022 рр. та проведено порівняльний аналіз зі Збройними Силами України. **Висновки.** Польща – стратегічний партнер України, країна-член НАТО та Європейського Союзу, але до 1991 р. вона була однією із країн-учасниць Варшавського договору. Це дає підстави стверджувати, що система підготовки та форми і методи діяльності військових засобів масової інформації ЗС України (у перші роки Незалежності) та Війська Польського мали багато спільних рис. Інформаційні структури Війська Польського і Збройних Сил України мають багато спільного, власне, як і сама армійська структура. Гібридна війна, яку розпочала Російська Федерація спонукала до посилення інформаційного фронту не лише Україну, а й Польщу. Спорідненість двох систем інформування населення задля підтримки армії пройшла апробацію у спільній Литовсько-польсько-українській бригаді. Важливо, що після 2014 р. Збройні Сили України при формуванні нової системи комунікації загалом орієнтувалася саме на Польщу, країну, яка близька ментально, що дає підставу активно комунікувати з власним населенням. Зі свого боку, Польща також активно використовує досвід України, здобутий у війні, і намагається оперативнo вносити необхідні зміни.

**Ключові слова.** Прес-служби, зв'язки з громадськістю, ЗМІ, медіа, Військо Польське, Збройні Сили України.

**The Problem Statement.** Against the background of the full-scale war launched by the Russian Federation against Ukraine at the end of February of 2022, the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda signed a new law –“On the Defense of Fatherland”, which provides for an increase in the number of the Polish Army to 300 thousand people, of whom 50 thousand people – in the territorial defense forces. At the same time, it was also announced the army modernization and a significant increase in defense spending, which, according to the plan, would grow every year (Duda, 2022). The measures listed above provide for the formation of a positive informational background regarding popularization of military service and support of patriotic sentiments among population.

Poland is a strategic partner of Ukraine, a member of NATO and the European Union, but until July 1, 1991, Poland was one of the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact on

Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (1955). This fact gives grounds for asserting that the training system and forms and methods of operation of the military mass media of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (during the first years of independence) and the Polish Army had many common features. After joining the North Atlantic Alliance (1999), the activities of the information and media structures of the Polish Army are regulated by NATO standards, which provide for the existence of an effective system of informing a democratic society about the state of the armed forces.

Currently, the process of transition of the Armed Forces of Ukraine to NATO standards continues, despite the fact that the country is at war. Information and media structures of the Ukrainian army are being modernized according to modern requirements. Therefore, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive study of the system of informing the population about the activities of the Polish Army during the period of aggravation of the military and political situation in the world and the expediency and effectiveness of applying acquired experience in matters of public relations and information in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, in particular, during a full-scale military aggression of the Russian Federation against our state.

**The Analysis of Research Papers and Publications.** It should be noted that the issues of information and media departments of the Armed Forces of Ukraine have not yet become the subject of research by domestic researchers of the national army. The peculiarities of mass media functioning of the Polish Army in the context of countering the informational aggression of the Russian Federation have not been analyzed by scholars either.

At the same time, certain issues of ensuring the information security of Ukraine are considered in the scientific research of O. Gapeyeva (Gapeyeva, 2017, pp. 31–39). The information reasons and information support of the hybrid war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine are analyzed in the study of N. Karpchuk and B. Yuskiv (Karpchuk & Yuskiv, 2022, pp. 71–85). A comparative analysis of the information and media activity of organizational structures of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the Polish Army is conducted for the first time.

**The purpose** of the article is to compare the objectives, organizational and staff structure, individual aspects of the activities of information and media departments and public relations units of the Polish Army and the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

**The Basic Material Statement.** The hybrid aggression of the Russian Federation for eight years, occupation of part of the territory of Ukraine, barbaric destruction of cities and villages, murders and terror of the local population prompted the leaders of many European countries to reconsider their attitude to national security problems radically, and, accordingly, increase the financing of defense sector, combat and armies capabilities. Russia, by any means, tries to undermine the position of NATO and the European Union member states regarding aid to Ukraine, discredits its higher military and political leadership, increases a negative informational influence by creating a picture of victory and economic growth, and uses outright economic and informational blackmail.

It should be understood that in 2000, after the election of the Russian President Volodymyr Putin, the largest Russian media organizations are either directly controlled by the state or owned by Putin's supporters. Many major Russian media act as mouthpieces for the Russian government (Roman, 2017). These official media are actively involved in hybrid wars.

In this context, the information and media structures, the public relations service of the Armed Forces of Ukraine play an important role in mobilizing the Ukrainian society to protect Motherland, bringing up patriotism in the Ukrainian soldiers, and informing the population about the course of events on the front line timely.

The object of the research is the experience of information and media departments of the Polish Army. It was the Republic of Poland that accepted one of the biggest challenges of the migration crisis in 2021, which was provoked by Russia, and in 2022 the Republic of Poland gave shelter to millions of refugees from Ukraine and at the same time it helps in solving humanitarian and military issues actively.

If we consider the migration crisis artificially created by the Russians in 2021 – 2022 in order to exacerbate the socio-economic situation in Europe, then “... this is part of a hybrid war, and this operation, which was developed and implemented by the Kremlin, was aimed at destroying the borders of the eastern flank of NATO”, – says the director of the Institute of Foreign Policy Studies, Doctor of political sciences, Professor of KNU, an international conflict expert Hryhoriy Perepelytsia (Perepylytsya, 2021).

Hybrid threats posed by the Russian Federation have a malicious intention to manipulate political decision-making processes of the target nation by influencing behaviour and attitudes of key audiences such as media organizations, general public, and political leaders (Karpchuk & Yuskiv, 2022)

Therefore, the Polish Army must be in a constant combat readiness and timely detect and respond to elements of the hybrid war, which the Russian Federation continues. To this should be added the existence of the Suwalki corridor (isthmus), which has geopolitical significance and simultaneously connects the territory of the Baltic countries with Poland and other NATO countries, and also separates the territory from the Russian Kaliningrad region and Belarus (Berezhnyy, 2022)

First of all, in order to understand organizational and staff structure of the information and media units of the Polish Army, let's find out its general structure.

In the article “Army of Poland: the Number and Military Expenses Increase Significantly...” Serhiy Polishchuk, the author provides the following information:

Table 1

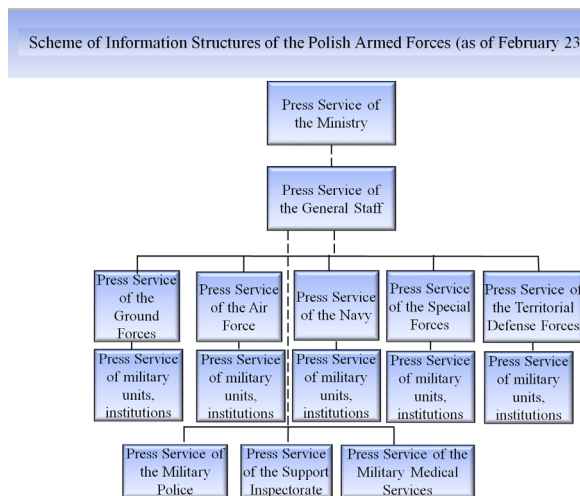
**Composition and Number of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland (Polishchuk, 2020)**

Composition and Strength of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland				
Ground Forces	Air Force	NAVI	Special Forces	Territorial Defense Forces
68 000	25 000	8 000	3 000	20 000
TOTAL = 118 000				

As we can see in Table 1, as of June 2020, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland consisted of the Ground Forces, the Air Force, the Navy, the Special Forces and the Territorial Defense Forces. The total number of troops was 118,000 and more than 75,000 in reserve. According to the GlobalFirepower resource, Poland ranks the 24th place in the ranking of the world's armies (Ranking of the armies of the world, 2022). Since on March 18, 2022, the President of Poland Andrzej Duda signed the law on increasing the number of troops, which

was discussed above, we can foresee changes in the structure of information and media structures. That is why, in our study we analyze their activities until March of 2022.

According to the above organizational structure of the Polish Army and the decision of the Minister of National Defense No. 47 of March 26, 2019 “On Principles of Information Policy Implementation and Functioning of Communications Service in the Ministry of National Defense”, the schematic structure of the information structures of the Polish Army looks as follows:



**Scheme 1. Scheme of Information Structures of the Polish Army**

At the same time, it should be taken into account that immediately after the collapse of the socialist camp, the Republic of Poland resumed its democratic path. The main ideology of the state is its openness to society. Therefore, the main goal of the information policy of the Ministry of National Defense is to meet the needs of society to obtain reliable information for the support of society and recognition of the goals and activities carried out by the Ministry (Rishennya № 47 ministra natsional'noyi oborony, 2019)

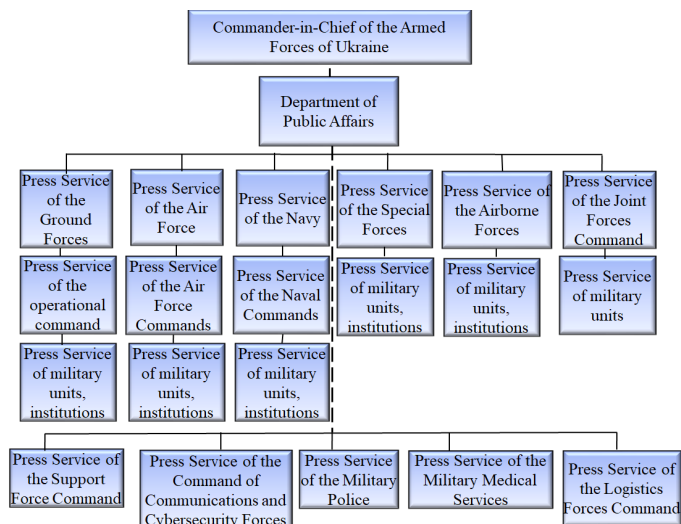
In general, the Polish Army formed an effective system that organically combines measures to inform both the population and entire personnel of the army. Its elements function both in individual units and in the Ministry.

For effective implementation of the information policy of the state, public relations service of the Ministry of National Defense was created. It is the representatives of the service who determine the main objectives and methods of informing the population about certain events.

For example, the public relations department:

- the public relations service of the Ministry of National Defense;
- the public relations service at the General Staff of the Polish Army;
- the public relations service in organizational units of the Armed Forces;
- the public relations service of Polish military contingents / Polish military units and branches or units performing duties outside the country.

Comparing the above mentioned structure of the public relations service of the Polish Army with a similar structure in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, we see their almost complete identity. An interesting fact is the almost simultaneous creation of these systems (Senyk, 2021).



(Senyk, 2021)

As it can be seen, the difference consists in the number of organizational department of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the Polish Army only. There is no doubt that this factor is very positive for further international military cooperation between the two military departments of Ukraine and Poland.

There should be noted a certain affinity between the information and media systems of the Polish Army, the Armed Forces of Ukraine and the Armed Forces of Lithuania. It is in the Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian brigade named after the Great Hetman Kostiantyn Ostrozhsy that there is a press service, and officers of the three countries carry out the duty of informing the public about the brigade's activities jointly.

However, in the Polish Army, public relations units are not provided for in all military units and institutions: in those units where there are no full-time public relations positions, it is possible to create a freelance public relations service to perform duties in the field of information policy. Their activities are coordinated by the full-time press secretary of a higher organizational unit.

There is also a similar practice in Ukraine concerning this issue. According to the authors, a certain decentralization is a positive fact – a commander of a military unit or institution makes a decision concerning performance of freelance duties by his written order. Accordingly, a commander controls and determines the duty of informing population about activities of a unit. The mentioned practice showed its effectiveness and efficiency during the hostilities with the Russian invaders.

It should be noted that the public relations service of the Polish Army tries to maintain high standards in informing its society. Therefore, there are officially approved requirements for candidates for the positions of press officers. Therefore, they must meet the following requirements:

- 1) to have inclination in interpersonal communication;
- 2) ability to express oneself easily and up to the point in oral and written form in the Polish language;



3) experience or knowledge in the field of public relations or journalism and the ability to communicate on the Internet;

4) knowledge of the English language;

5) education in the field of public relations and contacts with mass media” (Rishennya № 47 ministra natsional'noyi oborony, 2019).

Candidates for brigadier-level public relations positions are referred for an interview conducted by a commission appointed by the Ministry's public relations chief in consultation with an appropriate commander. Based on the results of an interview, a conclusion on a candidate is prepared along with a recommendation in the part about his appointment to the position.

The positions and staffing of public relations units, branches or units carrying out duties outside the country are related to the nature of its tasks and needs and are agreed with the head of the public relations service of the Ministry where at least one full-time position is approved or freelance press secretary. In the future, these officials are considered responsible for covering activity of a unit, cooperation with representatives of mass media.

Military units and institutions have their own websites and social media pages. Officials of the press service of a unit are responsible for filling them in and bear full responsibility for their content. According to his duties, the head of the public relations service of the Ministry of National Defense supervises all websites and pages in social networks of structural units and has the right to interfere in their content (Rishennya № 47 ministra natsional'noyi oborony, 2019)

For the Russian Federation, with the spread of the public Internet, social media – online discourse become an important space for creation and distribution of fake messages, turning ordinary citizens into propaganda machines capable of spreading misinformation, paranoia and hatred. Thus, after the Arab Spring, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict can be considered as an important moment in how the Internet is used during conflicts (Mejias & Vokuev, 2017).

Therefore, an important part of the press services work is monitoring information related to activities of military units and timely response to it. It is interesting that according to orders, heads of organizational units of the Ministry operating abroad, as well as defense attachés in diplomatic missions of the Republic of Poland, must inform the head of public relations service of the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Poland about media coverage of information, which concerns the Polish Army immediately.

It should be emphasized that a different unit performs a similar function in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. For example, in 2018 – 2020, information space monitoring and countermeasure groups functioned in army brigades of operational commands and regional military commissariats. Their main objective was to identify negative and fake informational messages and counteract negative informational influence on personnel and population in the area of responsibility, conducting communication campaigns to attract maximum support of population in the actions of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. These units were subordinated to information warfare departments in operational commands and the information warfare department of the Ground Forces Command. In 2020, the work of these divisions was reformatted. Instead, centres were established that perform their functions.

It should be noted that the information unit of the Polish army is represented not only by press services. They also include military mass media. For example, regarding the military press, the official one is “Polska Zbrojna”, which operates on the basis of the Military Publishing Institute (Viyskovo-vydavnychiy instytut, 2022), and also publishes more specialized materials such as Armed Forces Review (Polska Zbroja, 2022).

At the end of 2018, in Ukraine, the editorial offices of the military mass media were reduced in order to comply with the requirements of the Law of Ukraine “On Reforming State and Communal Printed Media”. However, the leadership of the Armed Forces managed to preserve personnel potential of military journalists and create the Information Agency “ArmiyaInfo”, which operates as an information site (ArmyInform, 2020)

Also, on Polish television there is a programme “Nasza Armia”, which is part of state (public) television, therefore it is actually an element of the press service of the Ministry of National Defense (Nasha Armia, 2021)

In the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the structural unit “Central Television and Radio Studio of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine” fully functions and operates, which produces various television programmes, has its own radio station “ArmiyaFM” and distributes video stories (video content) for civilian mass media (ArmyInform, 2020)

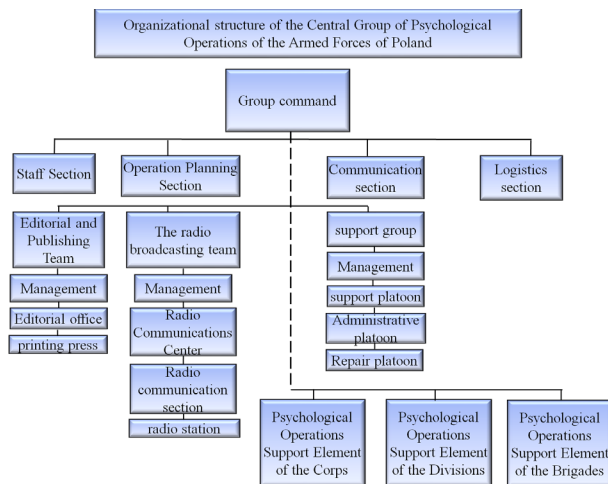
An interesting tool is used to highlight the activities of the Polish Army – a digital photo-video album. The objective of this official unit called “Zoom” is to cover the activities of the army, its advertising, using at the same time unique photo and video content from various trainings exercises, missions and everyday activities (Zoom, 2021)

There is no analogue of such unit in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

An important component of the information department of the Polish Army are information and psychological operations. An interesting feature of this military body is that it reports directly to the Ministry of National Defense.

In other NATO member countries, units of information and psychological operations are part of the Special Operations Forces. In Poland, this unit is represented by the Central Group of Psychological Operations – Central Psychological Operations Centre, located in Bydgoszcz. This Centre includes management, an editorial and publishing team, a radio broadcasting team and a support group, psychological operations support units as part of corps, divisions and brigades (Mariner, 2021).

Schematically, it is illustrated below:



**Scheme 3. Organizational Structure of the Central Group of Psychological Operations of the Polish Army**

There are also such Centers in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, but they are structurally subordinated to the Special Operations Forces. The functions and objectives are the same as those of the Polish Army.

**The Conclusion.** A comparative analysis of the information and media structures of the Polish Army and the Armed Forces of Ukraine gives grounds for asserting that they have many common objectives and similar organizational and staff structures. The effectiveness of the public information system for the support of the armed forces was tested on the example of the press service of the joint Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian brigade.

When forming the newest system of communication with the population in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the experience of the Polish Army was taken into account. Instead, Poland also uses the experience of Ukraine actively, gained in the Russian-Ukrainian war, and promptly makes adjustments to the activities of its own information and media structures effectively.

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**Inna LEVCHEENKO**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Head of the Department of Theory and methods of professional training, Hryhory Skovoroda University in Pereyaslav, 30 V. Suhomlynskyi Street, Pereyaslav, Kyiv Region, Ukraine, postal code 08401 (inna.lewchenko2000@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-9652-8755

**Tatiana CHUBINA**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Head of the Department of Social Sciences, Heroes of Chernobyl Cherkasy Institute of Fire Safety, National University of Civil Defense of Ukraine, 8 Onoprienka Street, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18000 (chubina@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-9383-3604

**Інна ЛЕВЧЕНКО**

*докторка історичних наук, професорка, завідувачка кафедри теорії та методики професійної підготовки Університету Григорія Сковороди в Переяславі, вул. Сухомлинського, 30, м. Переяслав, Київська обл., Україна, індекс 08401 (inna.lewchenko2000@ukr.net)*

**Тетяна ЧУБІНА**

*докторка історичних наук, професорка, завідувачка кафедри суспільних наук Черкаського інституту пожежної безпеки імені Героїв Чорнобиля Національного університету цивільного захисту України, вул. Онопрієнка, 8 м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18000 (chubina@ukr.net)*

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**TERRITORIAL DEFENSE FORCES AS A PHENOMENON OF THE NATIONAL ARMY OF UKRAINE (FROM DECEMBER OF 2020 TO THE PRESENT DAY)**

**Abstract.** *The article deals with determination of the socio-political factors of the Territorial Defense Forces formation, analysis of legal support for citizens' participation in territorial defense, elucidation of military activity of the Territorial Defense soldiers based on the analysis of sources. The authors analyzed the Territorial Defense Forces of Ukraine formation since December of 2020, when the Draft Law of Ukraine "On Territorial Defense" was registered, in fact the first draft law that defined the tasks of the Territorial Defense Forces, substantiated new concepts that were previously incomprehensible to the majority of the Ukrainians. In particular, in the Project there is elucidated the essence of the concept of "Territorial Defense System of Ukraine", which combined military and civilian components.*

*The main aspects of the regulatory framework, which defined the Territorial Defense rights and obligations have been studied. The Law of Ukraine "On the Basics of National Resistance", signed by the President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyi on July 16, 2021, has been analyzed. The main articles of the*



Law, which provide the Territorial Defense powers and their activities in the course of Russia's armed aggression, have been considered. There have been analyzed the issues, which arose in communities regarding resistance movement organization at the beginning of the war. In the article there have been covered the issues of the Territorial Defense Association of Ukraine formation and development, the creation of an integral system of the Territorial Defense operation.

