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**SACRUM AND PROFANUM IN RELIGIOUS LIFE OF PEASANTS
IN WESTERN UKRAINE (1918 – 1939)**

Summary. *The purpose of the article – to analyze the religious life of the peasants of Western Ukraine during 1918 – 1939 and to outline the peculiarities of the ideological landmarks in the spiritual sphere. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systemicity, scientism, verification, the author's objectivity, a moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic, historical and chronological) methods. The scientific novelty of the work is that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, based on the analysis of the previously unknown archival documents and materials, the correlation between sacrum and profanum in the religious life of the peasants of Western Ukraine during 1918 – 1939 has been investigated. Conclusions.* *The religious life of the peasants of Western Ukraine during the above-mentioned period was determined by a number of factors. Firstly, the declared problem coincides with the time of the formation and establishment of the Polish statehood, which in turn predetermined the strict regulation of the spiritual sphere by the authorities. Secondly, the Polish authorities and the local Roman Catholic clergy, officially declaring the freedom of religion, in practice succeeded in the administrative pressure, manipulating and aggravating the interfaith relations. Under such conditions, the rural population,*

who formed the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic communities, became hostages in the struggle to preserve the traditional religious rituals and the national identity. The consequence of this was shifting the emphasis from the primary (sacred) cultivation of the Christian beliefs towards the profane. In particular, important were the external features of the churches, a religious self-determination, the administration of a religious life, and the involvement of the parish community into the political processes. The rural population was not particularly concerned with the essence of the Christian doctrine, being limited to the external attributes: the regular visits to the church, a jealous (demonstrative) observance of the traditional religious rites, the worship, the celebration of Christian holidays, a regular payment of donations. Actually an important duty of the peasants was the strict observance of the established, traditional religious ritual. The understanding of the Christian doctrine and the communication with the God were a pastoral matter. It is worth noting that the clergy did not attempt to overcome this prevailing stereotype, and the parishioners were often viewed as a source of the clergy's wealth by means of conducting the sacred services.

Key words: Western Ukraine, peasants, sacrum, profanum, religious life, interwar period.

САКРАЛЬНЕ І ПРОФАННЕ В РЕЛІГІЙНОМУ ЖИТТІ СЕЛЯН ЗАХІДНОЇ УКРАЇНИ (1918 – 1939 РР.)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати релігійне життя селян Західної України упродовж 1918 – 1939 рр. та окреслити особливості світоглядних орієнтирів у духовній сфері. **Методологія дослідження** базується 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 в українській історіографії, на основі аналізу невідомих раніше архівних документів і матеріалів, досліджено співвідношення сакрального та профанного у релігійному житті селян Західної України упродовж 1918 – 1939 рр. **Висновки.** Релігійне життя селян Західної України окресленого періоду визначалося низкою чинників. По-перше, задекларована проблематика збігається з часом становлення і утвердження польської державності, що, зі своєї боку, зумовлювало чітке регулювання духовної сфери органами влади. По-друге, польська влада і місцеве римо-католицьке духовенство, офіційно декларуючи свободу віросповідання, на практиці вдавалося до адміністративного тиску, маніпулюючи та загострюючи міжконфесійні відносини. Наслідком чого стало зміщення акцентів із первинного (сакрального) культивування християнських віровчень у бік мирського (профанного). Зокрема, важливими були наявні зовнішні ознаки приналежності храмів, конфесійного самовизначення, адміністрування релігійного життя, залучення парафіяльної громади до політичних процесів. Сільське населення не особливо переймалося суттю християнського віровчення, обмежуючись зовнішньою атрибутивністю: регулярним відвідуванням храму, ревним (показовим) дотриманням традиційних релігійних обрядів, шануванням, відзначенням християнських свят, справною оплатою пожертв та треб. Варто зауважити, що священнослужителі не намагалися подолати цей сформований стереотип, а парафіян доволі часто розглядали як джерело власного достатку через надання сакральних послуг.

Ключові слова: Західна Україна, селяни, сакральне, профанне, релігійне життя, міжвоєнний період.

Problem statement. The characteristic tendencies of the modern science are paying attention to the cognition process study, due to the rapid development of the interdisciplinary branches of the scientific knowledge. There is the reconsideration of the dialectal correlation of global and local. The researchers are interested in the study of the local and the regional issues, which leads to the scientific research of the everyday life's sphere. The reconsideration of the human relations, localized by a specific area and the time of existence, acquires a new system significance, hence, the actualization of the sacred relations of the peasants of Western Ukraine. The researchers single out the peasant's world as the object of the research, regarding

the peasant's world as the unique and specific microcosm, despite the widespread reflections. The peasants' religious life of Western Ukraine during the interwar period was marked by the variegated religions and a deep Christian spirituality. The following issue of this article is insufficiently studied, which serves as the scientific novelty of this scientific publication. Due to the certain circumstances, the above-mentioned issue is extremely relevant and vital for the contemporary comprehension of the influence of sacrum and profanum on the religious life of the peasants of Western Ukraine during 1918 – 1939.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. In spite of the certain achievements of the scientists in the study of the mentioned above issues, beyond the limits of the research of the scientists, there are many important unresolved problems. The main attention was paid to the national question in Western Ukraine (Srokowski, 1924), the relationship between the Ukrainians and the Poles (Zieliński, 1983), the denominational and ethnic transformations in Ukraine (the XIXth – the first half of the XXth century) (Stokolos, 2003), the integration of the Galician Ukrainians to the Polish state in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies (Fedevych, 2009), the material situation of the Galician rural clergy (the end of the XIXth – and the 30-ies of the XXth century) (Borodynska, 2009), the national-cultural and religious life in Western Volyn during the interwar period (Kramar, 2015), the history of Ukrainian-Polish conflicts (Syvitskyi, 2005).

I. Pylypiv researched the issue of Concordat of Rzecz Pospolita with the Apostolic throne and its consequences to the Greek Catholic Church (Pylypiv, 2010), the problems of its role in the social and political life of Eastern Galicia (1918 – 1939) (Pylypiv, 2011), the Constitution of Rzecz Pospolita II and the national-religious policy of the Polish authorities in Halychyna (1921 – 1925) (Pylypiv, 2013). V. Marchuk studied the place and the role of the Greek Catholic Church in the public life of Ukraine in the XXth century (Marchuk, 2012) and the other issues related to its functioning.

Separately, one should mention the scientific works of V. Borshchevych, who explored the autonomous Orthodox Church in Volyn (Borshchevych, 1998), the Ukrainian church rebirth and the national-religious movement in the mentioned areas (Borshchevych, 2000), the stages of the formation and the development tendencies of the Orthodox clergy in the interwar the period (Borshchevych, 2008), the mental traits of the Volyn Orthodox clergy and its national identity (Borshchevych, 2009; Borshchevych, 2009a), the church-social activity (Borshchevych, 2009b) and the identity of the Volyn clergy in the XXth century (Borshchevych, 2010).

Thus, for a considerable period of study of the above-mentioned problem, there has been accumulated a certain amount of mainly popular science literature, which in one way or another is tangent to the various aspects of the problem under investigation, but does not reveal it to the fullest.

The main array of the archival materials and documents, without which it is impossible to investigate the problem scientifically, to conduct an argumentated discussion and to make the grounded conclusions, is concentrated in the State Archives of Ternopil region. In particular, the archival documents from Fund 231 «Ternopil Voyevodskyi Directorate» shed light on the structure (State Archive of Ternopil Region – SATR, f. 231, d. 6, c. 997, 10 p.) and the activities of evangelical christians in Western Ukraine (SATR, f. 231, d. 6, c. 1651, 22 p.), the list of the evangelical clergy (SATR, f. 231, d. 6, c. 1003, 7 p.), the meeting decision of the Ukrainian evangelical unions and their joining the Polish Cathedral in 1932 (SATR, f. 231, d. 6, c. 1652, 13 p.). The valuable information is available in Fund 11 issues. Podhayetske

County Starostvo (SATR, f. 11, d. 1, c. 64, 30 p.) and Fund 27. Ternopil district court (SATR, f. 27, d. 1, c. 210, 30 p.), in which the activities of the religion-oriented societies is highlighted.

It should be noted that quite a prominent place occupies the three-volume edition of the Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi among the sources in the article, in particular, we used the materials of the second volume (Sheptytskyi, 2009), which is chronologically related to the research topic and his other works. (Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi, 2014).

The publication's purpose – to analyze the religious life of the peasants of Western Ukraine during 1918 – 1939 and to outline the peculiarities of the ideological landmarks in the spiritual sphere.

Statement of the basic material. The village of Western Ukraine in 1918 – 1939 represented a multicultural space, the area of co-habitation of people with different traditions, ideas, religion. According to the census of 1931 in Volyn, Lviv, Stanislaviv and Ternopil voyevodstvo there lived 6698.5 thousand peasants. Table 1 provides statistics on the number of different beliefs followers.