**The methodology of research** is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, and objectivity, which made it possible to implement general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, and generalization. **The scientific novelty** consists in a comprehensive study of the topical issues of the Territorial Defense Forces formation, functioning and military resistance to the Russian aggression. **The Conclusion.** It has been determined that the very system of the Territorial Defense Forces needs to be improved under the conditions of the armed aggression against our state. Further development and improvement is required for the legal framework of the Territorial Defense organization and management, which, in our opinion, was adopted rather hastily, without taking into account the basic requirements of the Forces functioning. The experience of foreign countries in the territorial defense formation has been analyzed, which should be used in the Territorial Defense Forces of Ukraine. A leading role of the Territorial Defense Forces in the performance of the objectives for the territorial communities protection of Ukraine has been determined. There has been given the factual material on the death of territorial defense soldiers during combat missions. The facts of awarding and encouraging members of the TrO with combat awards, including the Motivational Banner, have been documented.

**Key words:** territorial defense, armed aggression, national resistance, territorial communities, Territorial Defense Forces, Russian-Ukrainian War, war zone.

## СИЛИ ТЕРИТОРІАЛЬНОЇ ОБОРОНИ ЯК ФЕНОМЕН НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО ВІЙСЬКА УКРАЇНИ (від грудня 2020 р. до сьогодні)

**Анотація.** У статті з'ясовано суспільно-політичні чинники виникнення Сил територіальної оборони (далі – ТрО), проведено аналіз правового забезпечення участі громадян в територіальній обороні, висвітлено військову активність бійців ТрО на основі аналізу виявлених джерел. Автором проаналізовано формування Сил територіальної оборони України з грудня 2020 р., коли було зареєстровано Проєкт Закону України “Про територіальну оборону”, фактично першого законопроєкту, який визначав завдання ТрО, обґрунтовував нові поняття, які до цього були незрозумілими для більшості українців. Зокрема, у Проєкті розтлумачено поняття «Система територіальної оборони України», яка поєднує військову та цивільну складові.

Досліджено основні аспекти нормативно-правової бази, яка визначає права та обов'язки територіальної оборони. Проаналізовано Закон України “Про основи національного спротиву”, підписаний Президентом України В. Зеленським 16 липня 2021 р. Розглянуто основні статті Закону, які забезпечують повноваження територіальної оборони та їх діяльності в ході збройної агресії Російської Федерації. Розглянуто проблеми, які виникли в громадах стосовно організації руху спротиву на початку війни. У статті розкриваються питання становлення та розвитку об'єднання територіальної оборони України, створення цілісної системи їх функціонування. **Методологія** дослідження побудована на принципах науковості, історизму, об'єктивності, що дало змогу реалізувати загальнонаукові методи аналізу, синтезу й узагальнення. **Наукова новизна** полягає у комплексному дослідженні актуальних питань формування, функціонування та військового протистояння Сил територіальної оборони російській агресії. **Висновки.** Досліджено, що сама система ТрО в умовах збройної агресії проти нашої держави залишається недоопрацьованим процесом. Подальшого розвитку й удосконалення потребує нормативно-правова база організації та ведення ТрО, яка, на наш погляд, приймалася достатньо поспішно, без врахувань основних вимог функціонування Сил ТрО. Проаналізовано досвід зарубіжних країн у формуванні територіальної оборони, який варто використовувати у функціонуванні Сил ТрО України. Визначено провідну роль Сил територіальної оборони у виконанні завдань із захисту територіальних громад України. Надано фактологічний матеріал загибелі бійців територіальної оборони у ході проведення бойових завдань. Засвідчено факти нагородження та стимулювання членів ТрО бойовими відзнаками, у тому числі Мотиваційним знаменом.

**Ключові слова:** територіальна оборона, збройна агресія, національний спротив, територіальні громади, Сили ТрО, російсько-українська війна, зона бойових дій.

**The Problem Statement.** It should be stated that considerable attention and resources of Ukraine were directed to ensuring the national security at the beginning of the full-scale invasion of Russia (February 24, 2022), which consists in the protection of the state sovereignty, territorial integrity, democratic and constitutional order, national interests of Ukraine from real and potential threats (Zakon Ukrainy, 2018).

The interaction of resistance movement with the powerful Territorial Defense Force contributed to the unification of the Ukrainian society, patriotic elevation and education of citizens, increase in the level of defense capability of our state, etc. It is the consciousness of the Ukrainian nation that generates the national resistance and desire to defeat enemies.

It is important to analyze the process of establishment, formation and functioning of territorial defense system (hereinafter referred to as "TrO"), which requires a comprehensive support not only from territorial communities, ordinary Ukrainians, but primarily from state administration bodies. It is important to find out weak and strong points of the Territorial Defense of Ukraine, because it was the TrO soldiers in the first weeks of the Russian-Ukrainian War, united, despite the lack of proper weapons, who gave a decent rebuff to the enemy, giving the Ukrainians the opportunity to feel safe.

The system of organizing the Territorial Defense of Ukraine acquired a new form of functioning and practical use under the conditions of conducting hostilities starting from January of 2022. The process of building a system of peace and security requires the analysis of its functioning under the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian War. It should be stated that trained and motivated territorial defense soldiers are not only the military reserve of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, but also the priority of their combat capability.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** The territorial defense formation began during the period of independence of Ukraine, but this process was inactive, since Ukraine did not suffer from external aggression. Accordingly, the scholars did not focus on this issue. The first studies on territorial defense began to appear in 2007. V. Frolov and I. Romanchenko the first ones who analyzed the Territorial Defense role and place in the defense system of Ukraine (Frolov, Romanchenko & Palii, 2007; Frolov & Romanchenko, 2009). However, the above-mentioned papers were directly related to the issues of legislation and normative legal framework of the Territorial Defense formation, the conditions for joining the territorial defense ranks, their duties and rights.

O. Troianskyi highlighted the legal principles of citizens' participation in the territorial defense of Ukraine in his research (Troianskyi, 2022), he systematized information on the state of territorial defense of Ukraine at the end of February of 2022, the scholar identified problematic issues faced by the territorial communities in the resistance forces organization in subordinate territories.

The electronic resources are an important source of information on the issue, in which there are highlighted the Territorial Defense Forces problems, their financing, participation in military operations on the front line, information about awards and decorations, and death of the Territorial Defense Forces soldiers. Since the Territorial Defense Forces functioning issues during the period of the Russian-Ukrainian War were partially covered by scholars (Lobko, 2018; Semenenko, Lobko, Kyrychenko & Ovcharenko, 2018; Ianiuk, 2019; Iefimov, Ivakhiv & Kasatkin, 2022), in this study there should be elucidated the phenomenon of the Territorial Defense Forces from various aspects of their activities.

The Ukrainian authorities initiated a number of draft laws that directly related to the Territorial Defense Forces after the beginning of Russia's military aggression against Ukraine

beginning in 2014. Legal acts and orders issued by the President of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine are the main factor in functioning and development of the Territorial Defense Forces system. A number of draft laws were developed regarding views on the organizational processes of the Security Council: Law of Ukraine “On Ensuring Participation of Civilians in Defense of Ukraine” (Zakon Ukrainy, 2021a), Law of Ukraine “On the Basis of National Resistance” (Zakon Ukrainy, 2021b), Law of Ukraine “On National Security of Ukraine” issued on 06.21.2018 (Zakon Ukrainy, 2018), Law of Ukraine “On the Armed Forces of Ukraine” issued on 06.12.1991 (Zakon Ukrainy, 1992), Draft Law of Ukraine “On the Territorial Defense” issued on 16.12.2020 (Proekt Zakonu Ukrainy, 2020), Order of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine “On Approval of Contract Form of Territorial Defense Volunteer and Certificate of Territorial Defense Volunteer” issued on 07.03.2022 (Nakaz MO Ukrainy, 2022), Regulations on voluntary formations of territorial communities issued on December 29, 2021 (Polozhennia, 2021), “Procedure for Issuing Firearms and Ammunition to Civilians who Take Part in Rebuffing and Deterring Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation and/or other states” issued on 07.03.2022 (Poriadok, 2022), Decision of the National Security Council “On Military Security Strategy” issued on 25.03.2021 (Rishennia, 2021), etc.

**The purpose of the article** is to analyse regulatory and legal framework, socio-political factors that contributed to the Territorial Defense Forces formation, the partner countries experience in territorial defense formation, coverage of the military activity of territorial defense soldiers based on the analysed sources.

**The Results of the Research.** The topicality of issues related to the Territorial Defense Forces of the country should increase significantly, as a rule, during a peaceful period, when there is a decrease in the number of armed forces and their combat capability. Issues on the territorial defense were regulated before the full-scale invasion of Russia only at the legislative level, since there was no real threat to Ukraine’s sovereignty. The concept of TrO is substantiated in the Law of Ukraine “On the Armed Forces of Ukraine” issued on December 6, 1991, in which there are defined separate categories of forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, in particular: Special Operations Forces, Territorial Defense Forces, Logistics Forces, Support Forces, Medical Forces, etc. The specified categories should collectively deter enemy aggression against our state (Zakon Ukrainy, 1992).

According to experts, the most economical and expedient reserve for supporting the state’s defense capability is the system of Territorial Defense of Ukraine. According to the calculations of domestic and foreign experts, maintenance of the Territorial Defense Forces is several times cheaper than maintenance of regular, combat-ready armed forces. In order to make a comparison, we could cite the data of several countries to understand how important the TrO system is: in Germany and Denmark, maintaining TrO costs 10 times cheaper, in the USA – 6 times (Iakubets, 2022b). Despite various approaches that would contribute to the objectives solution of providing measures for the TrO Forces formation, European countries share the formation principles of the TrO system with Ukraine, in particular: the territorial troops should be considered as the main part of the regular army; it is more difficult to maintain regular troops than territorial troops; free access to weapons for civilians during wartime; ideological and patriotic education of population (Iakubets, 2022b).

An important draft law that revealed aspects of the Territorial Defense Forces functioning was registered on December 16, 2020. The Verkhovna Rada approved the Draft Law of Ukraine “On Territorial Defense” under No. 4504 (Proekt Zakonu Ukrainy, 2020). The

authors of the Project drew attention to new concepts, such as “military territorial defense of Ukraine”, “headquarters of the Territorial Defence Forces”, “command of the TrO Forces”, “the main civil and military body of the TrO”, “the TrO unit and security of the territorial community”, “head of the TrO staff”, “the TrO district head”, etc.

There are observed some points that contradict the main principles of the TrO Forces, while analyzing the draft law. Considering the provisions of the Project, it should be noted that in it there is suggested a rather confusing and complex system of subordination of the TrO Forces. Thus, territorial defense was to be subordinated to the Minister for Defense, and the latter was to exercise his powers only through the Main Civil Military Body of the TrO (hereinafter referred to as the Main Civil Military Body of the TrO). But this is not the final point of the TrO Forces control. The heads of district and region administrations were supposed to manage the TrO Forces at places with the help of districts headquarters. The relationships among the management units of the state administration, which are responsible for the TrO Forces, is considered to be complicated in this draft law (Romanchenko, Frolov & Paliy, 2009). It should be considered inappropriate to state that the TrO Forces belong to the Ministry of Defense and, at the same time, do not belong to the structure of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Taking everything into consideration, it should be noted that various opinions and views on the organization of the TrO Forces formation process were suggested by people, who are far from the fundamental problems of this type of troops.

In the Ministry for Defense of Ukraine there were singled out three stages of the Territorial Defense Forces formation. The first stage, which can be called a peacetime staff, during which there are about 10,000 people in the TrO: the second stage (a special period staff) should number at least 130,000 people: the third stage (voluntary formation of territorial communities (hereinafter – DFTH) provides for the communities formation exclusively at the request of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and by the decision of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (Kalitventseva, 2022). It is important to agree with the Minister’s of Defense of Ukraine opinion that a complete and efficient formation and functioning of the territorial defense system is impossible without cooperation of the Command of the TrO Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the regional military management bodies of the TrO Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Brigades of the TrO Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and Brigades Battalions of the TrO Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

A comprehensive system of the TrO formation was facilitated by “Military Security Strategy of Ukraine” adopted on March 25, 2021, which substantiates the territorial defense interaction with the resistance movement, citizens patriotic education, the level of the state’s defense capability, and defines a leading role in the organization and solving the Military Security of Ukraine tasks (Rishenia, 2021).

On July 16, 2021, the President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyi signed the Law of Ukraine “On Foundations of National Resistance”. The law contains 9 sections and 26 articles, in which there are defined the main terms, ideas of the national resistance legal basis, the purpose and objectives of the national resistance, the basis of territorial defense formation, the basis of preparing the Ukrainian citizens for the national resistance, requirements for the national resistance leadership, the formation and functioning of Territorial Defense Forces military units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and voluntary formations of territorial communities, staffing of the Territorial Defense Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and voluntary formations of territorial communities, non-partisanship of the national resistance, powers of

the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, ministries and other central bodies of executive power, preparation of territorial defense, etc. (Zakon Ukrainy, 2021).

The draft law envisages giving military voluntary formations the status of paramilitary units, which are formed on a voluntary basis. It is noted that citizens of Ukraine, who live within the territory of a relevant territorial community can join voluntary associations. Military and patriotic education of the Ukrainian citizens should be considered as one of the main objectives laid down in the Law. It is in military voluntary formations that ideals of patriotism are the best established.

Article 8 of Chapter III deals with the conditions for voluntary associations formation of the territorial communities, which must be formed taking into account resource and human capabilities of correspondent territorial communities. Territorial defense soldiers must carry out their activities directly under the leadership and control of a commander of a military unit of the Armed Forces of Ukraine according to the principle of territoriality.

It is important to dwell on Chapter VII of the Law of Ukraine “On Foundations of National Resistance”. It deals with the social and legal protection of the military voluntary formations members by the state. There has been a drastic need for it since 2014. According to Article 25, a military volunteer acquires social guarantees, which consist in the fact that close relatives will receive monetary compensation in case of death, which occurred in connection with the resistance movement objectives. Disability or partial loss of working ability will be acquired in a mandatory manner without acquiring the status – disabled, which eases a financial situation of military volunteer formations members significantly and their families in case of an accident in the zone of active military operations (Zakon Ukrainy, 2021).

But there are numerous issues, which are not mentioned in this draft law. Thus, Vitaliy Kuprii, the People’s Deputy of Ukraine of the 8th convocation, an ex-adviser of the Commander of the TrO of the Armed Forces of Ukraine drew attention to the issue of the TrO Forces immediate reform. In his article, he noted many issues of territorial defense, legislative system imperfection, which cannot guarantee material compensation to the TrO military volunteers in case of injury or death. He also noted that the top leadership of the state needs carry out the TrO Forces reform immediately, starting this process with finalization of the Doctrine, in which to draw a line of demarcation between those, who are conscripted and those who cannot be mobilized in the Armed Forces, but want to defend their community based on the territorial principle. V. Kuprii also initiated introduction of a new draft law that would support volunteer movement for organization of mass effective resistance to the enemy, provided for the possibility for the military volunteers to receive a financial support, etc. (Kuprii, 2022).

The state military leadership, along with local self-government bodies, began to take active measures that would speed up the TrO Forces formation of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and citizens comprehensive involvement in the national resistance to the aggressor starting from February 24, 2022.

In February of 2022, there were formed only 70% of the TrO military volunteers units in 13 regions. Even during the war, TrO was staffed (Terytorialna oborona, 2022). The process of encouraging the reservists to join the ranks of the TrO was not easy. According to S. Kryvonos, 70% of reservists did not show up for military training for a number of reasons. And this is not surprising, imperfection of a regulatory and legal support of the TrO, inadequate material and technical support of divisions, the lack of material and technical base could not instigate the Ukrainians to join the TrO ranks (Levko, 2021).



In addition, there were numerous appeals by the territorial defense personnel to the President of Ukraine with complaints. We can come across numerous videos on social networks and other information resources, in which the TrO soldiers explain that it is impossible to complete the objectives, and sometimes their absence at combat positions, commenting on problematic moments with weak training of personnel, ill-conceived management decisions of commanders, certain miscalculations in the staffing of battalions of the TrO, inadequate provision of portable anti-tank means, etc. (Troianskyi, 2022).

Combat military General, Serhiy Kryvonos, who holds the position of Deputy Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, is concerned with the territorial defense issues. Having devoted many years to service in intelligence and special purpose units, S. Kryvonos tries to form the Ukrainian Defense Forces according to the best world models. In his opinion, territorial defense is capable of protecting our homes, children, parents, etc. (Kryvonos, 2022).

Major General S. Kryvonos cited the practice of Estonia in order to conduct effective military training of the TrO troops, noting that Estonia Defender Day is held once a week, which is an incentive to every Estonian to express patriotic stance. He focuses on material provision of military training for the soldiers, which consists in availability of shooting ranges, good military bases for training, inter-territorial training centres, etc. In addition to a physical and moral training of the TrO Forces, it is important to consider a material component to encourage potential members, because a decent salary will guarantee a social security to their families. Hence, experience of Poland, Canada and the USA showed effectiveness of a quantitative indicator of the TrO members owing to the monetary reward (Kryvonos, 2022).

In March of 2022, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Law of Ukraine “On Ensuring Participation of Civilians in the Defense of Ukraine”. What is the essence of this law? The goals and objectives of the project are supposed to provide an opportunity for citizens of Ukraine to obtain firearms, which is a necessary factor for deterring the enemy. The deadline for returning weapons is also prescribed within 10 days after the end of the martial law (Poriadok vydachi vohnepalnoi zbroi, 2022).

Legislative Act No. 6521 “On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine” “On the Basics of the National Resistance” issued on 28.04.2022 refers to the provision of the opportunity for the TrO Forces of the Armed Forces of Ukraine to participate in the combat zone. It should be mentioned that 338 people’s deputies supported the draft law, having hope in a voluntary formation of the territorial communities (Teroboroni dozvolily vykonuvaty zavdannia, 2022). It should be noted that the “changes...” were made already after the actual presence of the TrO soldiers on the front line of fire .

Hence, at the briefing “Current Situation at the Front”, which took place on May 17, 2022, Brigadier General Serhiy Sobko, acting as the Chief of the Territorial Defense staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, noted that about 25 out of 32 TrO brigades took part in combat operations actions (Teroborona v zoni boiovykh dii, 2022). The General noted that before units come to combat zones, territorial defense soldiers undergo a proper military training. He also provided indisputable facts about an important role of the TrO Forces in the defense and liberation of Sumy, Chernihiv, and Kyiv regions. According to him, the TrO members were considered to be light infantry, on whose shoulders lie the important duties of defending the borders of our state. It is the soldiers of the infantry units, who bear heavy losses and need to be replenished. The fact which is of the greatest importance that the TrO Forces began to be provided with necessary weapons, which consists in provision of heavy machine guns, anti-tank systems, grenade launchers, mortars, portable anti-aircraft missile systems, etc.

Brigadier General S. Sobko emphasizes that the TrO Forces are a component of the Armed Forces of Ukraine together with other branches of the military and are subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, carrying out his orders. There was a false judgement among a significant number of citizens of our country that the TrO Forces should perform the task of defending their regions exclusively. The matter is that there is one war for everyone. Ukraine is also one country for everyone. And victory will be one for everyone (Teroborona v zoni boiovykh dii, 2022).

There are numerous facts, which testify to the TrO military forces participation in the combat zone, which speak of a heroic death of territorial defense soldiers for the sake of saving independence and integrity of our country, the national identity of the people of Ukraine, etc. Zaporizhzhia community lost 5 soldiers of the Territorial Defense already at the beginning of April. The following soldiers died during combat missions: Volodymyr Marakhovskiy, Oleh Yakymenko, Roman Filoboka, Olesandr Malyshkin, and Mykola Trofymenko (Pid chas boiovykh dii, 2022).

At the end of July of 2022, the soldiers of the 125th TrO of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, Volodymyr Hirniak, Mykola Zabchuk and Serhii Kovaliev, died heroically defending their country (U Lvovi poproshchalysia, 2022). On December 9, 2022, there was a final journey of Bohdan Pikha, a soldier of the 103rd Brigade of the TrO of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in Lviv, who worked in the field of road transport abroad before the Russian-Ukrainian War. After he found out about the Russian troops invasion on the territory of Ukraine, he returned home without hesitation and stood up for the protection of his community, and later got into the combat zone, where he died heroically (Zavra Lviv poproshchaietsia z biitsem, 2022).

On May 12, a deputy of Zaporizhzhia Regional Council, V. Yakubets, reported that 4 soldiers of Khust Territorial Defense died and 2 soldiers were injured. According to him, the community lost its heroes as a result of tank shelling of our defenders' positions (Iakubets, 2022a).

Sad news reached Poltava community on January 20, 2023. Two brothers, who were members of the Territorial Defense Battalion of Myrhorod District died, while performing the combat mission in Soledar (U Soledari, 2023). Volodymyr Polistrat and Yevheniy Boyko are heroes not only of their community, but of the entire Ukrainian people.

At the beginning of January of 2023, in Donetsk region 49-year-old Bohdan Petrovych Nadutik and 38-year-old Anatolii Mykolayovych Sukhomlyn were killed. The heroes began their military career as members of the territorial defense of Poltava region, protecting their communities from the onslaught of invaders (Zhuchenia, 2023).

We cannot ignore the tragedy of Poltava community members, who in January of 2023 witnessed brave soldiers of the 116th Territorial Defense Brigade of the Armed Forces of Ukraine on their last journey. The following soldiers gave their lives during a combat near the town of Soledar, Donetsk region: Andriy Lymar, Stanislav Molnar, Ivan Zhuk, Arkadiy Pishchanskyi, Oleksandr Dryha (Parshevliuk, 2023). Maksym Burda, a young man, who was concerned with volunteer issue and local security forces died near Bakhmut on January 26, 2023. Having a spinal disease, Maksym was commissioned, but no prohibitions prevented the soldier from defending his land and dying heroically (Sohodni volyniany, 2023).

On February 5, 2023, Odesa community saw on their final journey a senior lieutenant Vitaliy Osypchuk and a soldier Oleksandr Kostenko from the 126th brigade of the city of Odesa. Heroes gave their lives, while performing a combat mission at the front line (Kostenko, 2023). Many examples of a heroic devotion to the country, community, compatriots can be cited and it should be done, because heroes do not die as long as they are remembered.

Patriotic education of youth should be based on actual material that is collected, multiplied, analyzed, systematized and preserved for future generations.

It is worth dwelling on the heroic act of the soldiers of Vinnytsia territorial defense, who, after months of coordinated training, went to the combat zone in the east of the country. While carrying out the task of restraining the enemy, they were surrounded by the orks (russian soldiers). For five and a half days, the fighters of the 120th Territorial Defense Brigade fought off the enemy's attack, feeling a full force of the artillery fire. An eyewitness of the above-mentioned events with the call sign "Foma" recalls how, after consulting with the company commander, he decided on an incredible act for the sake of saving his brothers. Taking responsibility for the lives of about 50 defenders, he divided them into several groups. "Foma" together with the Commander directed their departure across a minefield with a length of 1,800 meters. They reached their positions after 5 hours without loss of the personnel. Getting out of the encirclement became a salvation for the TrO soldiers (Bobrus, 2023). The heroic deed of "Foma" soldier was awarded the "Silver Cross" by the Commander of the Territorial Defense Forces of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The made-up jokes of our foreign partners speak of significant success of the TrO Forces during the Russian-Ukrainian War. Hence, in the course of an interview with the commander of the Territorial Defense Forces, Brigadier General Yuriy Halushkin made a statement, which can be regarded as a kind of humour, in particular: "NATO wants to become a part of the TrO of Ukraine". Yu. Halushkin noted that it was professionalism, moral spirit and patriotism of our heroes that gave rise to these statements (Stasiuk, 2022).

An important component of the military resistance is motivation of not only ordinary citizens, but also members of the TrO. Thus, Boryspil District State Administration presented a motivational banner to the soldiers of the 137th Territorial Defense Battalion in Pereyaslav region (Madison, 2022). The medal of honour should raise a patriotic spirit of soldiers and become an invariable attribute of the battalion. Irpin community installed the first memorial sign in Ukraine to the Territorial Defense Forces. This sign was a tribute to volunteer heroes, who expelled the invaders from the north of Kyiv at the beginning of the full-scale invasion of the Russian troops, and at the cost of their lives defended the town of Irpin from the invaders (V Irpeni, 2022).

**The Conclusion.** It has been determined that under the conditions of armed aggression against our state the very system of TrO formation is an underdeveloped process. Further development and improvement are required for a legal framework of the TrO organization and management, which in our opinion, was adopted rather hastily, without taking into account the basic requirements of the TrO Forces operation. In order to make effective draft laws in the field of the TrO system, one should not only take into account, but also use the experience of TrO organization in foreign countries. It is necessary to improve the system of territorial defense of the state, based on the experience of the full-scale armed aggression of the Russian Federation, starting with the reform of the TrO Forces system.

An important draft law was analyzed, which was adopted on December 16, 2020. The Verkhovna Rada approved the Draft Law of Ukraine "On Territorial Defense" under No. 4504. The authors explained new concepts of a territorial defense sphere, defined the main tasks of the Territorial Defense Forces and the requirements for joining the TrO.

It was noted that the status of a military formation of the TrO Forces was obtained thanks to the adoption of the Law of July 16, 2021. The Law of Ukraine "On Foundations of National Resistance" provides for the granting of paramilitary units status formed on a voluntary basis

to volunteer formations of territorial defense. Military and patriotic education of Ukrainian citizens should be considered one of the main objectives laid down in the Law.

It has been determined that the phase of active formation and functioning of the Territorial Defense Forces should be considered the date of January 1, 2022, on the eve of the full-scale invasion of the troops of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine. It has been proven that at first the TrO Forces were understaffed not only in terms of human resources, but also in terms of military equipment, but the situation changed for the better: fighters actively engaged in territorial defense, weapons arrived in sufficient quantity, volunteer organizations helped with everything necessary.

It has been noted that the Territorial Defense Forces were staffed according to the principle of voluntariness and territoriality. In the course of the research, the degree of military preparedness and education of the members of the TrO Security has been analyzed. The analysis of the partner countries experience in providing measures for the Territorial Defense Forces formation has been carried out. Chief focus was on military training of volunteers, proper provision of military ranges, shooting ranges, military equipment, etc.

In the process of research, sufficient evidence of an active participation of territorial defense fighters in the combat zone was provided. There have been clarified the facts of the self-sacrifice of TrO fighters during combat missions. The methods of stimulating territorial defense fighters, which consist in awarding members of the TrO with combat awards, including the Motivational Banner, have been revealed.

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**Vitalii TELVAK**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Professor of the Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-2445-968X  
**Researcher ID:** X-5320-2018

**Vasyl ILNYTSKYI**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Head of the Department of History of Ukraine, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100; Associate Professor, Department of Mobilization, Personnel and Human Resources Management, Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi National Ground Forces Academy, 32 Heroyiv Maidana Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (vilnickiy@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-4969-052X  
**Researcher ID:** H-4431-2017

**Віталій ТЕЛЬВАК**

*доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)*

**Василь ІЛЬНИЦЬКИЙ**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри історії України Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100; доцент кафедри мобілізаційної, організаційно-штатної та кадрової роботи Національної академії сухопутних військ імені гетьмана Петра Сагайдачного, вул. Героїв Майдану, 32, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (vilnickiy@gmail.com)*

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**A YEAR OF EXISTENTIAL WAR IN ANALYTICAL REFLECTIONS  
OF THE WARSAW CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to clarify the peculiarities of interpreting the full-scale stage of the Russian-Ukrainian war by analysts of the Marek Karp Centre for Eastern Studies. The methodological basis of the work is an interdisciplinary approach with particular emphasis on the structural and functional systematic analysis of historiographical facts and the comparative and historical method based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. The scientific novelty of*

the article consists in clarifying the peculiarities of the modern stage of Russian aggression against Ukraine by the Centre for Eastern Studies employees. **The Conclusion.** The research proved that the Centre for Eastern Studies closely observed the events of the full-scale stage of the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation, defining it as an existential war. At the same time, not only notorious incidents of armed confrontation fell into the field of their expert discussion. The integrity of the analytical image is complemented by numerous texts about the socio-economic situation in Ukraine, the Kremlin's policy on the occupied territories and successful efforts to create and increase the anti-Putin coalition. Owing to this, the interested observer formed a complete and balanced picture of all the key aspects of the last year of the war. The Polish colleagues, in many respects, imitated the rhetoric of the Ukrainian mass media, placing clear accents when describing the genocidal practices of the Russian regime. This influenced the formation and maintenance of public opinion favourable to Ukraine in Poland and other European Union countries, where Polish Eastern studies have high academic prestige. As a result, this contributes to the neutralization of the efforts of Putin's propagandists in the information space of the states of our partners. Largely owing to this, our country maintains the unwavering support of its allies, despite changes in political cabinets in many countries of the continent. This is an essential prerequisite for the fact that the Ukrainians will not only endure but also win in their most crucial war.

**Key words:** existential war, Marek Karp Centre for Eastern Studies, Komentarze OSW, analytical reception.

## РІК ЕКЗИСТЕНЦІЙНОЇ ВІЙНИ В АНАЛІТИЧНИХ РЕФЛЕКСІЯХ ВАРШАВСЬКОГО ЦЕНТРУ СХІДНИХ СТУДІЙ

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні особливостей осмислення повномасштабного етапу російсько-української війни аналітиками Центру східних студій імені Марека Карпа. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі з'ясування особливостей презентації сучасного етапу російської агресії проти України співробітниками ЦСС. **Висновки.** Проведене дослідження довело, що співробітники ЦСС чимало уваги присвятили подіям повномасштабного етапу російсько-українського протистояння, назвавши його екзистенційною війною. При цьому, що важливо, у полі їхнього експертного обговорення потрапили не тільки голосні події збройного протистояння. Цілість аналітичного образу доповнюють численні тексти про соціально-економічну ситуацію в Україні, політику Кремля на окупованих землях, успішні намагання створити та збільшити антинутінську коаліцію й ін. Завдяки цьому зацікавлений обсерватор отримав можливість скласти доволі повне і збалансоване уявлення про всі ключові аспекти останнього року війни. Польські колеги багато в чому наслідували риторичку українських мас-медіа, розставляючи чіткі акценти при описі геноцидних практик російського режиму. Це вплинуло на формування й утримання прихильної до України громадської думки не тільки у Польщі, але й в інших країнах Євросоюзу, де польське сходознавство тішить високим академічним престижем. У підсумку це сприяє нейтралізації в інформаційному полі держав наших партнерів зусиль путінських пропагандистів. Значною мірою завдяки цьому, наша країна надалі зберігає неослабну підтримку союзників, незважаючи на зміни політичних кабінетів у багатьох країнах континенту. Це є важливою передумовою того, що українці не тільки вистоять, але й переможуть у своїй найголовнішій війні.

**Ключові слова:** екзистенційна війна, Центр східних студій імені Марека Карпа, "Komentarze OSW", аналітична рецензія.

**The Statement of the Problem.** The year of the large-scale Russian-Ukrainian war stimulated the publication of a considerable amount of literature of various genres, highlighting numerous aspects of the most brutal aggression in the post-war history of Europe. The lion's share of it belongs to the Ukrainian intellectuals who are trying to understand the origins and essence of the evil that crossed our border uninvited and are trying to predict at least

the near future. However, since the military actions do not slow down, and the Putin regime is constantly radicalizing the militant rhetoric, representatives of the Ukrainian academic environment are forced to respond promptly to the events of the troubled present without having the psycho-emotional distance necessary for deeper analysis. Therefore, we turn to our Western colleagues in search of stereoscopic reflection, which is so important for us. Our neighbours monitor closely the vicissitudes of the Russian aggression, and they unanimously attest that the Ukrainian resistance is an existential war. To draw attention of our colleagues to the little-known problem of the Polish academic reception of a full-scale stage of the Ukrainian-Russian confrontation, we will try to reproduce the interpretation of the researchers of the Marek Karp Centre for Eastern Studies in Warsaw (hereinafter – the CES), which is one of the most authoritative European analytical institutions.

**The Analysis of Previous Research.** The issues of the Russian-Ukrainian war (2014 – 2023) in general and its full-scale stage, in particular have already been analyzed in scientific and popular science studies. First of all, it is necessary to mention the research by O. Pokotylo, O. Nashyvochnikov, in which there are elucidated the origins of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, in particular the Black Sea Fleet factor and purposeful anti-Ukrainian policy of Moscow (Pokotylo & Nashyvochnikov, 2021). Militarization of an educational process (an active propaganda of service in the armed forces of the Russian Federation, education of potential bearers and defenders of the “Russian world”, the cult formation of war and violence) on the territory of the occupied Crimean Peninsula in 2014 – 2019 are analyzed by B. Demianenko, A. Demianenko (Demianenko & Demianenko, 2021). V. Ilnytskyi, V. Starka, and M. Haliv did research on the use of the main propaganda measures carried out by Russia in preparation for armed aggression against Ukraine (Ilnytskyi, Starka & Haliv, 2022). The information warfare issue as one of the aspects of hybrid warfare in Ukraine was also covered (Chobit, Boichenko, 2022). Borys Drohomiretskyi (Drohomiretskyi, 2022) made an attempt to analyze historiographic research papers on the modern Russian-Ukrainian war comprehensively. The issue of the Russian-Ukrainian war was widely covered in the columns of the newspaper “The New York Times”, Yuriy Ofitsynskyy did research on the Russian-Ukrainian war analysis (Ofitsynskyy, 2018). Actually, the opinions of scholars and former politicians concerning the war in Donbas (February 12, 2015 – April 30, 2018) are analyzed and elucidated in another article by the author (Ofitsynskyy, 2022).

The Western and Polish reception of the Russian-Ukrainian war remained in the focus of Ukrainian observers during 2014 – 2021 (Masnenko, Telvak, Yanyshyn & Telvak, 2021; Telvak & Werner, 2023). However, there have not been reflections on foreign academic evaluations of the last year’s events so far. This determines the relevance of our research.

**The Purpose of the Article.** The purpose of the article is to clarify the peculiarities of the interpretation of a full-scale stage of the Ukrainian-Russian war by the Centre for Eastern Studies analysts.

**The Results of the Research.** We want to start with the overall history and peculiarities of the activity of the CES itself. This institution was founded in 1990 as a budget institution of state administration. The creation of the CES was a response to the needs of the state apparatus of democratic Poland in monitoring and analysing the processes that took place in the Soviet Union and, therefore, in the countries that emerged after the collapse of the communist empire. At present, the sphere of interests of the CES covers Russia, Eastern and Central Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia, the Balkans, Germany, the Baltic and Northern European countries, China, Turkey and Israel. Alongside this, CES staff research



energy policy in the European Union, transport, trade and digital communications in Central Europe, and European security issues. The main tasks of the CES are the preparation of analyses, expert opinions and prognostic studies; the provision of Polish state authorities with information about important political, social and economic events and processes in the international environment; inspiring, organizing and conducting research in the countries and regions covered by the attention of the CES; dissemination of knowledge about the state and trends of changes in the political, socio-economic situation and about the development of international relations in the spheres of the Centre's interests; popularization of Polish analytical thought abroad. The main activities of the CES are fully financed from state funds by the annual decision of the Polish Sejm. More than 40 analysts who are independent in their work are working full-time in the centre. The prime minister appoints its director from among the candidates presented by the seven-member CES Council. The leading media platform of the CES is the online edition "Komentarze OSW".

From the very beginning of the establishment of the Centre for Eastern Studies, the formation of an independent Ukrainian state increasingly interested its researchers. Over time, as relations between Poland and Ukraine deepened and reached the level of strategic partnership, the level of attention reached new heights. The aggression launched by Russia in 2014, especially its current large-scale phase, turned the Ukrainian issue into one of the main thematic trends for the Centre for Eastern Studies employees, who rightly qualified these events as the greatest threat to European security in the post-war period. Evidence of such meticulous attention is the fact that during the year of the full-scale war, more than 600 (!) diverse publications were devoted to Ukraine – from chronic information summaries from the battlefield to meaningful analytical studies on many aspects of the Ukrainian state functioning. Among the regular observers of the Ukrainian affairs, we would like to mention Andrzej Wilko, Piotr Zhochowski, Slawomir Matushak, Krzysztof Nechypor and Jadwiga Rogoza.

The majority of the mentioned publications are analytical summaries from the battlefield that use the Ukrainian news agency reports as a source. In the first days of the full-scale invasion, such reviews appeared even several times a day; later, they became daily, and after the stabilization of the front, only significant events of the military confrontation were covered. Instead, much more interesting for us are the attempts of our Polish colleagues to understand the many vicissitudes of the functioning of the Ukrainian state and society in the first year of the war. Such an interested and benevolent "view from the side" is extremely important both for the Ukrainians themselves, who are too immersed in the tragedy of their everyday life and do not have the opportunity to comprehend it properly, and for a better understanding of what exactly interests and worries our historical neighbour and fortitudinous friend.

Centre for Eastern Studies analysts paid the most attention to the problem of the influence of war events on the transformation of the Ukrainian society and all state structures. Using numerous examples, they informed the Polish reader that despite the occupier's expectations, the Ukrainian society revealed miracles of self-mobilization, which overturned the Kremlin's plans for blitzkrieg and disorganization of our citizens (Rogoża, 2022a). Already in the middle of March last year, while observing these processes, Ya. Rogoża rightly identified the trend of public opinion, which only deepened during the following months (Rogoża, 2022b). According to her, hostility towards Russia permeates Ukraine, uniting citizens of different nationalities and regions. Over the past 30 years, it became the most potent catalyst for the crystallization of the Ukrainian political nation, strengthening against Russian demands and creating the myth of the new Ukraine as anti-Russia. From the first days of the attack on the

country, President Zelenskyi began to call this national unity against the invader a “patriotic war”, in which all Ukrainians are fighting in solidarity against the invaders, who have come to be commonly called fascists. The researcher believes these processes to be irreversible and confirms the final failure of the so-called “Russian world” project in Ukraine.

Similar observations were expressed and reiterated by other colleagues of the author. In particular, P. Żochowski and S. Matuszak pointed to unprecedented growth in social solidarity, which eventually united the east and west of our country by understanding common existential challenges (Rogoża, Żochowski & Matuszak, 2022). Another noticeable phenomenon was the total de-Russification of the public space, which CES analysts tend to consider an organic continuation of the decommunization started under P. Poroshenko (Rogoża, 2022c). Polish colleagues attach considerable importance to this process, pointing to its long-term effects. According to their conviction, “In the coming years, Ukraine will develop and combine these two trends – the desire to strengthen its own national identity and expand ties with the West, an important element of which will be the deepening of cooperation with Poland, which is perceived as a key and proven ally” (Rogoża, 2022c, p. 5).

If Polish analysts evaluated the dynamics of public processes in Ukraine ambivalently (mass emigration / social solidarity), then the dangers of the economic plan were depicted in exceptionally dark colours. After all, high-intensity military operations, constant missile attacks on industrial and energy infrastructure, a significant outflow of human capital, galloping inflation, blockade of ports and a general disruption of logistics connections significantly undermined the Ukrainian economy, which has never been in good shape. Therefore, during the year, the Ukrainian state mainly functioned at the expense of the joint financial assistance of Western partners, which allowed it to stabilise the situation to a certain extent (Wilk & Żochowski, 2022a). In view of this, V. Matuszak rationally characterizes the economic condition of our country as a complex “struggle for survival” (Matuszak, 2023, p. 1). However, even in this situation, the Polish analysts note certain positive developments. Thus, depicting the financial losses of the Ukrainian state from blocking the Black Sea ports, they note at the same time that the consequence of economic “de-Russianisation” was the strengthening of the European Union as the leading trading partner of Kyiv in the sphere of exports and imports, and Poland, for the first time in history, became a leader in trade with its eastern neighbour (Matuszak, 2023, p. 1).