Table 1

The structure of the rural population, classified according to their religion in 1931 (in thousands)

Voyevodstvo	The total sum of peasants	Roman Catholics	Greek-Catholics	Orthodox	Gospel christians (Ausbürg, Unitarian, Reformed)	Other Christians	Other non-Christians	Jews	Foreigners
Volyn	1833,1	264,1	10,1	1396,6	49,9	27,4	0,0	83,8	1,2
Lviv	2351,7	1077,4	1167,1	7,1	8,2	3,5	0,1	84,6	3,7
Stanislaviv	1185,1	159,2	979,4	0,5	7,4	0,4	0,1	36,9	1,2
Ternopil	1328,6	484,1	798,1	1,5	3,1	1,3	0,1	39,9	0,5
The total sum	6698,5	1984,8	2954,7	1405,7	68,6	32,6	0,3	245,2	6,6

(Mały Rocznik Statystyczny, 1938: 24).

In general, the given data approximately reflected the ethnic structure of the rural inhabitants of the region. The Roman Catholics were mostly the Poles, the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox – the Ukrainians, the Judaism followers – the Jews, the Protestants – the Czechs, the Germans. Among the inhabitants of the Western Ukrainian village, the Ukrainians prevailed, and persons of the Polish nationality accounted for almost one third of the total number of the peasants. At the same time, the representation of the Jews in the rural communities of Western Ukraine was negligible. The vast majority of the rural residents were the followers of the traditional Christian beliefs. We consider the fact that the peasants of Western Ukraine were distinguished by deep religiosity, the established traditions and customs were closely intertwined with Christian postulates. Conducting worship, observance of spiritual holidays, determined the everyday life of religious communities. Religious life

was a synergy between sacred and profane, in particular, the processes associated with the formation and strengthening of Polish statehood had a noticeable influence on the outlined sphere of life.

Due to the fact that the religious affiliation was an important feature the national self-identification, the Polish authorities carried out polonization among the Ukrainian population (Istoriia relihii, 1999, p. 290). The churches served as the political and propaganda arenas, instead of announcing the words of God and the Gospel, the priests often took the floor with the political speeches. According to the Polish historian H. Zieliński, in most cases such kind of behavior had the opposite effect, as the priests while getting their political messages across the audience only contributed to the expansion of contradictions within the territorial community (Zieliński, 1983, p. 314).

The traditional religious life of rural communities has undergone significant changes in the process of the Second Rzeczpospolita (Second Polish Republic) state-building. The local Polish administrators reorganized the well-established confessional order. They were putting an emphasis on the urgent need of increasing the number of the Roman Catholic churches, which were considered as an outpost of the establishment of Polish statehood in the spiritual sphere. As a result, after the war the Polish authorities decided to close immediately 111 churches, 50 churches were destroyed, 150 churches were altered and reorganized into the Roman Catholic churches in Chełm Land (Kholmshchyna), by 1924 the Orthodox lost about 500 churches and up to 20 thousand hectares of the ecclesiastical land with the economic houses. Because of the abovementioned actions, the situation intensified and reached its peak, which led the local officials to stop implementing the «transfer» of the churches for some period of time, fearing the protests from the Orthodox population. (Syvitskyi, 2005, p. 91).

It should be mentioned that the actions, carried out by the local government officials, caused the open inter-confessional confrontation with the use of force (SATR, f. 11, d. 1, c. 64, 30 p.). Thus, when the Orthodox in the village of Ubrodovychi, Hrubeshiv district with the number of population 355 people, saw a strange «procession» headed by three Roman Catholic clerics who headed to the territory of the Orthodox church, surrounded their sanctuary by a live chain. They refused to give the temple keys, despite the fact that the wójt demanded them urgently and the Orthodox gave up the idea of leaving the sanctuary. Everything ended in the bloody brawl, the Orthodox managed to defend the church, but there were many injured people (60 slightly injured and 10 badly injured) (Halukha, 2008, p. 191).

The main leitmotif of the so-called «Rei vindicatio» campaign has nothing in common with the sacral needs of the territorial communities and the development of the spiritual component of the peasants, but had a worldly aspiration for the restoration of the historical justice, the essence of which was based on the fact that the dominant position of the Orthodox Church led to the insignificant spread of the Roman Catholicism.