Another intensively discussed topic on the pages of “Komentarze OSW” was the diplomatic front of the Russian-Ukrainian war. CES observers unanimously praised the efforts of the Ukrainian diplomats to unite democratic countries around the idea of opposing Putin’s revanchism. This successful work resulted in the creation of a coalition of Western countries, which joined forces to arm the Ukrainian army within the framework of the Rammstein consultative platform. The CES analysts rightly emphasise that military assistance to Ukraine from the American ally has become especially important for Ukraine. Analysing the deepening of the Ukrainian-American cooperation, K. Niecypor and A. Wilk metaphorically characterized it as a “brotherhood of arms and values” (Niecypor & Wilk, 2022). A manifestation of these unique relations was the visit of the Ukrainian president to Washington and, especially, Joe Biden’s visit to the Ukrainian capital, which is subject to constant Russian missile attacks. At the same time, the CES employees note specific problems in the international military support of Ukraine. Thus, in their posts, the authors critically assess the German government’s wavering and inconsistency in arming the victim of the Kremlin’s aggression (Wilk & Żochowski, 2022b).

The additional notable aspect of the analysis devoted to Ukraine was the reaction of our Polish colleagues to the humanitarian policy of the Putin regime in the occupied territories. It should be noted that largely thanks to the information activity of the Polish intellectuals, the Western world learned about the true face of the “Russian world”. The first series of articles on this problem was titled “Terror, Pacification, Occupation” (Żochowski, 2022). The article was published after the liberation of Kyiv region and the discovery of the facts of the genocide committed by the Russians. Its author P. Zhokhovskiyi was the first in the Polish analytical community to draw attention to the fact that the aggression against Ukraine put the problem of Russia’s management of the occupied territories on the agenda. Despite the Kremlin’s hopes, the first stage of the ground operation did not lead to the capture of significant territories, nor the disintegration of the enemy’s army or the flight of the authorities from Kyiv and the suppression of public resistance, and therefore failed not only in the military but also in a political way. Putin’s plans to force residents of the occupied territories to support their actions and establish the so-called people’s republics for further division of the Ukrainian state also suffered a fiasco. Acting according to the *modus operandi* of 2014, the Kremlin failed to consider changes in the mood of Ukrainian society, which does not see Russia as a civilizational alternative. This was evidenced by the mass protests against the occupation, despite the associated security. Collaboration cases were sporadic, making full and unhindered control over the conquered territory impossible. Therefore, realizing the ineffectiveness of their actions, the invaders take revenge on the civilians – they use terror and pacification, thereby committing war crimes and systematically bringing the occupied settlements to a state of humanitarian disaster. The Polish analyst concludes that the current consequences of the Russian occupation indicate that its goal in the north was the destruction and mass deportation of the civilian population, and in the south – forceful coercion of the Ukrainians to cooperate and change their identity.

P. Zhokhovskiyi’s observations regarding the historical policy of the occupiers are also interesting. Operating with a limited evidence base, he rightly outlined the general logic according to which the occupiers, in cooperation with local collaborators, promote the Russian politics of memory, initiating a campaign to glorify the merits of the Red Army and, if possible, rebuild previously destroyed monuments in honour of the so-called “Great Patriotic War” and its personalities. There is also a violent propaganda campaign to return to general circulation the thesis that the events in Ukraine in 2014 were a “*coup d’état*” supported by the West. These phenomena are accompanied by blocking access to the Ukrainian mass media and mobile operators to plunge occupied Ukrainians into an information vacuum.

Despite the resistance of the majority of the Ukrainian population to the policies of the occupiers, the Russian regime proceeded to annex the occupied territories, falsifying several “expressions of people’s will”. Understanding these phenomena, the Centre for Eastern Studies experts were united in their conviction that the annexation pseudo-referendums were complete fiction and had the character of a political demonstration directed by the Russian security forces. The voting process itself was organized in such a way as to ensure predetermined “results” that have no relation to the reality and sentiments of the local population terrorized by the occupier. Given this, Polish analysts called the “referendums” a propaganda spectacle designed to convince Russian society that the residents of the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine “sincerely want to join Russia” and that the “special military operation” was allegedly launched by Moscow for humanitarian reasons and continues successfully (Zespół OSW, 2022).

As CES analysts rightly predicted, the mentioned referendums turned out to be a banal cover for plans to annex part of Ukrainian territories, precisely the Putin regime's goal in its undeclared war. Reconstructing the annexation logic of the Kremlin, M. Menkishak, M. Domanska, and P. Zhokhovsky indicated that the short-term political goal of the annexation is to convey the message to the domestic audience that the so-called "special military operation" is successful and that Russia has not lost its ability to gain territory which it considers its own. Polish colleagues also regard annexing territories as an attempt to hide defeats at the front by political and propaganda means. After all, they stress, the annexations signal to the enemy that the armed conflict will not be "frozen" if Kyiv rejects Russia's policy of *fait accompli*. According to the forecasts of Polish experts, realizing the impossibility of changing President Zelenskyi's attitude on this issue, the Kremlin will try to use a nuclear scarecrow to reduce Western military support for Ukraine and limit the combat activity of the Ukrainian army. However, as the mentioned authors reasonably predicted, this game of Moscow will not bring the expected results, and Kyiv will not stop hostilities and will not succumb to nuclear blackmail. However, Polish observers conclude that territorial annexations, military mobilization in the Russian Federation and nuclear blackmail became elements of a new stage of the Kremlin's domestic policy (Menkiszak, Domańska & Żochowski, 2022).

Despite considerable sincere sympathy for the struggle of the Ukrainians for their right to independence and identity, the CES maintained the objectivity and detachment inherent in the analytical environment. This was most clearly manifested in the fact that the CES experts did not hide many unattractive moments of the life of the Ukrainian politicians during the year of the large-scale war. They noted with regret the return of corruption schemes to the offices of Kyiv officials, which contrasted with the self-devotion and sacrifice of the majority of the Ukrainians. The focus of their attention, among other things, was the media-hyped scandal with the purchase of food for the army at several times inflated prices and the subsequent arrests of officials who hid considerable sums of undeclared cash. According to analysts, the scandals in the highest echelons of power showed a return to the usual corrupt practices among officials after almost a year-long war. Instead, Polish colleagues believe that it is appropriate to regard the publicized resignation as an attempt by Zelensky to overcome the image crisis associated with the disclosure of numerous facts of corruption, conflicts of interest and the lifestyle of officials incompatible with the realities of war. These scandals compromised the ruling camp in the eyes of society, the army, and foreign partners. Thus, Zelensky realized that tolerating such behaviour, especially in his immediate environment, could lead to a decrease in electoral support and the risk of limiting Western financial and military aid. Thus, Y. Ber concludes that society's condescension to the authorities' actions, characteristic of the initial stage of the war, has ended, and corruption scandals will be covered in the mass media permanently (Ber, 2023). It should be noted that the public discussion of this problem in the Ukrainian society and subsequent journalistic investigations fully confirmed the prediction of the Polish analyst.

As expected, the employees of the CES responded with a meaningful analysis of the anniversary of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Emphasizing primarily the changes in consciousness in Ukrainian society, they optimistically stated that "on February 24, 2022, the Russian world ended in Ukraine". Ya. Rogozha, using many examples of sociological studies, argued that the Russian invasion of Ukraine completes the process of identity transformation and the formation of the Ukrainian political nation. The events of the war year,

accompanied by the comprehensive de-Russification of public space, accelerated the return of the Ukrainians to their native history, culture, language and symbols, inscribed in a broader European context. Both trends have progressed significantly since gaining independence in 1991. They intensified after the annexation of the Crimea and the subsequent war in Donbas in 2014 when the state clearly defined its memorial policy and initiated a comprehensive Ukrainization of a public life. However, if identity changes covered only a part of society back then, now they consolidate its vast majority, regardless of region, religious affiliation, age and language of daily communication. According to the researcher, the Ukrainians are going through an essential process of mental decolonization, losing faith in the supremacy of Russia and the importance of cultural ties between the two nations, as well as demonstrating civilizational superiority concerning the former hegemon, who turned out to be a brutal and miserable barbarian. However, the Ukrainians are paying the highest price in recent European history in the form of demographic catastrophe, economic ruin, general impoverishment and war trauma among a significant percentage of citizens. At the same time, the heroic struggle for sovereignty means that the citizens of Ukraine no longer perceive it as a second-class country. Criticism and self-irony prevalent before the war were replaced by pride and faith in the high development potential of one's own country (Rogoża, 2023).

The employees of the Centre for Eastern Studies are appropriately restrained in their predictions about the further course of events. Like other Western observers, they unanimously understand that the Kremlin regime has failed in all expectations. In an editorial addressed to readers on the anniversary of the full-scale invasion, the staff of *Komentarze OSW* magazine emphasized that in starting the war, "Putin intended to play a short game of poker, but it soon became the beginning of a long and destructive conflict". According to Polish analysts, the Russians made the classic mistake of underestimating the enemy. In the planning and conduct of military operations, their traditional superiority and underestimation of the Ukrainians were noticeable from the first hours. The Russian military machine faced fierce resistance from the Ukrainian armed forces and society. The massive mobilization of the Ukrainians in defence of independence, freedom and dignity, and at the same time, the absence of significant manifestations of collaboration with the aggressor, only confirmed that the Ukrainian statehood is a stable element on the political map of Europe and the Ukrainian identity is stronger than ever in history. After a year of the Russian aggression, it has become clear, as Polish colleagues claim, that the war will continue, although its intensity may change. They believe that today the prospect of peace talks or any concessions from both sides is unrealistic. The conflict surrounding the future of Ukraine and the new international system remains unresolved. However, the positive is that, as the CES employees emphasize, the dynamics of military activity over the last year prove that Putin has started a war that he will never be able to win (Zespól OSW, 2023).

**The Conclusion.** As our research showed, the Centre for Eastern Studies researchers closely observed events of the full-scale stage of the Ukrainian-Russian war. At the same time, the field of their expert discussion was not limited only to notorious events of armed conflict, as could be expected given the interest in the topic among the Polish audience. The integrity of the analytical image is complemented by the above-mentioned texts about the socio-economic situation in Ukraine, the Kremlin's policy on the occupied lands, successful efforts to create and increase the anti-Putin coalition, as well as numerous studies of the reaction of Russian society to the actions of its leaders, Kyiv's laborious attempts to obtain Western weapons, the attitude to the events of the leadership and citizens of Belarus, etc. Owing to this, the interested observer



got the opportunity to make a fairly complete and balanced picture of all the key aspects of the existential war. Despite the objectivity of the Polish colleagues, they largely followed the rhetoric of the Ukrainian mass media, placing clear accents when describing the genocidal practices of the Russian regime. This influenced the formation and maintenance of a public opinion favourable to Ukraine in Poland and other European Union countries, where Polish Eastern studies have high academic prestige. As a result, this contributes to the neutralization of Putin's propaganda in the information space of our partners. Owing to these efforts, our country maintains the unwavering support of its allies, despite changes in political cabinets in many countries of the continent. This is an important prerequisite for the fact that the Ukrainians will not only endure but also win in their most crucial war.

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**Yuriy MYTROFANENKO**

PhD (History), Senior Teacher of the Department of Theory and Methods of Secondary Education, Communal Institution “Vasyl Sukhomlynsky Kirovohrad Regional Postgraduate Institute of Pedagogical Education”, 39/63 Velyka Perspektyvna Street, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25031 (mitrofanenko77@gmail.com)

**ORCID:** 0000-0001-5371-3918

**ResearcherID:** U-6483-2020

**Andrii DOMARANSKY**

PhD (Geography), Associate Professor of the Department of Theory and Methodology of Secondary Education, Communal institution “Vasyl Sukhomlynsky Kirovohrad Regional Postgraduate Institute of Pedagogical Education”, 39/63 Velyka Perspektyvna Street, Kropyvnytskyi, Ukraine, postal code 25031 (andriy\_o\_domaransky@ukr.net)

**Юрiй МИТРОФАНЕНКО**

кандидат історичних наук, старший викладач кафедри теорії і методики середньої освіти Комунального закладу “Кіровоградський обласний інститут післядипломної педагогічної освіти імені Василя Сухомлинського”, вул. Велика Перспективна, 39/63, м. Кропивницький, Україна, індекс 25031 (mitrofanenko77@gmail.com)

**Андрій ДОМАРАНСЬКИЙ**

кандидат географічних наук, доцент кафедри теорії і методики середньої освіти Комунального закладу “Кіровоградський обласний інститут післядипломної педагогічної освіти імені Василя Сухомлинського”, вул. Велика Перспективна, 39/63, м. Кропивницький, Україна, індекс 25031 (andriy\_o\_domaransky@ukr.net)

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**CENTRAL UKRAINE AS A HISTORICAL REGION:  
THE PROBLEM OF THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the article is a scientific theoretical conceptualization of the definition “Central Ukraine” as a research concept. In modern historical science the lack of comprehensive research, the subject of which would be the study of Central Ukraine as a separate region, is one of significant gaps. The analysis of historiographic research on the issue proved that during the use of this concept there is a toponymic uncertainty concerning the territories of this region; there is an alternative interpretation of the concept “Central Ukraine”; multiplicity of interpretations of this definition. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism and objectivity, application of interdisciplinary methodical optics: critical analysis, synthesis, systematization, comparative studies, geographical method, generalization of discovered and analyzed materials. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that the research fills in the existing lacuna of scientific knowledge, it contributes*

to the development of historical regionalism, without the study of which it is impossible to understand the processes of the Ukrainian history fully; the research contributes to the formation and updating of the scientific conceptual apparatus. **The Conclusion.** Among historians, there is a territorial and terminological uncertainty in using the concept “Central Ukraine”. Researchers who use this term lack a professional argument for defining the boundaries of this region. That is why, there is a considerable confusion of the terminological apparatus when using this definition. Taking into consideration the confusion of terminological apparatus, the authors proposed their own original interpretation of the concept “Central Ukraine”. Criteria for the boundaries of this historical region have been elaborated, and two maps have been created. It has been proposed to use the concept of “Middle Ukraine” as a synonym for “Central Ukraine”.

According to the authors, Central Ukraine is a separate microregion of Right Bank Ukraine, which has the characteristics of a historical region associated with the formation and development of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the 16th – 18th centuries and its revival in the form of free Cossacks during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921. According to the authors' conclusions and modern territorial and administrative division of Ukraine, Central Ukraine region covers the territories of Kirovohrad, Cherkasy, Dnipropetrovsk, Mykolayiv, Poltava, and Zaporizhzhia regions.

**Key words:** Central Ukraine, Middle Ukraine, historical regionalism, map, historical region.

## ЦЕНТРАЛЬНА УКРАЇНА ЯК ІСТОРИЧНИЙ РЕГІОН: ПРОБЛЕМА ТЕОРЕТИЧНОЇ КОНЦЕПТУАЛІЗАЦІЇ

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – наукова теоретична концептуалізація дефініції “Центральна Україна” як дослідницького концепту. Однією із суттєвих прогалин сучасної історичної науки є відсутність комплексних досліджень, предметом яких стало б вивчення Центральної України як окремого регіону. Аналіз історіографічного доробку проблематики довів, що під час використання цього поняття присутня топонімічна невизначеність стосовно теренів цього регіону; трапляється альтернативність тлумачень концепту “Центральна Україна”; множинність трактування цієї дефініції. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму та об’єктивності, застосуванні інтердисциплінарних методичних оптик: критичного аналізу, синтезу, систематизації, компаративістики, географічного методу, узагальнення виявлених і оброблених матеріалів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що дослідження заповнює наявну лакуну наукового пізнання, сприяє розвитку історичної регіоналістики, без вивчення якої неможливе осмислення процесів української історії в усій повноті; сприяє формуванню та оновленню наукового понятійного апарату. **Висновки.** Серед істориків існує просторова та термінологічна невизначеність під час використання концепту “Центральна Україна”. Дослідникам, які послуговуються цим терміном, бракує фахової аргументації визначення меж означеного регіону. Це вносить значну плутанину в термінологічний апарат під час використання означеної дефініції. Зважаючи на це, авторами запропоновано власне оригінальне тлумачення концепту “Центральна Україна”. Розроблено критерії меж історичного регіону, створено дві карти. Запропоновано використання поняття “Серединна Україна” як синоніму до дефініції “Центральна Україна”. На думку авторів, Центральна Україна є окремим мікрорегіоном Правобережжя, що має ознаки історичного регіону, пов’язаного зі становленням та розвитком українського козацтва в XVI – XVIII ст. та його відродженням у формі вільного козацтва періоду Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. За висновками авторів, відповідно до сучасного територіально-адміністративного поділу України регіон Центральна Україна охоплює території окремих районів Кіровоградської, Черкаської, Дніпропетровської, Миколаївської, Полтавської, Запорізької областей.

**Ключові слова:** Центральна Україна, Серединна Україна, історична регіоналістика, карта, історичний регіон.

**The Problem Statement.** Research papers on Ukrainian regional studies are a promising direction. This is proven even by a cursory review of the leading Ukrainian scientific and historical journals topics (Tsetsuk & Martyniuk, 2019, pp. 85–95; Kovalova & Smaliukh,

2022, pp. 65–74; Korobka & Korobka, 2022, pp. 19–31; Ruban, 2022, pp. 139–166). The territories of Central Ukraine remain one of the least researched regions. This scientific problem arose under the influence of several factors. The first one is a territorial uncertainty among historians when using the term “Central Ukraine” (Hrytsak, 2021, pp. 238, 242; Mondzik, Kozhen’ovs’kyy, Lyatavets & Tarasyuk, 2017). The territorial uncertainty is explained by the lack of scientifically based criteria for the borders of Central Ukraine, as a research concept. Another problem that arises when historians use the concept “Central Ukraine” is terminological. Researchers use different concepts to designate the territories of this region: South, Steppe Ukraine, Kherson region, Naddnyprianshchyna region (Kuras & Soldatenko, p. 5; Koval’chuk, 2012, pp. 66–86; Boyko, 2015, pp. 24–27). Under the influence of terminological uncertainty, the problem of multiple interpretations of this concept arises, which does not contribute to its clear conceptualization.

The mentioned above nuances complicate the research process of this region, dissolve it in macro-regions: Right Bank Ukraine, Naddnyprianshchyna, Podniprovia and do not contribute to identification, understanding and generalization of the peculiarities of Central Ukraine as a historical region. Professor Valentyn Ivanenko emphasized the problem of actualizing researchers’ focus on the history of microregions, their separation from macroregions, in the article “Regional and Historical Research in Modern Ukraine: Scientific and Socio-cultural Dimension” (Ivanenko, 2004, p. 13).

Therefore, the purpose of our publication is to draw attention to the concept of Central Ukraine as an unresearched region. The article is aimed at scientific substantiation and theoretical conceptualization of this definition; solving the problem of terminological interpretation of this concept; definition of criteria for the borders of Central Ukraine; creation of maps of this region. The objective of the research is not a fundamental revision of historical and geographical, historical and cultural zoning of Ukraine, but clarification and scientific justification of the borders of Central Ukraine.

The authors are aware that the volume of one publication is insufficient for a comprehensive analysis of this little-researched concept. Therefore, attention is focused on the solution of individual research objectives related to the scientific substantiation of the concept “Central Ukraine”. The result of the research can also be seen in the renewal of conceptual and methodological apparatus of Ukrainian regional studies. The territorial method is the basis of the research. Its foundations were laid by Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Hrushevskiy. They used regional historical research and land direction of scientific studies (Ivanenko, 2004, p. 12). The topic of the publication and setting of scientific objectives require the use of interdisciplinary approaches. A similar methodological strategy promotes correlation and use of methods of history, geography, historical regional studies, and historical mapping. To achieve the scientific goal, the following methods are used: analysis, synthesis, systematization, comparative studies, interdisciplinary methodical optics, geographical method, generalization. We hope that this publication will contribute to the renewal of object-subject field of research and scientific conceptual apparatus, and it will expand the geography of Ukrainian regional studies.

**The Analysis of Recent Research Papers and Publications.** The analysis of the research papers of historians who used the term Central Ukraine influenced the article issue formation and definition of research objectives. A brief analysis and review of individual professional publications convinced us that among historians there is no common view on understanding of the concept Central Ukraine, sometimes there is toponymic uncertainty



regarding the boundaries of this historical region. Different borders of Central Ukraine appear in the studies, but their justification is missing, so the selection criteria remain unclear. In our opinion, this is one of the reasons why, compared to other regions, Central Ukraine is on the margins of scientific regional studies.

From the research issue formation, we will move on to the analysis of specific historiographical examples. In general, historians rarely use the term “Central Ukraine” in their papers. One of those who uses this concept is Yaroslav Hrytsak, a historian. In his research, he uses the terms “Central Ukraine” and “Centre of Ukraine”, equating them (Hrytsak, 2021, pp. 238, 242; Hrytsak, 2011, pp. 181, 192–194, 334–337). Let’s consider specific examples of the scholar’s application of this definition. In the book “Global History of Ukraine: Overcoming the Past”, Ya. Hrytsak, while analyzing the processes of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, writes the following: “On December 14, the Directory occupied Kyiv... But within two weeks, the Bolsheviks took Kyiv again. The government and troops of the UNR (the Ukrainian People’s Republic) retreated to Central Ukraine” (Hrytsak, 2021, p. 238). What Ya. Hrytsak understands by Central Ukraine can be seen from another research of this author: “Essay on the History of Ukraine: Formation of Modern Ukrainian Nation in the 19th – 20th Centuries”. In the chapter “In the Heat of War and Revolution: 1914 – 1921” we come across the following thesis: “On February 2, 1919, the Directory and the government left Kyiv and moved to Podillia, first to Vinnytsia, later to Rivne, and from mid-June to Kamianets-Podilskyi” (Hrytsak, 1996, p. 145).

The analysis of fragments of two books by this author, devoted to the issues of the liberation struggles of 1917 – 1922, allows us to understand that Ya. Hrytsak included Podillia and Volhynia in Central Ukraine. However, an attentive reader has a question: to which historical region does Ya. Hrytsak refer the territories of Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Yelyzavethrad, if the cities of Vinnytsia, Rivne, Kamianets-Podilskyi are the territory of Central Ukraine? We do not find an answer to this question on the pages of Ya. Hrytsak’s research paper. There is no justification for the borders criteria of Central Ukraine, as a historical region of Ukraine, so readers and researchers can only guess about them.

In the book “Global History of Ukraine: Overcoming the Past” we come across the following sentence: “...The government and troops of the Ukrainian People’s Republic retreated to Central Ukraine. There, in July of 1919, they joined the government and the ZUNR army, which lost the war in Galicia and moved to former lands occupied by Russia” (Hrytsak, 2021, p. 238) (We underlined the word *there*. – The authors). That is, Western Podillia and Kamianets, where the Galician army retreated, Ya. Hrytsak considers Central Ukraine.

In another case, during the analysis of the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine in 1919, which the historian for some reason calls “a distinctive feature of the Ukrainian revolution”, Ya. Hrytsak notes that during the year of 1919 the base of the UNR army was precisely Central Ukraine, but he does not indicate its territorial boundaries again (Hrytsak, 2021, p. 242). In our opinion, this state of affairs introduces considerable confusion into understanding of the complex course of events of the liberation struggle of 1917 – 1922. We can only assume that Ya. Hrytsak used the concept Central Ukraine as a synonym for Great Ukraine or Naddnyprianska Ukraine, located between Western and Eastern Ukraine. However, even in such a territorial interpretation of this concept, it remains unclear: how can the path of retreat of the UNR army in February of 1919 from Kyiv to Podillia and Volhynia be considered the retreat to Central Ukraine? (Hrytsak, 2021, p. 238).

A geographical view of generally accepted or agreed borders of Central Ukraine, which most often mean the territories of modern Kirovohrad, Cherkasy, Poltava, Dnipropetrovsk and Vinnytsia regions, and the analysis of the military events of 1919, taking into account the geographical method, allows us to conclude that the territory of Central Ukraine was controlled by the UNR army only at the beginning of 1919 and in August of 1919. It should be noted that, only on the condition that we agree to recognize Kyiv region as part of Central Ukraine, although the author of this version, Ya. Hrytsak, does not consider Kyiv to be a part of this region: there should be mentioned the thesis about the retreat of the UNR army from Kyiv to Central Ukraine (Hrytsak, 2021, p. 238).

In the collection of essays by Ya. Hrytsak “Passion for Nationalism” in the publication with the rhetorical title: “Who are the Ukrainians and what do they Want?”, borrowed from M. Hrushevskiyi, we come across a mention of the Centre of Ukraine. This time in the context of analysis of electoral preferences of the population of Ukraine (Hrytsak, 2011, pp. 334–337). In this case, the historian applies the division of Ukraine by political sympathies according to the criteria: West – East – South – Centre. According to the logic of a similar approach, should we understand the North to be the Centre? But only Ya. Hrytsak knows the answer to this question.

In the essay “Non-Euclidean Ukraine” of the section “Conclusions, Forecasts and Recommendations” we find statistics of the historical sympathies of the population of Ukraine, compiled according to a geographical approach and divided into regions: Western, Central, Eastern, Southern (Hrytsak, 2011, pp. 191–193). In another case: the table of ratings of trust in power structures and other social institutions in a regional section – we come across a similar, but slightly different distribution by regions: Western, Central, Eastern, Southern, Kyiv (Hrytsak, 2011, p. 194)

Thus, based on the analysis of several papers of one of the most authoritative historians of Ukraine and Europe, we notice the above-outlined problem of toponymic and terminological uncertainty when using the definition “Central Ukraine”, the lack of its theoretical justification and criteria for the selected territorial boundaries of this region.

In the introductory article to the collective monograph “Confederation and Regionalism in Ukrainian State Creation (1917 – 1920)”, which was published in 2001, Professor Ivan Kuras emphasized the importance of studying regional aspects of the Ukrainian history without understanding which it is impossible to understand the past, as separate regions, and the state as a whole. He offered his own vision of the regional division of Ukraine, formed under the influence of historical circumstances: “The specifics of the development of individual regions are well known (Donetsk and Kryvyi Rih basins, Left Bank in general; Eastern Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia – the western territories; the South – the so-called Novorossiya, the South-Western region”, and more precisely, the Dnieper region – the central part of Ukraine from Poltava region to Western Volyn and Polissia)” (Kuras & Soldatenko, 2001, pp. 4–5).

Such division raises many questions: from the use of Russian imperial narratives, a talk about “Novorossiya”, and the criteria for the chosen borders of the so-called “South-Western Territory”, which, according to I. Kuras, stretches from the Dnieper River to Western Volyn, to misunderstanding of on what grounds Kryvyi Rih was included in Left Bank, because a large part of it is also the territory of Right Bank. In contrast to Ya. Hrytsak, I. Kuras notes what he means by Central Ukraine, but he also does not provide justification of the criteria for the chosen borders (Kuras & Soldatenko, 2001, p. 5).

In foreign historiography, one of the latest studies devoted to the issues problems of Central Ukraine is a collective monograph of Polish historians entitled “The Poles in Central

and Eastern Ukraine in 1832 – 1921” (Mondzik, Kozhen’ovs’kyy, Lyatavets & Tarasyuk, 2017). The book is based on the territorial method. But its authors do not explain in a single line why they include the territory from Galicia to Donbas as part of Central Ukraine. There is no justification for the borders of Central Ukraine defined by the authors on the pages of the monograph, that is why, its criteria remain unknown (Mondzik, Kozhen’ovs’kyy, Lyatavets & Tarasyuk, 2017).

Borys Shevchenko and Vadym Kolechkin, researchers from Kirovohrad region, in the annotation to the publication “Battle for Central Ukraine (Military confrontation between the Red Army and the Wehrmacht in Kirovohrad region in January – March of 1944)” write that the book is dedicated to the events of the history of Kirovohrad region during World War II. That is, in this case, by Central Ukraine, local historians mean only the territory of Kirovohrad region (Kolyechkin, Shevchenko, 2021, p. 2).

Local historians of Kirovohrad region often use the definition Central Ukraine, understanding by it only the territories of this region, which also unjustifiably narrows this concept spatially. A similar approach to understanding the borders of Central Ukraine in their research is related to several factors: geographical and axiological. In the 90s of the 20th century – at the beginning of the 21st century the research papers of geographers who managed to calculate the geographic and geometric centres of Ukraine appeared (Shevchenko, 1993, pp. 23–28; Munich, 2002, pp. 2–7). Using modern scientific methods, scholars determined the coordinates of the geographic centre of Ukraine for the first time. The principle of equidistant from the extreme borders of our country’s borders: southern, northern, eastern and western was chosen as the main approach to scientific calculations. The coordinates of Dobrovelyckivka, a settlement of Kirovohrad region, began to be considered the geographical and geometrical centre of Ukraine. However, soon geographers suggested several more options for the geographical centre of Ukraine: the second one – the north-eastern outskirts of the village of Marianivka, Shpoliansky district, Cherkasy region, the third one – the town of Vatutine, Zvenyhorodskyi district, Cherkasy region (Munich, 2002, pp. 2–7).

The geographers’ research received feedback primarily from the society of Kirovohrad region. Trying to avoid mentioning the name of Serhiy Kirov, one of the organizers of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, in the titles of studies devoted to the history of the region, local historians began to use the terms: Centre of Ukraine; Central Ukraine; Central Ukrainian region (Biloshapka & Kuzyk, 2005; Shevchenko, 2001, pp. 15–23; Kozyr, 2012, p. 5; Holoborodko, 2018; Khmara & Shevchenko, 2022). Local historians of Kirovohrad region chose toponyms related to Central Ukraine for the titles of their journals: “Between the Buh and the Dnipro: Scientific and Local History Bulletin of Central Ukraine” or “Museum Bulletin of Central Ukraine”, published collections of their papers in “Central Ukrainian Publishing House” or in the columns of the journal “Ukraine-Centre”. There were no alternatives to this term for a long time. It was expertly substantiated by geographers, received a response from historians and turned out to be axiologically successful, because it contributed to the decommunization of the region, long before the adoption of the laws on decommunization in 2015.

The scientific regional elite sought to legitimize the use of the definition Central Ukraine as an alternative name for Kirovohrad region. Two leading universities in the region chose names with Central Ukrainian instead of Kirovohradskyi: Central Ukrainian National Technical University and Volodymyr Vinnychenko Central Ukrainian State University (Mel’charek & Orlyk, 2018, p. 28).

This is not the first such example of an attempt to substantiate a scientific concept for further use theoretically, both in the scientific community and beyond. As a successful example of the application of similar research strategies, Professor V. Ivanenko called the history of emergence of the concept “Dniprovske Nadporizhzhia” as an alternative to “Dniprovske Zaporizhzhia”. Initially, this definition was used in a geographical context exclusively, and later as a unit of cultural and historical content (Ivanenko, 2004, p. 15).

During the renaming campaign in 2015, suggestions were made to rename Kirovohrad region to Central Ukrainian region. According to geographers, this would allow to localize the name of this region and make it easily recognizable (Domaransky, 2015, pp. 43–47). By the way, none of the other regions included in the list of central Ukrainian regions: Poltava, Dnipropetrovsk, Vinnytsia, even the one closest to the geographic centre of Cherkasy, does not use a toponym associated with the geographic centre of Ukraine.

On the basis of previous theoretical justifications and author’s generalizations, one may get the impression that by Central Ukraine we understand only the territories of Kirovohrad and Cherkasy regions. However, this is not the case. One of the scientific objectives of the publication was the definition and substantiation of the criteria of Central Ukraine as a historical region. We will offer developed approaches to determining the borders of Central Ukraine without reference to the administrative borders of the regions, because they have never been permanent territorial units. Actually, these criteria are the theoretical justification of the borders of Central Ukraine as a historical region. An interdisciplinary toolkit was used to solve this objective.

First of all, it should be emphasized that by the centre we mean territories equidistant from the outskirts. In our case, from the extreme geographical points of Ukraine, carefully calculated by geographers. This approach is the basis of the conclusions of V. Shevchenko and V. Hrytsevych, which allowed to establish the geographic and geometric centres of Ukraine (Shevchenko, 1993, pp. 23–28; Munich, 2002, pp. 2–7). We have every reason to note that Central Ukraine is the territory between northern and southern, western and eastern Ukraine.

The next task is to define and substantiate the borders of Central Ukraine. Logically, these should be areas both equidistant from the outskirts and close to the geographic centre. In this case, to determine the borders of Central Ukraine, we suggest choosing a hydronymic criterion, i.e. delineating the borders of this region with the water arteries of the country. In the east, such river, in our opinion, is the Dnipro; in the west – the Syniukha river; in the north – the Ros river; in the south – the Southern Buh. Unlike territorial and administrative borders, which are easily changed by people, rivers are not, therefore they are more permanent borders. In addition, it is a common practice to demarcate borders along rivers.

The defined criteria for the borders of Central Ukraine allow establishing the neighbourhood with other similar historical regions. In the east, it is the Dnieper region with Nadporizhzhia and Zaporizhzhia. In the west – Eastern Podillia, Bratslav region. In the north – Kyiv oblast. In the south – the Black Sea region.

The proposed version of the borders of Central Ukraine partially coincides with the approach of the historian M. Hrushevskiy, applied during the territorial and administrative reform in the Ukrainian People’s Republic on March 6, 1918. After the liberation of Kyiv from the Russian Bolshevik occupation, the Central Rada approved the administrative reform. The division into provinces was abolished. Instead, a land distribution was proposed, which took into account historical, geographical, ethnographic features of Ukraine, and specifically the Ukrainian toponyms were used for their names. M. Hrushevsky suggested

31 administrative units (Vivsyana, Zhytkov, Marenets', Mytrofanenko, Orlyk & Pasichnyk, 2022, pp. 49–50). According to modern scientific calculations, the lands “Cherkashchyna” (the centre – Cherkasy) and “Nyz” (the centre – Yelyzavet, nowadays – Kropyvnytskyi) were located in the centre or inside the UNR. In the north, the neighbour of “Cherkashchyna” was “Kyiv and its surroundings (20 – 30 versts)”; “Porossie” (the centre – Bila Tserkva). Next to the territory “Nyz” with its centre in the city of Yelyzavet was “Pomorie” (the centre – Mykolayiv). In the east – “Sicha” (the centre – Katerynoslav). In the west – “Bratslavshchyna” (the centre – Vinnytsia) and “Pobozhie” (the centre – Uman) (Vivsyana, Zhytkov, Marenets', Mytrofanenko, Orlyk & Pasichnyk, 2022, pp. 49–50).

In the list of lands marked on the map, Cherkashchyna and Nyz were the closest to the centre of Ukraine according to the borders of 1918. There should be also mentioned M. Hrushevskiy's approach, who separated “Kyiv and its surroundings” from “Cherkashchyna” in a radius of 30 versts (Vivsyana, Zhytkov, Marenets', Mytrofanenko, Orlyk & Pasichnyk, 2022, p. 49). We will use the approaches of an authoritative historian and allow ourselves to substantiate the northern border of Central Ukraine with territories close to Kyiv at a distance of 30 kilometers.

The next stage of theoretical substantiation of the borders of Central Ukraine is the answer to the question: the territories of which regions are included in it from the point of view of modern territorial and administrative division? The selected criteria allow us to answer this question by superimposing the determined borders of this region on a modern political map of Ukraine. According to modern territorial and administrative system, these are the territories of individual districts of six regions. Kirovohrad region – Kropyvnytskyi, Novoukrainskyi, Oleksandriyskyi districts; Cherkasy region – Cherkaskyi and Zvenyhorodskiy districts; Dnipropetrovsk region – Dniprovskiy, Kamianskyi, Kryvorizkiy, Nikopolskiy; Poltava region – the right bank of the Dnieper, the part of Kremenchuh district; Zaporizhzhia region – the right bank of Zaporizhzhia district; Mykolaiv region – northern areas of Bashtanskiy, Voznesenskiy, Pervomaiskiy districts of the Southern Buh basin.

There is a question of excluding parts of Cherkasy and Kirovohrad regions from Central Ukraine, on the territory of which there are geographical centres of our state. The western districts of Kirovohrad region beyond the Syniukha (Holovanivskiy and the western part of Novoukrainskiy districts), Umansky district of Cherkasy region are included in the historical and cultural district of Eastern Podillia, which is close to Central Ukraine and close to these areas. Zolotoniskiy district and Kaniv – to Kyiv region.

It should be noted that the version of Ukraine borders suggested by us does not radically change historical, geographical or cultural and historical zoning of Ukraine, but only clarifies it. Physical and geographical zoning in many places coincides with the selected boundaries. In Ukrainian historiography the criteria for Central Ukraine borders determined by the authors are the first attempt to substantiate them with the help of an interdisciplinary toolkit scientifically. The result of combination of methodological optics of history and geography was the creation of maps of Central Ukraine, which we hope will be used, clarified, corrected by researchers and experts in history and cartography. The borders of Central Ukraine are easily superimposed on modern territorial and administrative zoning, which makes these areas promising for the research of historians, sociologists, and politologists.

The ideological, statist shell of the spatial image of Central Ukraine under the conditions of temporary occupation of our state by Russia is also relevant. Constantly the Ukrainian diplomats emphasize that the Crimea, Donbas, Kherson region, and Zaporizhzhia region



are temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. A clear, scientifically based and easily recognizable image of Ukraine's central part, in accordance with the borders of 1991, can become an important symbol of sovereign Ukraine.

One of the objectives of this theoretical article stated by the authors was to update the conceptual apparatus of the Ukrainian historical regionalism. In our opinion, the conclusions of geographers allow historians to draw attention to the concept of "Central Ukraine". In the 20s of the 20th century, for the first time, mentions of "Central Ukraine" are found in the research papers of Stepan Rudnytskyi, a historian who, on the advice of M. Hrushevskyi, became a geographer: "Approximately in the very middle of our Great Ukraine, as far from the northern as from the southern, from the western and from the eastern borders of Ukraine there is located the town of Chyhyryn" (Rudnyts'kyy, 2018, p. 642). (underlining by the authors).

S. Rudnytskyi, who skillfully used interdisciplinary methodological tools, called the territories between Chyhyryn and Yelysavethrad "the heart of the territory of Ukraine". Regarding Chyhyryn, S. Rudnytskyi wrote the following: "It is located, as if by a strange fit, in the heart of the current Ukrainian territory" (Rudnyts'kyy, 2018, p. 205). The "current territory" should be understood as Ukraine within the borders of the USSR (the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic) in the 20s of the 20th century. S. Rudnytsky called Chyhyryn "the heart of Ukraine". At the same time, the scholar did not mean the former capital status of this town, which was provincial at the time of his scientific activity, but the geographical location of Chyhyryn. S. Rudnytskyi wrote about Yelyzavethrad, Kryvyi Rih, and Nikopol, classified according to our criteria as Central Ukraine, as important industrial centres "inside the country" (Rudnyts'kyy, 2018, p. 94). (underlining by the authors).

Research papers by historians and geographers allow us to suggest using the definition "Middle Ukraine" as a synonym for the concept of "Central Ukraine", the region located in the middle between the south and the north, the east and the west of the country. In historiography, we encounter similar interpretation approaches in the context of research related, for example, to Central (Central-Eastern) Europe; as an alternative to this term, scholars use the definition "Middle Europe" (Kahanov, 2005, p. 334).