The Roman Catholic centers actively indulged into the religious process of the «spiritual rebirth» of the rural population. The best clergy representatives were also taking part in this campaign. The main objectives of the «spiritual rebirth» campaign of the individuals and the whole families were the Roman Catholic religion teaching of the Orthodox children, preparing for the first confession and the Holy Communion with the Catholic priest. The Orthodox, who changed the ritual associated with the baptism, the marriage or the funeral, were dismissed from any payment for that. The price for the religious services and the ceremonies should have been lower than those of the Orthodox priests. The permission for mixed marriages was given only on condition of the children's baptism in the Roman Catholic Church. At the

public meetings, the Roman Catholic clerics had to take the opposite position to the Orthodox sermons and religious teachings, as well as against the usage of any other language than the Polish by the priests. At the same time, the Catholic clerics were required to take all possible measures against the mixed marriages if they were not blessed at the Roman Catholic church (Syvitskyi, 2005, pp. 110–111).

It should be noticed that in the early 1920s, at least the half of the Catholics in the four south-eastern border provinces did not conduct open, active propaganda in relation to the citizens of the other religions (Srokowski, 1924, p. 43). Regarding the Greek Catholic clergy, the data of the voyevodstvo administration in Stanyslaviv are indicative, according to which, in 1924, on the territory of the region, out of 588 Greek Catholic priests, 200 (34%) occupied the active anti-Polish and the anti-state position, the number of the priests (108 (18.6%) did not interfere in politics at all, 154 (26,19%) priests treated the Polish authorities completely loyally and benevolently (Fedevych, 2009, p. 109). In the end, the position of the superiors of the Greek Catholic temples, as a rule, determined and created the cooperation mood of the parishioners with the representatives of the other confessions, in particular the Roman Catholics.

M. Syvitskyi divided the Greek Catholic priests into two groups: a) the priests who, as a rule, came from the local gentry and were loyal to the Polish state, even sympathized the state or behaved indifferently; b) the priests, who only partly came from the nobility, but were with the strong Ukrainian convictions. They conducted their activities not only in the churches, instructing the people to pray for the «Mother of Ukraine», but also in the reading rooms of «Prosvita» (Syvitskyi, 2005, p. 250).

In the regions with a significant predominance of the Polish element the Orthodox Church cultivated another, rather than Polish, national consciousness, persuaded the Orthodox Poles or the Polish descendents that they were not the Poles, used in the everyday life and in the worship, the religious education in the so-called «Rus» language (the Old Slavic language, the Church Slavic language). The Polish activists argued that it was the Orthodox clergy, who instigated the peaceful coexistence of the rural population (Syvitskyi, 2005, p. 112). As the example, we can provide the events that took place in the village of Shevnya of Zamostyanskyi distric (povit), in which there were 840 Catholic Poles, 212 Orthodox, who, except for 5 families, spoke exclusively Polish. With the arrival of a Ukrainian priest, three months later, the population and children already spoke the Rusyn language (Syvitskyi, 2005, p. 110). In our opinion, the clergymen in the village of Western Ukraine were considered to be indisputable authorities, the parishioners, as a rule, did not doubt their pronounced preaches, but followed a zeal and tried to follow their instructions strictly too. It can be argued that it was the clergymen, who largely determined the ideological orientations of the illiterate rural population.

Interesting is the fact that most of the Catholic Poles identified the Orthodox Church as a pro-Russian, hostile to the Polish state. In the public consciousness of the Poles and in the politics of Poland at that time, many anachronisms appeared, whose roots reached the XVIth – XVIIth centuries (Stokolos, 2005, p. 61). The state policy of the interwar period was directed to the polonization of the Orthodox Church and the separation of the rural communities, which were parishes. In other words, the state policy aimed at creating the conditions for the transformation of Orthodoxy, but this transformation partially succeeded partially. It should be emphasized that the number of parishes decreased in comparison with the prewar period by a half; the number of parish branches declined by 30%. At the same time, this led to a sharp increase in interfaith relations (Stokolos, 2005, p. 64).

It should be noted that quite often the local authorities and the clergymen made the desired state of things for the real ones. Thus, in an official report dated January 28, 1938, it was argued that in the village of Hrynky 642 peasants were «converted» to Catholicism, which in turn exceeded the total number of villagers for 57 people. However, even the «new converts» prayed in the Orthodox Church the next day (Hulai, 2011, p. 187).

The significant efforts were made by the local officials to conduct the liturgies in the Polish language in Orthodox churches. In the end, it was reduced to an administrative pressure on the Orthodox clergymen, who were invited to talk with the local authorities and the Orthodox clergymen were forced to use Polish during the liturgies worship and during the communication in communion with parishioners. Separately, they demanded that all or the part of parishioners pray in Polish during the liturgy (Syvitskyi, 2005, p. 117).