**The Conclusion.** The next objective of theoretical substantiation of the concept "Central Ukraine" is to answer a number of questions, for example: Is Central Ukraine a micro or macro region? The second question: Is it a historical and geographical or historical and cultural region?

The importance of separating micro-regions from macro-regions and identifying their unique features was emphasized by V. Ivanenko in a publication devoted to the scientific and socio-cultural dimension of historical and regional studies (Ivanenko, 2004, p. 5). The analysis of historiography allows us to conclude that historians most often use the concept of "Central Ukraine" as a macro-historical one. In our opinion, Central Ukraine (Middle Ukraine) is a micro-region with its own historical and cultural features, which should not be dissolved in neighbouring historical and cultural areas.

Geographical maps created in the process of theoretical substantiation of the concept "Central Ukraine" make it possible to notice peculiar features of this region. To do this, we will use a successful quote by the Ukrainian publicist Anatoliy Striliany, who noted that it is impossible to write the history of Ukraine without mentioning the Cossacks (Hrytsak, 2021, p. 114). This apt historical metaphor can also be applied to the territories of Central Ukraine, it helps define the specificity of the region. These areas were one of the centres of the Ukrainian Cossacks enclaves formation, the place of Zaporizhzhia fortresses foundation:

Tomakivska, Mykytenska, Chortomlytska, Pidpilnenska – for a long time the population of these areas was the bearer of the Cossack traditions, which were revived on this soil during different periods of the history (Kyzymenko, 1992, Shevchenko, 2001, Boyko, 2015, pp. 24–27; Brekhunenko, 2010, pp. 183–184).

The Cossack lands were the historical core of Central Ukraine. This fact gives us reason to link them into one socio-cultural and historical space. Perhaps it was this fact that M. Hrushevskiy used, when in 1918 he selected the name for the newly formed territorial and administrative unit of the Ukrainian People's Republic called "Nyz" with its centre in Yelyzavet (nowadays – Kropyvnytskyi), in the heart of Central Ukraine (Vivsyana, Zhytkov, Marenets', Mytrofanenko, Orlyk, Pasichnyk, 2022, p. 50). A clear justification of the Nyz land as a historical concept can be found in the research papers of M. Hrushevskiy's student, a historian and geographer S. Rudnytskyi: "Zaporozkyi Nyz is called the part of the Black Sea coast low land on both sides of the Dnieper, between God and Kalmius and the Sea of Oz, where there were ancient lands of Zaporizhzhia Sich and its palanquin The Black Sea Nyz embraces entire Kherson region and entire Katerynoslav region" (Rudnyts'kyy, 2018, p. 651). The quote by S. Rudnytskyi needs to be clarified. By Kherson region, the scholar meant not only the territories of modern Kherson region, where Kamianska Sich and Oleshkivska Sich were located, but also the lands of current Kirovohrad region. In the 18th century the territories of this region were part of Kodak, Buho-Hardiv and Inhul palankas of the Zaporizhzhia Viysko, therefore they preserved the Cossack traditions for a long time (Kyzymenko, 1992; Shevchenko, 2001; Brekhunenko, 2010, pp. 163, 183–184; Boyko, 2015, pp. 24–27; Mytrofanenko, 2015, pp. 37–41).

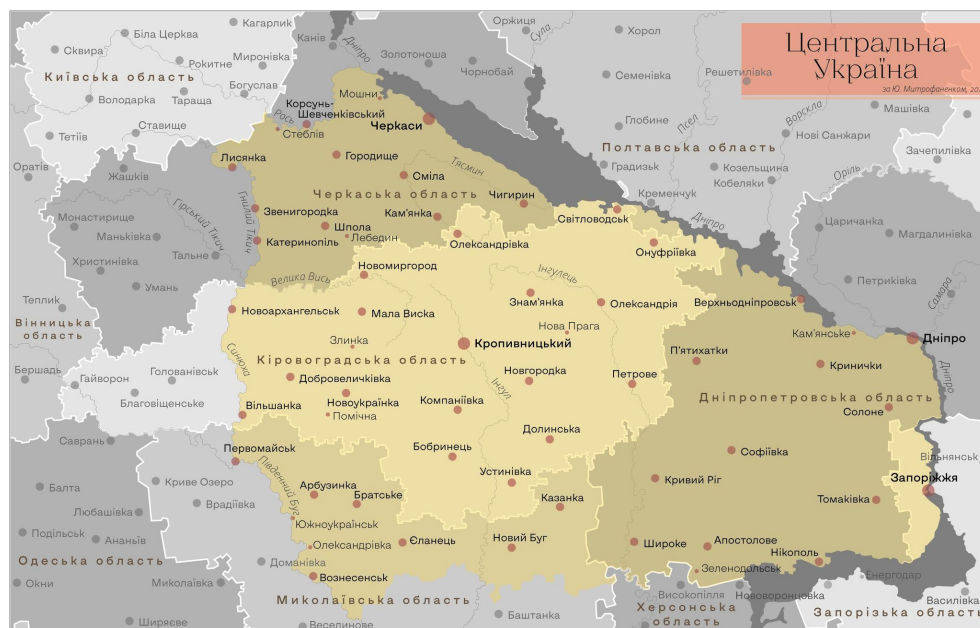
During the liberation struggle of 1917 – 1922, according to Isak Mazepa, an active participant and analyst of the turbulent era, who visited these areas in 1920, these lands became the most favourable ground for the revival of historical traditions in the form of organization of paramilitary units of the Free Cossacks: "Katerynoslavshchyna and Khersonshchyna were an inexhaustible source of raw but good fighting Cossack material. The traditions of the former "Freedoms of the Zaporizhzhya Army" seem to have been preserved here to a greater extent than in other regions of Ukraine" (Mazepa, 2001, p. 66). (underlining by the authors).

In this case, under the term Kherson region there should be understood the territory of modern Kirovohrad region, because the territories of Yelyzavethrad and Oleksandriyskyi districts, nowadays – the territories of Kropyvnytskyi and Oleksandriyskyi districts, were part of Kherson Governorate during the liberation struggle. In 1917 – 1918 it was the very place where powerful and numerous military Free Cossack units were located, which strongly resisted the Russian Bolshevik aggression (Mytrofanenko, 2018, pp. 10–30). At the beginning of 1919, Yelyzavethrad even became a temporary administrative centre of Kherson province as part of the Ukrainian People's Republic after losing control over the South of Ukraine at the end of 1918 – the beginning of 1919.

The above mentioned criteria for defining the boundaries and theoretical justification of the concept Central Ukraine, according to the authors of the publication, allow it to be considered a historical and cultural region located within Ukraine. We hope that the results of the publication will become a good discussion platform for researchers in the field of historical regionalism and cartography. In our opinion, Central Ukraine territories issues have a perspective for future scientific studies. We are aware that we covered only a part of the history of this region, so we hope that the publication will find a response among specialists as a kind of intellectual provocation, and will have the effect of a challenge for further scientific research, achievements, theoretical generalizations and discussions.

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Annex 1. Map of central Ukraine

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## РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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### **Zoriana KUPCHYNSKA**

*PhD hab. (Philology), Head of the Department of Ukrainian Language named after Professor Ivan Kovalyk, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, 1 Universytets'ka Street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79001 (kupchynska@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-0000-0345  
**Researcher ID:** F-6906-2019

### **Зоряна КУПЧИНСЬКА**

*докторка філологічних наук, завідувачка кафедри української мови імені професора Івана Ковалика Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Університетська, 1, м. Львів, Україна, індекс 79001 (kupchynska@gmail.com)*

### **DOCUMENTS OF THE EARLY MODERN AGE AS A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOURCE SCIENCE OF UKRAINE**

**(a peer-review of the collection: Documents of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1607 – 1648  
from the PISOCHYNSKIS' archive / Editors M. Krykun, O. Piddubniak, O. Vinnychenko.  
Lviv–Vinnytsia, 2022. 1023 p.)**

### **ДОКУМЕНТИ РАННЬОМОДЕРНОЇ ДОБИ**

### **ЯК ВАГОМИЙ ВНЕСОК У ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВСТВО УКРАЇНИ**

**(рецензія на збірник: Документи Брацлавського воєводства 1607 – 1648 років  
з архіву Пісочинських / упорядники М. Крикун, О. Піддубняк, О. Вінниченко.  
Львів – Вінниця, 2022. 1023 с.)**

At the end of 2022, a fundamental historical work was published (Documents of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1607 – 1648 from the PISOCHYNSKIS' archive (Editors M. Krykun, O. Piddubniak, O. Vinnychenko. Lviv–Vinnytsia, 2022. 1023 p.), which is a logical continuation of the collection “Documents of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1566 – 1606” (Editors M. Krykun, O. Piddubniak. Lviv, 2008. 1219 p.).

The collection presents a number of documents (457 items!), which the compilers discovered in the archive of the PISOCHYNSKIS family. These are original documents, their certified and uncertified copies, extracts from various act books. All these materials concern Bratslav Voivodeship and are chronologically framed and date back to 1607 – the death of the founder of the archive, sub-chamber and royal secretary Lavryn PISOCHYNSKYI and 1648 – the beginning of the Cossack Revolution, when the usual document circulation was interrupted, which led to the destruction of relevant institutions and significant violations, which affected the functioning of noble self-government. This book represents the documents

of the Pischynskis' archive, which is stored in the manuscripts department of Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

The book consists of the following parts: Introduction "Materials of the Pischynski Archive and their Source Significance for the History of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1607 – 1648" (pp. V–LXVII, the authors: Mykola Krykun, Petro Kulakovskiy); Documents (pp. 1–841); Documents of the 16th – the beginning of the 17th centuries (pp. 843–859) (Appendix to publications: Documents of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1566 – 1606 // Editors M. Krykun, O. Piddubniak; Introduction by Mykola Krykun. – Lviv: T. Shevchenko Scientific Society, 2008; M. Krykun. Documents of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1566 – 1606 // Mykola Krykun. Voivodeships of Right Bank of Ukraine in the 16th – 18th Centuries: Articles and Materials. Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University. Faculty of Humanities, 2012. Pp. 92–142); Name Index (pp. 863–979); Geographic Index (pp. 981–1020); List of Used Archival and Manuscript Funds and Documentary Publications (p. 1021).

In the introductory part "Materials of the Pischynskis' Archive and their Source Significance for the History of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1607 – 1648", the authors described the collection of the Pischynskis, carefully presented the formation stages and the history of the archive. The subsection "The Pischynski Family in 1606 – 1648" contains a detailed description of all family ties and relationships, their estates, court cases, etc. Everything is consistently confirmed by historical confirmations. The part of the introduction "Acts of the Pischynskis' Archive Concerning Bratslav Region" is extremely informative, in which the general characteristics of the published documents are represented.

The compilers submitted the appendix containing documents from the second half of the 16th to the beginning of the 17th centuries relating to Bratslav Voivodeship, this is an addition to the previous edition (Krykun & Piddubniak, 2008). Table (General Characteristics of Published Documents) is extremely informative, it contains the source characteristics of the documents (original, certified or uncertified copy, extracts from Zemstvo books of Bratslav Voivodeship, extracts from the books of the Crown Tribunal in Lublin, extracts from Vinnytsia, Kremenets, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Lutsk books. In addition, the table contains information on the number of acts, an indication of whether they are recorded acts or court acts, the source of the document and its relation to the Pischynski family are indicated). The compilers of the documents of Bratslav Voivodeship made some generalizations: more than 73% (out of 427 documents) are decree documents (these include all those related to the judicial process). Almost 85% of all published documents are "various deeds that directly concern representatives of the Pischynski family". The rest of the issued documents are mainly related to the history of this noble family. They concern either families related to the Pischynski family (Rohozynski, Meleshky, Yakushynski, etc.), or to estates that for some time were owned by representatives of the family, or were generated by the governments under whose jurisdiction they fell" (p. LVI). Compilers of "Documents of Bratslav Voivodeship in 1607 – 1648" (Krykun, Piddubniak & Vinnychenko, 2022) documents were selected according to the territorial principle, therefore most of the material was selected from Vinnytsia city books. As for the others (Kremenets, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Lutsk city books), they are presented fragmentarily, but they are related to Bratslav Voivodeship.

As for the "original" documents, in the paper we deal with relative concept of "original", because the compilers include certified and non-certified copies, indicating their status. It seems that it would be possible to distinguish them clearly and this would not affect the value of the material in any way, and readers would avoid different readings.

The language of these documents deserves special attention. The authors of the introductory part note that “the colloquial language of that time differs from clerical language and is presented in the official documents only in the form of the direct speech of the participants in the court process” (p. LVII). One of the privileges of Lublin Sejm of 1569 for the incorporated voivodships was the dominance of the Ruska (Old Ukrainian) language in record keeping. The nobility of the Ukrainian voivodships zealously defended this provision, because they understood well that language was one of the important components of their regionalism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, tendencies towards Polonization are observed in Bratslav region among the nobility. There were primarily social prerequisites for this: for example, it was necessary to submit primarily the Polish-language extracts to the courts of neighbouring crown towns or to the courts of the central level. In the crown cities, the staff of the courts did not know the Ukrainian language, and in “the tribunal in Lublin, there were no more than half of them in the judicial panel – one of the deputies representing Volyn, Kyiv region, Bratslav region, and the zemstvo scribe who drew up his decision” (p. LVIII). Therefore, the practice of making extracts from Act books in two languages: Old Ukrainian (Ruska) and Polish gradually became established in the chancelleries. However, the situation changed due to the fact that translations of the Ruska texts into Polish required additional financial costs. Therefore, “Constitution of the Sejm of 1647 allowed local chancelleries to issue transcripts in Polish in order to avoid numerous mistakes in courts” (p. LVIII). As for the territory of Bratslav region, this new provision was partially implemented in the chancelleries: the preambles and endings of act extracts are written in the Old Ukrainian language, and the main part is often in Polish.

The compilers interpreted the texts of Cyrillic documents as close as possible to the originals in accordance with “Rules for Publishing Monuments of the Ukrainian Language of the 14th – 18th Centuries” (Kyiv, 1961). From this point of view, the content of the collection is of a particular importance to philologists, as it allows us to trace the evolution of the peculiarities of the ancient Ukrainian language” in detail (Krykun, Piddubniak & Vinnychenko, 2022, p. LXVI).

When it comes to what the language was like during this period, how to characterize and name it, there are many scientific studies in which the language of the 16th – 17th centuries is called in different ways: simple, Ruska, old Ukrainian, act, book, etc.

P. Pliushch wrote about the “simple language” that it was book-like, which combined Ukrainianisms, Old Ruska elements, Polonisms with Latinisms, Church Slavonicisms and Belarusianisms (Pliushch, 1971, p. 155). Yu. Sheveliov believed that “simple language” is common folk, with Church Slavonic and Polish admixture, but almost without Belarusian elements (Sheveliov, 2002, p. 719).

“We think there is no reason to contrast the “Ruska” language as literary with the “simple” language as non-literary”, write the authors of the article “Simple Language” in Ukraine and Belarus in the 16th century” V. Moisienko and O. Nika write the following: “We see no clear grounds for opposing the terms “Ruska” and “simple” language in the 16th century. They are absolute synonyms for the name “Old Ukrainian” or, respectively, “Old Belarusian language”. We consider unfounded attempts to contrast the concept of “Ruska” as non-literary, which was used only in business writing, and “plain” as a full-fledged literary one. In addition, in the imagination of contemporary scribes... the words “Ruska” and “simple” denoted one language. Modern scholars made them different. No matter how much researchers write, ... still the last word should be according to the texts, actually linguistic facts” (Moisienko & Nika, 2013, p. 25).

Many such texts, which represent the language in diachrony, were published in Ukraine: Documents of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi; Ukrainian Charters of the 15th century; Acts of the village of Odrekhova; Lohvytsk town hall book of the second half of the 17th century; Volyn Charters of the 16th century; Ruska (Volyn) metrics. Registers of documents of the Crown Chancellery for Ukrainian lands (Volyn, Kyiv, Bratslav, Chernihiv voivodships), 1569 – 1675; Act Book of Zhytomyr city government of 1611 [Text]; Lithuanian Metric. Book 561. Revisions of Ukrainian Castles in 1545; Small Ukrainian Diaries of the 17th – 18th centuries, etc.) (Krypyakevich, & Butych, 1961; Rusanivskiy, 1964; Kernytskyi & Kupchinsky, 1970; Peshchak, 1974; Mashtabey, Camiylenko & Sharpylo, 1986; Zadorozhny & Matvienko, 1995; Boryak, 2002; Matvienko & Moisienko, 2002; Kravchenko, 2005). However, there was a lack of publicized monuments from the territory of Podillia for a long time. Even a cursory reading of the text of the documents attests to the bright signs of the Ukrainian language phonetically as well (e.g. the transition  $e > o$  after sibilants: *prieriechonykh* (p. 173), *urozhonym* (p. 181), *vnoshonykh* (p. 205), *sluzhok* (p. 651); *depalatalization* of sibilants and *ts*: *Kriemeniets* (p. 205), *buduchoyu* (p. 247), *inshyye* (p. 491), *hrabiesh* (p. 651), *zalozhonyi* (p. 692), *nashom'* (p. 758), *stieriehuchy* (p. 849)), and on the morphological levels (e.g., the ending of adjectives of the genitive of the singular person of male gender: *naliezhnyi* (p. 205), *vynytskyi* (p. 245), *vielmozhnyi* (p. 433)). As for Polonisms, it should be emphasized that they are in the texts, but there are not so many of them and they are repeated (*malzhenski* (p. 758), *viedluh* (p. 763)), which testifies not in favour of the fact that Ukrainian monuments suffered even such a strong influence of the Polish language, which we can often read about in the studies of linguists. That is why, the publication of documents of Bratslav Voivodeship of the 16th – 17th centuries is so important for the history of the Ukrainian language.

Particular attention should be paid to anonymous material presented in this historical source. It is extremely important that the anthroponymicon of the documents of Bratslav Voivodeship testifies that already in the 16th – 17th centuries we can confidently talk about the concept of “surname” and not “surname name”, because it is the very extracts from the *Zemstvo* books of Bratslav Voivodeship, extracts from the books of the crown tribunal, extracts from *Vinnytsia*, *Kremenets*, *Zhytomyr*, *Kyiv*, *Lutsk* city books that record the transfer of the “surname” of ancestors to their descendants, which gives reason to talk about the appearance of family names – surnames. Of course, this cannot apply to the majority of such names, but we confirm the beginning of such process.

I cannot but emphasize one more significant aspect of this collection of documents – the geographical index, which represents the toponymicon of the 16th – 17th centuries of Bratslav Voivodeship. This list of names provides an opportunity for the onomastist to deepen the chronology of individual oikonyms, to clarify the localization of this or that geographical object with the corresponding name. All this makes it possible to establish or adjust the diachronic ranges of certain types of oikonyms, in particular at the chronological levels of the 16th and 17th centuries.

This book filled another gap in the source literature. The culture of publishing this collection is close to perfection. The method of revealing documents of early modern era shows high requirements for the accuracy of transmission of the content of documents. Compilers and authors of the introductory part of this volume “Documents of Bratslav Voivodeship” are well-known and authoritative historians M. Krykun, O. Piddubniak, O. Vinnychenko, P. Kulakovskiy, who made a significant contribution to the Ukrainian source studies.

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**Serhii KORNOVENKO**

*PhD hab. (History), Full Professor, Director of the Research Institute of Peasantry and Study of Agrarian History, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Cherkasy National University, 81 T. Shevchenko Boulevard, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18031 (s-kornovenko@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-6268-2321

**Oleksandr SHAMRAI**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor of the Department of History and Law, Cherkasy State Technological University, 460 T. Shevchenko Boulevard, Cherkasy, Ukraine, postal code 18000 (shamraiog@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-2515-0673

**Сергій КОРНОВЕНКО**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, директор Науково-дослідного інституту селянства та вивчення аграрної історії Черкаського національного університету імені Богдана Хмельницького, б-р Шевченка, 81, м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18031 (s-kornovenko@ukr.net)*

**Олександр ШАМРАЙ**

*кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри історії та права Черкаського державного технологічного університету, б-р Шевченка, 460, м. Черкаси, Україна, індекс 18000 (shamraiog@gmail.com)*

**EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE POST-WAR UKRAINIAN VILLAGE**

**(peer-review of the monograph: Marchenko V. A., Nikiliev O. F. Everyday Life of a Post-War Ukrainian Village (the mid-1940 s – the first half of the 1950 s).  
Dnipro: Lira, 2022. 180 p.)**

**ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ ПОВОЄННОГО УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛА**

**(рецензія на монографію: Марченко В. А., Нікілев О. Ф. Повсякденне життя повоєнного українського села (середина 1940-х – перша половина 1950-х рр.).  
Дніпро: Ліра, 2022. 180 с.)**

Radical multi-level changes took place in the Ukrainian historical science during the 1990s – at the beginning of the 21st century. The above-mentioned changes deal with, first of all, revival of the Ukrainian scientific historical tradition and formation of the latest academic approaches and concepts in understanding and comprehending the agrarian history of Ukraine; second of all, accumulation of a wide array of the latest thorough knowledge of the history of agrarian Ukraine. Modern academic historical knowledge of the agrarian history of Ukraine, along with other factors, influence the formation of consciousness, worldview of the citizens of Ukraine, the Ukrainian political nation, determine its ideological, mental integrity and unity.

In such context, researches related to the history of everyday Ukrainian peasantry in general, the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s in particular, are promising. Their relevance is due to the following reasons: 1) the basic archetype of the Ukrainian ideological, mental community/integrity is agricultural/peasant culture in a broad sense. In this context, it is difficult not to agree with V. Smoliiy's thesis that the agrarian history of Ukraine is truly "the history of the peasantry – the foundations of the nation", it is the history of the "presence of the peasantry in the national history"; 2) according to T. Lytvynova's and O. Malyshko's observations, "everyday life", still remains a big secret, that there are as many "everydays" in literature as there are authors, that a complete theory of an everyday history has not been created yet. At the same time, it is recognized that everyday life is a special sphere of a human experience, that it has transformed convincingly from something not too serious in a scholar's reception into an independent scientific research field, a new method of scientific research; 3) the everyday history of the Ukrainian village of the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s has not become the subject of a systematic scientific study yet, despite the historiographical tradition, which reflects its individual aspects; 4) V. Marchenko's and O. Nikiliev's appeal to the study of the history of an everyday Ukrainian village of the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s has practical significance. The acquired knowledge will be useful during the modern post-war reconstruction in Ukraine, after Ukraine's victory.

According to the reviewers, taking into consideration the above-mentioned, the monograph written by Dnipro historians, which was called "Everyday Life of a Post-War Ukrainian Village (the mid-1940s – the first half of 1950s)" was a significant scientific event in the agrarian history of Ukraine. Their research had scientific, socio-political and practical significance. The above mentioned determines its relevance.

The everyday model formulated by the authors, reproduced in the monograph professionally, consisted of the following structural components: the living environment of the peasants, their production and everyday life, educational and bringing up, health and leisure and recreation spheres, as well as the degree of manifestation and fullness of all these aspects of human life in reception of contemporaries the events of that time. The approach is multifaceted, its application allowed historians to reveal the declared topic comprehensively. In particular, as a result of such a successful author's approach, in our opinion, V. Marchenko and O. Nikiliev studied not only the material and subject space of the peasants professionally, but also their actions, norms of behaviour, conditions for the formation of life positions, moral and psychological features, relationships in society, the reasons for the selection by different categories of village people of certain strategies of existence during that difficult and contradictory period of history. The scholars revealed not only the existence of a peasant everyday life but, first of all, its degree and conditions of manifestation in the peasant environment at the level of a certain social or industrial environment in 24x7x365 parameters. A characteristic feature of the reviewed work is to show not only everyday life, but a person against the background of an everyday life and the search and application of strategies aimed at solving urgent life problems under those conditions.

Reproduction of infrastructure and gender situation in the Ukrainian village of the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s, the villagers' housing and household issues, arrangement of their settlements, system of ensuring vital needs, lifestyle and leisure of the rural population, their production and an everyday life, educational, health and leisure spheres in the research was carried out academically and convincingly. It was facilitated by the authors' involvement in the monograph of a wide and diverse, reliable and

representative source base. Its basis was a complex of the archival documents and materials from both domestic and foreign archival repositories. The documents and materials of the highest authorities of the Soviet state and the ruling party at that time were gathered in the domestic and foreign archival repositories, which contain a significant amount of information related to Ukraine, as the scholars did not have or had limited access to which previously. The materials of the regional press developed by the authors are of special informational value for the coverage of the issue, as messages were printed on its pages that reflected the real conditions of life in the village at that time. A notable feature of the source base of the monograph under review is an extensive use of materials of a personal origin by its authors. In particular, the oral sources, for example, the authors' conversations with the villagers, are unique in terms of their informativeness and emotional impact. Due to the villagers' memories, it was possible to understand and feel the economic, social, demographic and moral psychological situation in the village at that time, peculiarities of a peasant's everyday industrial and communal life, working conditions of collective farm workers of different ages and sexes, the system of relations in the peasant industrial and social environment. Additional persuasiveness of the author's theses included in the monograph is provided by photos taken at work, which illustrate the production, household, and communal realities of the post-war Ukrainian village of the first post-war decade. The fact that the historians managed to find photos, which reflect not the pompous, but a real state of life of the village and its inhabitants deserves special approval.

The scholars studied in detail the contemporary realities of work and labour relations. The situation with the level of provision of the material base of farms, the gender situation in the post-war Ukrainian village, the state of workforce and the strategies used by villagers to solve their production, household and social problems were analyzed. The monograph revealed objectively that the realities of the collective farm production in the post-war Ukrainian village were: the material and technical base of collective farms destroyed owing to the war, irregular labour of peasants, an extremely low level of its payment, a predominant use of manual labour and substandard livestock as draft power in agricultural work. It was noted that the personnel potential of managers at all levels, especially heads of collective farms, was low. The bulk of them did not meet the requirements of time in terms of their business qualities. As a result, there were inefficient work planning and senseless decisions, actions that led to serious economic losses.

Based on the analysis of digital data complex, the scholars found out that the most numerous labour force was women and children. At the same time, elderly people and the disabled were involved in implementation of the state plans. Agrarian historians argued that the norms, forms and amount of taxes paid by the collective farm workers to the state at that time did not take into account a real state of economy of the Ukrainian collective farms and individual peasant farms. Homestead farming was the basis of a peasant life.

The authors of the monograph gave a prominent place to the coverage of such component of an everyday life as interpersonal relationships of collective farm workers in an industrial life. They revealed professionally that these relationships were built on goodwill, mutual support and mutual assistance. Although in the communication of a collective farm administration with the countrymen the following could happen: cursing, profanity, abuse of power, and assaults.

The focus subject on the pages of the reviewed monograph was such aspect of the realities of an everyday life in a village as the phenomenon of consumerism, so to speak,

on a “non-compensatory basis”, the attitude of district authorities, state institutions and their managers, industrial enterprises to collective farm goods. The scale of such abuses and their results for the economy of collective farms were shown on the example of specific facts.

Studying a social and everyday life of peasants, the scholars focused on highlighting the state of rural settlements and human estates, the quality of peasant dwellings, and their internal and external appearance justifiably. They revealed in detail the forms and methods of reconstruction by peasants of their homes and the establishment of the post-war life. First of all, the strategies used by peasants to restore their homes were revealed. In particular, such a common contemporary phenomenon as *toloka* was highlighted: enlisting the help of fellow villagers who, as a group, helped to cope with construction work in a short time, which required a considerable effort and time. An inappropriate role of the state in solving the housing and household issues of the rural population of that time was noted. It was revealed that, in contrast to reconstruction of cities, the authorities shifted the problem of village reconstruction to the shoulders of peasants. It was the reason that the reconstruction was carried out extremely slowly and a large part of peasants did not have their own housing for a long time.

A significant place in the monograph was devoted to the study of such an important component of an everyday life as the conditions of existence of a peasant family, care for the farm and self-sufficiency of peasants with food products. First of all, the extent to which families were provided with the livestock and poultry, how and who took care of them, what they were fed, etc. According to the agrarian historians’ proper consideration, the main source of food supply for a peasant family was their own farm. The farm maintenance required daily hard physical labour of women and children. Based on the analysis of the source database developed by the scholars and involved in the research, it was reasonably proven that in the majority of peasant families the food was low in nutrients and poor in proteins, fats and vitamins. The food assortment was usually limited to bread, cereals, potatoes, vegetables, milk and its processed products. Confections were home-made.

The subject of V. Marchenko’s and O. Nikilyev’s research was such component of the peasant every life of that time as the ways of communication and their influence on an everyday life of population, ability of peasants to reach neighbouring settlements and reception of such state by inhabitants. As it was expertly defined in the monograph, unfortunately, it was the norm for peasants to go on foot to the railway stations, a town, and surrounding villages.

It should be noted that the scholars did not leave behind the factors of existence of village that did not depend on the collective farms or inhabitants of a village: an extremely low level of electrification and telephone, postal communication, trade network. They revealed the quality of service to the needs of population and attitude of villagers to such situation objectively. It was convincingly shown that the trade network was improperly organized, and its material and technical base deserved better. The range of goods was limited and their quantitative provision of population’s needs was insufficient, and there was a chronic shortage of factory-produced products. A several-day absence from a free sale of everyday goods was a common phenomenon. Based on the analysis of a wide range of facts, the research revealed that peasants could buy only the most necessary things at a village shop, and even not always. In order to buy other things, especially clothes, shoes, office supplies, etc., they had to go to a town, to a store or bazaar. The logical conclusion of the researchers is that, in fact, in the second half of the 1940s and the first half of the 1950s, a living environment of peasants was shaped by satisfaction of primary needs and was determined by the post-war poverty and minimalness of their requests.

V. Marchenko and O. Nikiliev also focused on educational and recreational spheres of a village life – those aspects that are usually on the margins of the scholars' attention. First of all, we mean relationships in families and education of a younger generation, about the state and ability to fulfill its functional purpose of health care system in a village. Regarding education of children, the authors studied a wide range of issues: relationships of children with each other and with their parents, other family members, neighbours; supply of toys; collective games, etc. Based on the analysis of primary sources, the researchers proved convincingly that the peasant children of that time played, as a rule, with homemade toys made by adults. Factory toys were extremely rare. The games of older children, which they played in their free time, were also characterized in detail.

The monograph explained in detail the state of affairs in the field of school and preschool education of rural children. The historians highlighted without distortions a material and technical condition of these institutions, the conditions of children's stay in preschool institutions, their food and medical provision, educational work in them. They indicated that in rural preschool children's seasonal institutions there was a total shortage of everything necessary for the maintenance of children and this was a characteristic feature of their everyday life. The least attention was paid to ensuring necessary sanitary conditions, it was good if it was cleaned. At the same time, it deserves a positive assessment that the researchers did not ignore the issues related to the category of children, who could not find a place in nursery school. In fact, V. Marchenko and O. Nikiliev were among the first in domestic historiography to study this scientific issue in this way.

The reviewed work depicted the situation with the receiving of education by rural children sufficiently. The state of the material and technical base of schools and their classes was shown in detail. It was revealed that the usual practice of the educational process at rural schools at that time was organization of classes in rooms unsuitable for this, where the norm was to hold simultaneous classes for two classes. The qualitative and quantitative composition of teachers needed serious improvement. The following materials were given: children's recollections of the forms and methods used by teachers for better assimilation of the material in conditions of a total shortage of textbooks, notebooks and other educational materials. The conditions for getting children to school and returning them home, preparing for classes were revealed. For example, rural school students completed their homework in the evening, with a lamp or a kerosene lamp, after completing all the household duties. The authors' conclusion was justified that in the post-war period, taking into account the social and material living conditions of their families, rural children did not have sufficient opportunities for full-fledged education. Due to poor financial background of family, village children were forced to go to work from an early age. It was one of the reasons why rural youth remained illiterate mostly. Having finished only primary school or received an incomplete seven-year education, village youth left their studies and replenished the contingent of collective farm workers. Village youth, who came from full families mainly, managed to get a full secondary education and continue their studies in higher and secondary special educational institutions.

The scholars studied a daily life of health-care sphere of the post-war Ukrainian village thoroughly. They showed that the realities of an everyday life were that the centres of its health sector could not provide quality services to villagers. The state of their material and technical base was not at a proper level. Rural medical institutions lacked the most necessary equipment, medicines, consumables, linen, furniture, food supply for patients. Violation of elementary sanitary and hygienic norms was a common phenomenon. A peasant had to worry



not only about his own recovery, but also to ensure his own stay in a medical institution: take care of heating the room, food, etc. Collective farms were theoretically obliged to allocate their own funds for restoration and maintenance of medical facilities. However, it almost did not happen in practice, given the difficult financial situation in which the collective farms were in the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s. The following factors also hindered effective treatment: the lack of specialists or their low qualifications, problems with transport and communication routes. Maternity homes needed repair and equipment, proper conditions for keeping women in labour. At the same time, taking into account the state of rural medicine, the practice of giving birth at home with the help of midwives was widespread in a village at that time. Taking into consideration a low availability and quality of treatment in rural hospitals, among villagers it was popular to receive “medical services” from local herbalists, who undertook to treat a wide variety of diseases. It was another reason for an increased mortality in a countryside, which was motivated in the reviewed monograph.

The authors revealed that the material and technical base of rural cultural institutions was extremely inadequate, they were used not for their intended purpose, but mostly as administrative and production premises, while studying the realities of leisure and rest life of the Ukrainian peasantry in the post-war era.

The issue regarding the staff of the rural cultural institutions became the subject of scientific understanding by the scholars. They stated with regret that in most villages, people who had no organizational skills, no knowledge, no relevant experience in cultural and educational work, professional training, and even necessary level of general education worked as club heads. As a rule, the position of head of a club head or a reading room head was added part-time to the main one, because it was poorly paid or not paid at all.

V. Marchenko and O. Nikilyev also found out positive aspects of rural cultural institutions activities. Even irregularly working rural clubs were popular among young people, they made it possible to bring new emotions to a hectic life. In the monograph, based on the analysis of the numerical source base, it was revealed that the main form of recreation of rural youth was dancing to the accordion or gramophone, watching movies, concerts of amateur groups, performances of local amateur groups. For the most part, the functioning of village groups of amateur artistic activities was hindered by the interference of heads of collective farms or village councils. The positive aspect of the peer-reviewed study is that it highlights the real recreational realities of the life of the villagers, provides facts on the use of alcohol, playing cards, dominoes, checkers, etc. The ideological directions of work of educational and cultural institutions were also reflected, one of the main ones being ideological. It was implemented mainly in the form of lectures, which were read both by full-time lecturers of regional and district lecture groups, and by representatives of higher educational institutions of cities. The topics of lectures were monotonous: political and economic topics, the Soviet government's success, the anti-Soviet activities of the enemies, etc. They were usually far from the problems that bothered a village man. Peasants were indifferent to such lectures.

In the reviewed monograph an important place is also given to such a component of an everyday leisure as cinema. The authors objectively found out that the material and technical support of this area was far from real needs of peasants. These are the extremely small number of both stationary and mobile film installations, moving them by horse-drawn carriage, frequent disruption of screenings, low quality film, limited selection of film productions in district cinema libraries, frequent disruptions of the announced screening, lack of premises that could accommodate all willing villagers, etc. However, as the researchers rightly point

out, there were always viewers: even under such conditions, people were happy to watch the film. Children were especially interested in the “cinema”, who, due to lack of money, invented any way to get to watching a film.

V. Marchenko and O. Nikiliev expertly highlighted that, in reality, among all types of leisure activities of everyday peasants, the most accessible and most widespread was spending time in the circle of relatives, friends, and acquaintances with various entertainments, songs, and dances. Political and state holidays in the village were of a formal nature. After their official part, the peasants returned home and in most cases worked in the gardens. The main, especially revered and traditional holidays were Christmas and Easter. Christmas holidays were especially loved by children because of various entertainments. Groups of village children went to acquaintances and neighbours with carols, gifts and sowing. In the poor post-war years, these rites were a rare opportunity to eat plenty of delicious food, and most importantly, to be treated to a candy. The authors reasonably believe that Easter was considered a significant holiday in a village. They prepared for it in advance, whitewashed houses, cleaned, prepared various dishes for the table. The formation of a festive table for this holiday was an event in which the whole family was involved, from little small to grown-up.

Weddings played a special place in the lives of rural people, even in difficult post-war times. As a rule, it was traditionally celebrated by almost entire village. In the monograph there are described in detail the specifics of preparation and holding of this event. It is shown how Ukrainian peasants in the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s solved the issue of clothes for each young couple, the number of invited guests and those who will sit at table, food for those present, etc. Various forms of marriage, celebration of this event by different categories of villagers were covered.

Thus, there are enough reasons to believe that the study of V. Marchenko and O. Nikiliev “Everyday life of the post-war Ukrainian village (the mid-1940s – the first half of the 1950s)” is a professionally written monograph, dedicated to a topical issue in the history of the everyday Ukrainian village of the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s. Its authors, given the lack of a comprehensive research on this topic, made a successful attempt to fill the existing scientific gap. The peer-reviewed monograph is of a significant scientific interest, useful not only for specialists, but also for everyone interested in the agrarian history of Ukraine. Its characteristic features are: impartiality, professionalism, the validity of statements based on the analysis of a wide range of various reliable and representative sources. It also contains valuable national experience from the reconstruction of the post-war Ukrainian village in the second half of the 1940s – the first half of the 1950s, which will be useful for modern Ukraine, that will win.

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**Nataliia ROZINKEVYCH**

*PhD (Philology), Teacher at Applied College “Universum”, Borys Hrinchenko Kyiv University, 16 Leonid Kadeniuk Avenue, Kyiv, Ukraine, postal code 02094 (n.rozinkevych@kubg.edu.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-7292-1015

**Researcher ID:** HKN-9032-2023

**Scopus-Author ID:** 57961090300

**Наталія РОЗІНКЕВИЧ**

*кандидатка філологічних наук, викладачка Фахового коледжу “Універсум” Київського університету імені Бориса Грінченка, пр. Леоніда Каденюка, 16, Київ, Україна, індекс 02094 (n.rozinkevych@kubg.edu.ua)*

**THE NUCLEAR THREAT IS A TIMELY ISSUE.  
ECOCRITICAL READING OF THE BOOK-WARNING**

**(review on: Serhiy Plokhyy. Nuclear Madness. History of the Caribbean Crisis.  
Kharkiv: KSD, 2022. 368 p.)**

**ЯДЕРНА ЗАГРОЗА – ПИТАННЯ, ЯКЕ НА ЧАСІ. ЕКОКРИТИЧНЕ  
ПРОЧИТАННЯ ТВОРУ-ЗАСТЕРЕЖЕННЯ**

**(рецензія на книгу: Сергій Плохій. Ядерне безумство. Історія Карибської кризи.  
Харків: КСД, 2022. 368 с.)**

Multimedia platforms of foreign broadcasting of Ukraine, news agencies are full of headlines: “Nuclear Threat: What you Need to Know about it” (Ukrinform)<sup>1</sup>, “Nuclear Threat: Where to Hide and What to Do” (DW)<sup>2</sup>, “Nuclear Threat – how the Ukrainians should Prepare” (UNIAN)<sup>3</sup>, “Nuclear Threat: is it Possible to Prevent a Nuclear Strike by russia?”<sup>4</sup> (Radio Liberty)<sup>5</sup>, etc.

Media publicity and fiction and non-fiction serve an educational function: they help learn about the danger and to understand the consequences in order to be able to prevent it. The purpose of the review is to analyze Serhiy Plokhyy’s book “Nuclear Madness. History of the Caribbean Crisis” from an ecocritical point of view and understand the author’s message, which is relevant nowadays, in the 21st century.

The subject of ecocriticism is the study of the relationship between literature, culture and nature (not synonymous with the word environment). The interdisciplinary discourse “individual – society – nature – text” is decisive for creating a complete picture of the world. Ecocriticism focuses on the urgent problems of humanity, warns against crisis phenomena,

<sup>1</sup> Ukrinform. URL: <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-ato/3581539-aderna-zagroza-so-pro-ce-treba-znati.html>

<sup>2</sup> DW in Ukrainian. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6iJ4yQg2hEQ>

<sup>3</sup> UNIAN. URL: <https://www.unian.ua/war/yaderna-zagroza-yak-ukrajincyam-pidgotuvatis-12002145.html>

<sup>4</sup> A proper name, used to express disrespect is spelt without a capital letter

<sup>5</sup> Radio Svoboda. URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/yadernyy-shantazh-rosiyi-pro-ssha/31925154.html>

emphasizes educational potential of research papers. This discipline, originating in the USA, actively developed in Great Britain, became an academic discipline only in the 1990s.

In Ukraine, Ecocriticism is still a fairly young discipline. It should be noted that such researchers as Inna Sukhenko (2011), Alina Oleshko (2016), Larysa Statkevych (2017) considered the theoretical and methodological formats of modern ecocriticism and ecoliterature in the Ukrainian scientific paradigm and the stages of development of public consciousness regarding the importance of ecological thinking formation. The expediency and acceptability of applying ecocritical dimensions in projection to the Ukrainian literature and problems of adapting ecocritical knowledge for a Ukrainian-speaking recipient were studied by Larysa Horbolis (2011), Mykola Tkachuk (2011), Tetyana Hanzha (2018), Oksana Vertyporoh (2021), Anna Horniatko-Shumylovych (2022)), Natalia Maftyn, Halyna Sokol (2022). Tereza Levchuk, Viktoriya Sokolova (2020) proposed an innovative approach in developing a typology of ecotexts based on the concept of the American ecologist Barry Commoner: everything is connected with everything; everything has to go somewhere; nature knows better; nothing is given for nothing. Yuliya Kumanska (2019) did research on ecological aspects of literature for youth.

It should be noted that the current State Standard of Basic and Comprehensive General Secondary education (2011) provides for the formation of “Environmental literacy and healthy life” among the key competencies. Ukrainian literature as an educational subject has a rather significant potential for the implementation of cross-cutting line: “Environmental safety and sustainable development”, which involves an ecocentric ecological worldview formation of students, at the centre of which is the understanding that a human being does not dominate environment, but is a part of it.

Evidence of the purposeful interest of the Ukrainian researchers in environmental issues and understanding of the need to carry out transformational processes in the system of ethical principles of modern society are relevant scientific events and thematic collections, for example, International Scientific Conferences: “Artistic Phenomena in the History of World Literature: Transition of Language into Writing (“Ecocentrism: Culture and Nature”))” (Kharkiv, 2017); “Songs of the Earth: Biology and Ecology in Literature and Culture” (Berdiansk, 2022).

Eco-literature has great educational potential, because it lays the foundations of modern environmental ethics and transforms values determined by the application of knowledge about nature and ecology.

The issue of survival in the era of globalization for a modern man is no longer a metaphor. Disappointing ecological situation is caused by man-made disasters, pandemics, wars, depletion of valuable natural resources, global warming, demographic explosion, spread of exploitative technologies, conquering space before using it as a garbage dump, pollution (with toxic waste, radioactive fallout, phosphorous munitions), extinction and consumerist worldview and mindless inhumane killings by people of non-human species (animals, plants), etc. However, right now there is a more serious issue. This is a nuclear threat. Nowadays, the world has entered a new atomic era. Although world leaders implement the policy of deterrence, none of them gives a full guarantee of protection by “deterrent forces”<sup>6</sup> against the use of nuclear weapon and does not express confidence that such a threat does not exist.

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<sup>6</sup> **Deterrence policy** (*nuclear deterrence policy*) is a geopolitical theory developed by the American diplomat George Kennan in the 1940s. This theory provides for the maintenance of *peace* by the so-called “nuclear troops” based on the inevitability of revenge to enemy in case of a nuclear first strike.

The threat is real, because no agreements and laws have any leverage to terrorist countries. Russia is an example of this leverage absence.

Contrary to the terms of the Treaty between the USSR and the USA on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, INF), which entered into force on June 1, 1988, Russia concealed the production of long-range cruise missiles. However, in July of 2018, under pressure by NATO, Russia acknowledged the development of such 9M729 missile. As a result, the United States withdrew from the agreement on February 1, 2019 for six months. On August 2, 2019, the agreement became invalid after Russia also officially withdrew from it.

Nowadays, the bilateral SNO-III (Arms, New Start) Agreement on measures to further reduce and limit strategic offensive weapons has been extended between the United States and Russia from February 3, 2021 to February 5, 2026. Nuclear weapons are called offensive: intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine ballistic missiles, heavy bombers. (In the 60s of the 20th century, in the resolutions of the Soviet party and government, this armament was called the euphemism “special charge” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 66)). However, the diplomatic achievements of world security are annulled, because the work of the US inspectors on the territory of Russia from August 9, 2022 due to Russia’s war with Ukraine is limited, they do not have access to nuclear strategic facilities. Russia does not allow inspectors into its strategic facilities, citing the US sanctions. Until August of 2022, the reason for restrictions was the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, as a result, there has been no absolute control of weapons in the Russian Federation for several years. It is also dangerous that DSNO-III is the last of the nuclear arms control treaties in force between Moscow and Washington, in addition, Russian representatives constantly postpone the meeting with the US representatives to discuss the terms of compliance with this treaty.

Nuclear arsenals are also available in China, Iran, North Korea, France, Great Britain, India, Pakistan and Israel, but only Russia uses nuclear terrorism against Ukraine: threatens to use nuclear weapons and radioactive materials or to destroy nuclear facilities. Since Ukraine is the largest European country and the breadbasket of the whole of Europe, a humanitarian catastrophe, in the case of the use of nuclear weapons by the Russian Federation, will also provoke famine in the European part of the Eurasian continent, and it is almost impossible to stop the flow of polluted rivers that will carry radioactive pollution.

Germany, Turkey, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy are the unofficial nuclear states of Europe that are not part of the “nuclear club”. There are also quite a few countries that have nuclear weapons programmes. Ukraine gave up nuclear weapons (in favour of Russia<sup>7</sup>, its historical enemy) and acquired non-nuclear status on December 5, 1994, when the Budapest Memorandum was signed.

Although nuclear and thermonuclear weapons – weapons of mass destruction – are an argument for deterring world wars, territorial encroachments are a great danger for humanity and environment, because their power is deadly – a human life can remain as an artifact, and consequences of damage (environmental pollution) last for millennia: the half-life of carbon-14 is approximately 6 thousand years, plutonium-239 – 24 thousand years, and iodine-194 – 16 million years (Plokhii, 2022, p. 321). Our brain is not even capable of comprehending these numbers – the data are too convincing, levelling time and space.

In the 21st century, the world has lost all guarantees of security, it is threatened by the entropic danger of war. A new phase of the arms race has begun: “Cold War-2” (a numeral

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<sup>7</sup> The Russian Federation deceived Ukraine: without agreement in the first months of 1991, after Ukraine’s declaration of independence, Russia semi-secretly exported tactical nuclear weapons to its territory.



was added to the term introduced by reporter Walter Lippmann in 1947). Once again we live during the most dangerous period in human history – “we are officially at the start of an uncontrolled nuclear race” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 18). Nothing can prevent the nuclear arms race and competition, the risks of military conflict. Although scientists model scenarios for the use of a nuclear arsenal, no one can predict the real consequences, because nuclear weapons were used infrequently and even relatively in uninhabited territories: on July 16, 1945, the world’s first test of a 21 kiloton atomic weapon was carried out in the state of New Mexico, the USA (the beginning of the nuclear era); on July 25, 1945, an underwater nuclear explosion with a power of 23 kilotons was tested (for the first time in history); then, on August 6 and 9, 1945, the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed with 15 and 21 kilotons; on March 1, 1954, the American 15-megaton “Castle-Bravo” bomb was tested on Bikini atoll; the test of the 58-megaton Soviet hydrogen “Tsar-bomb” in the New Zealand archipelago in the Arctic Ocean was carried out on October 30, 1961 (Plokhii, 2022, p. 54); on April 25, 1962, a nuclear bomb was detonated on Christmas Island in the Pacific Ocean (Plokhii, 2022, p. 63), etc. Nuclear bombs are quite fast, they instantly destroy everything around, contaminating the environment with radiation.

World leaders are looking for mechanisms that would stop the threat: they develop anti-aircraft defense (ADF) and anti-missile defense (ABD), while the average person loses the ability to be responsible for his fate, the fate of region, nature and the planet in general and is forced to live in anticipation of a nuclear threat. The Ukrainians understand this quite clearly, unfortunately, because from February 24, 2022, their natural environment will be permeated by: anti-aircraft guided missiles S-300, S-400, hypersonic missiles “Kynzhal”, cruise missiles Kh-101, Kh-47, Kh-55, Kh-555, “Kalibre”, “Iskander-K”, “Point-U”, “Onyx”, ballistic missiles R-500, “Iskander-M”, X-59, “Tochka”; aircraft – strategic bombers MiG-31K, Tu-95MS, TU-160, Tu-22M3 – missile carriers; kamikaze drones of Iranian production “Shahed-131/136”, reconnaissance drones “Orlan-10”, etc. There are many modifications of rockets. In NATO lists, the codification of missiles is different. On some of them, it is possible to install a nuclear warhead. Many missiles are still being developed and tested. For example, this is the hypersonic cruise missile “Tsyron” and the 9M729 – a promising long-range cruise missile, which the Russians hide and do not recognize its existence.

The Ukrainians enriched their vocabulary with new military lexemes, which changed from passive to active vocabulary. Like the Cubans in the 60s of the 20th century, the residents of Ukraine clearly felt the grotesqueness of being at the epicentre of American-Russian relations. The Ukrainians live “at the centre of two nuclear crises – related to nuclear energy and the threat of using nuclear weapons” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 12), in the breaks between air raid signals and hours of blackouts, which has become a part of their life, they do not have an eschatological approach to life, they do not expect an apocalypse, because an important feature of the mentality of the Ukrainian philosophical worldview is atheism, which also affects the model formation of a human being relations with environment.

Serhiy Plokhii, a member of the Ukrainian PEN, Ukrainian-American historian in the documentary book “Nuclear Madness. History of the Caribbean Crisis” (2022), analyzing the Caribbean crisis of the Cold War period of the 60s of the 20th century, raises the urgent and important problem of “arms control” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 325), encouraging citizens around the world to re-read the history of nuclear weapons and dangers “to understand the uncertainties of today’s world” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 15), because through knowledge one can draw many parallels, realize and take into account that “at the height of the Cold War, the issue of arms

control appeared on the political agenda through public debate: governments alone would not have done this” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 325).

The planet is our common home, and we must be united by the idea of planetaryism, together take care of our own existence, understand all possible consequences and prevent irreparable global catastrophe, because some cynical people with heightened egoism have a zoological desire to dominate – to have access to resources.

The noun “madness” in the title of Serhiy Plokhiiy’s book-warning means “reckless, careless actions that contradict the requirements of reason”. “The book is a reminder of a fine line between peace and war, between life and death, between international agreements and spontaneous decisions, between past, present and future. Catastrophes of incomparable scale can depend on the logic of the actions of individuals, often spontaneous, emotional, adventurous.

Having analyzed hundreds of historical sources and popular studies: archival protocols, transcripts, memoranda, ultimatums, reports, lists, recordings of conversations, telephone logs, telegrammes, cover letters, reports, speeches, newspaper articles, secret agreements, resolutions, eyewitness accounts, documentary books, etc., – in the book with 612 references to various sources, the author, “taking on the reconstruction and analysis of the Caribbean crisis”, calls into question the traditional narrative that dominated historical sources: “Kennedy showed character” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 16), to properly regulate US-Soviet relations at the height of the Cold War.

“We looked into each other’s eyes and waited to see who would blink first” – this is the metaphorical definition of the confrontation between the policies of Mykyta Khrushchov, John Kennedy and Fidel Castro in the Atlantic, in the Caribbean at that time, given by Dean Rusk (an American statesman). World leaders in the military, economic, political, ideological confrontation “stepped from mistake to mistake” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 17), but they were united by the fact that they were “balancing on the edge” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 69) and their strategic military forces were at a high level of combat readiness, but still, neither Khrushchov nor Kennedy wanted, and the latter was afraid of a nuclear war, so they made compromises, because they understood that they were one step away from disaster.

M. Khrushchov wanted to have primacy in the world communist movement and to have influence in the third world, while avoiding confrontation by the US and China. His plan was to keep Cuba in the Soviet camp and maintain the power base (nuclear balance) because American missile launchers, as a nuclear shield, were located in Italy and on the territory of eastern Turkey and were directed at the USSR. The Secretary General went on a nuclear adventure: the subject of the bargain was to make the Americans feel what it’s like to “live under the sights of nuclear weapons” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 76) – “offensive means”. The official version of that operation is “to help the Cuban revolution withstand the US aggression” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 81).

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU signed an agreement on a package of military aid to Cuba for 228 million rubles. This top secret operation was called “Anadyr”. Secretly M. Khrushchov stationed 44,000 officers and soldiers, 1,300 civilians in Latin America, sent 24 medium-range R-12 missile launchers, 16 intermediate-range R-14 ballistic missile launchers (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 73), S-75 “Desna” missiles, “Luna” tactical nuclear weapons, etc. The Soviet military base was established in Cuba with all types of “nuclear weapons at his [Khrushchov’s] disposal” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 121).

After discovering the positions of anti-aircraft missiles in Cuba, the American democratic president John Kennedy was faced with the choice of how to eliminate these bases: “what should be preferred – diplomacy or military action” (Plokhiiy, 2022, p. 134).

The Soviet ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads were on alert (the Americans didn't even know about it), so if Kennedy had chosen to strike the missile sites in Cuba, a nuclear war would have erupted instantly. Everything was decided by an accident: the young and inexperienced American president changed his position: he chose a blockade instead of a strike or an invasion.

The consequences could be unpredictable, because politicians lost control, resorted to diplomatic juggling, sent diplomatic letters and warnings with various messages, revoked orders, invented laws, organized provocations, sabotage, adventures, conducted secret operations, used tactics of intimidation, ultimatums, threats and blackmail, mutual suspicions, gave vague promises, bluffed, exploded with emotions, lied, did not keep public promises, refused agreements, undermined the trust of allies, fell into diplomatic traps with incorrect judgments and hints, endured psychological attacks, image defeats and misunderstandings were misleading. These are the tactical and strategic factors and means that were used in politics, and which prove that the border between war and peace is quite conditional. The author focused not only on historical and political generalizations, but also on individually made decisions of statesmen – political, economic, social.

Outdated and incomplete intelligence, the lack of reliable and timely information showed that the information age had not yet arrived, and therefore an ordinary incident could provoke a war, preserve life – and return the world to the stone age.

Nuclear war can depend on individuals who often do not even imagine the danger, and their spontaneous decisions, wrong orders, double understanding of certain situations and impunity can turn into unpredictable consequences. Serhiy Plokhii gives such examples in the book.

The shooting down of the American U-2 plane over Cuba by the Soviet anti-aircraft missile on the orders of the Soviet commander in the middle of the morning (!), carried out by a military man who “was 22 years old and had the build of a teenager” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 227) – this is one of the examples of the “irony of fate” that did not provoke an appropriate response from the Americans.

It was also a lucky accident of instant death that the torpedo on the submarine, which was equipped with a nuclear warhead with an explosive power of 10 kilotons, did not fire, because as “it turned out that each captain had his own understanding of what to do with a single nuclear torpedo” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 242).

The threats of the extremist Castro, who had his own understanding of politics, and believed that it was correct to use weapons to shoot down American planes, could also return the situation to the brink of war, and a human life and equipment – to tombstones and monuments.

The ability of world leaders to retreat rather than escalate the conflict, to find an alternative, to concede, to understand in time, the ability to buy time or to make a quick decision – all this was the basis for stopping a full-scale, unprecedented nuclear war in the 60s of the 20th century.

Serhiy Plokhii draws parallels and explains the motivation of the policies of Moscow, Washington, Havana, and occasionally Beijing. The rivalry between socialism and imperialism was based on the production of weapons. In the USSR, for example, various modifications of missiles were manufactured: R-7A, R-9, R-12, R-14, R-15, R-16, R-36, IL-28, MiG-21 bombers and other weapons.

The documentary nature of the book “Nuclear Madness” is confirmed by the facts. There are Names of locations and institutions (the White House, the Kremlin, CIA). For visual

perception, conditional maps of the Soviet troops location in Cuba are provided, where the locations of “surface-to-air”, “surface-to-surface” missile positions, patrol vessels, ground troops, airfields for MiG-21 fighters and Il-28 bombers are marked, positions of ballistic missiles and a map of the movement of submarines with nuclear torpedoes and the path of the air route to Cuba. The statistics of weapons, military and civilian personnel are given, and monetary costs are calculated.

One of the compositional elements of the book is the “Acknowledgement” section, in which the author once again assures that he used verified sources of archival documents, which enabled him to make an analytical cut and reconstruct fragments of memory. The figurative titles of parts of the book are interesting: “The Opponents”, “The Red Game”, “The Torment of the Decision”, “Resurrection from the Dead”, etc. – this is a fiction sign of the book work.

In the book there are mentioned the names of politicians, soldiers, scientists of that time: Kyrylo Moskalenko, Anastas Mikoyan, Rodion Malynovskiy, Semyon Ivanov, Frol Kozlov, Leonid Brezhnev, Oleksii Kosyhin, Issa Pliiev, Ihor Statsenko, Stepan Hrechko, Mykhailo Tokarenko, Anatolii Hrybkov, Andriy Hromyko, Andriy Dobrynin, Che Guevara, Raul Castro, Willy Brandt, Walter Ulbricht, Lucius Clay, John McCone, Dean Rusk, McGeorge Bundy, Robert Kennedy, Robert McNamara, Marshall Carter, Curtis Limey and the others.

The plot lines are built exclusively on real events, while the writer created bright, vivid pictures of events and situations. Episodes that took place more than 60 years ago are chronologically reconstructed, myths are debunked: the author structures the material – indicates the exact dates. Using a journalistic style with artistic elements, he conveys and evaluates events, explains the motivation and background of actions, summarizes the consequences and encourages a reader to find allusions to current events. This is the educational, social and cognitive function of the art of words – the literature of fact.

Thus, ecocriticism records the change of rationalist and technocratic, humanitarian and ecological ideas of a human being about nature, as a separate reality (the space of paradise) that is not squeezed into any systems and coordinates of existence. By decoding the messages of the book-warning, the reception of the new socio-cultural reality of the 21st century is formed, which may be outside of space and time. The book of Serhiy Plokhii, Harvard University History Professor, is of a historical and literary character – it has prospects for future scientific research.

Professor Serhiy Plokhii can repeat the same thing so that a reader, like a student, will definitely absorb the material, pass it through himself, and store the information in long-term memory, because there may not be winners in a nuclear war, but the modern “cyber war makes the current situation even more dangerous” (Plokhii, 2022, p. 323). Radioactive fallout can threaten the life of entire planet and will be difficult to get rid of. We have to realize a lot so that one day we don’t end up in an apocalyptic abyss.

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Друкарня – Видавничий дім «Гельветика»  
65101, Україна, м. Одеса, вул. Інглезі, 6/1  
Телефон +38 (095) 934 48 28, +38 (097) 723 06 08  
E-mail: mailbox@helvetica.ua  
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