Instead, the Orthodox clergymen, with a few exceptions, opposed the polonization of the church ceremonies, they organized the opposition of the community, they conducted an open propaganda campaign to defend the established traditions, they refused to confess those, who considered themselves the Poles. The main argument that inspired them to do so was the lack of the order from the Orthodox Church to use the Polish language in churches. The Orthodox Cathedral, held in February 1937, at the insistence of the Metropolitan Dionysius, finally banned the clergymen to use the Polish language (Syvitskyi, 2005, p. 121).

It is worth noting that some cases of the preaching took place in the Polish language by the Orthodox priests during the state holidays. Immediately such facts were published in the Polish press. Note that the state holidays were, as a rule, on a weekday, and, except of the representatives of the local authorities, the peasants did not come to church liturgies. In addition, the peasants could not read those notes in the newspapers, as the Polish press, as a rule, was popular only among the Polish intelligentsia. In the end, the target audience of the readers was watching the success of polonization, which the rural population of Western Ukraine did not even guessed. We believe that from time to time, imitating the «state» position, showing loyalty to the Polish authorities, the Orthodox priests were given the opportunity to observe the traditional ritual in an everyday service (Syvitskyi, 2005, p. 121).

In general, in the early 1920-ies, about 2 thousand Orthodox parishes functioned in the eastern borders of Rzecz Pospolita II (Srokowski, 1924, p. 47). In 1930, the structure of the Orthodox Church consisted of 5 eparchies, 124 deaneries and 1435 parishes. By nationality – according to the Orthodox language – the Ukrainians were in majority. Thus, among the Orthodox, the Ukrainians and the Belarusians prevailed, but the hierarchy (mostly Russian) tried to prevent the spread of the Ukrainian influence. On this basis, there were sharp conflicts between the Russified clergymen and the faithful (especially in Volyn), as well as between different groups of the Orthodox Christians. It was, first of all, about the language of liturgies: the Ukrainians, to a small degree, the Belorussians and the part of the Poles demanded that the liturgies should be conducted in their native language. The Ukrainians tried to create their own national hierarchy (Stokolos, 2005, p. 64).

During the whole interwar period, the important issues were not regulated, concerning the church land ownership and the real estate, the number of churches, parishes, monasteries, which were the source of constant conflicts between the Orthodox parishioners and the Catholics. In accordance with the law, the church estate of the Orthodox Church was considered the state property, which could not be said about the Roman Catholic property. The Orthodox pastors were required to conduct the acts of a civil status in the Polish language (Stokolos, 2005, pp. 63–64).

It is worth noting that in Rzecz Pospolita II, before the Orthodox clergymen, there were many challenges and obstacles in the struggle for the right to conduct a traditional ritual and to preserve parishes. In accordance with the Vatican's instructions of December 1923, the Polish priests were obliged to conduct the work in the areas where the Orthodox population predominantly lived. The document prohibited the introduction of changes to the Orthodox liturgies and sacraments, except for the additions to the traditional Orthodox ritual of prayer services for the Pope and the Greek Catholic bishop (Stokolos, 1999, p. 75).

The activities of the neounian priests were aimed at the ignorance of Western Ukrainian peasants and deception. Having learned that there was an Orthodox community in the village, but for some reason there was no priest, the Roman Catholic missionaries voluntarily conducted the liturgy according to the Orthodox rite, performed requests, and then offered the peasants to apply for a «public priest» to serve free of charge. The construction of parochial buildings was guaranteed for the state funds, the division of church land between the parishioners. The documents signed by the cheated peasants, in fact, turned out to be an «act of union» (Стоколос, 1999, с. 78). «Beware of the sin against the holy faith ...» wrote A. Sheptytskyi (Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi, 2014, p. 345).

The special indignation of the Orthodox peasants was caused by the cases when their parishes, secretly from the community, the neo-unian priests credited to the new church. This is exactly the case with the Orthodox community of Kurashiv in Grodno region. After the parishioners accidentally learned that they were officially considered the Catholics of the Eastern rite, and not the Orthodox ones, they began to demand the return to their church. After experiencing some difficulties, the parish still returned to Orthodoxy, but lost its own cult premises. The church, which did not previously belonged to either Roman Catholics or Greek Catholics, was taken away (Stokolos, 1999, p. 79).

In 1925 the magazine «The Spiritual Conversation» published the article entitled «How churches are captured», which was characteristic of that time. It ran, «On the second of May, an unknown Roman Catholic priest, having arrived in the village of Ilivsk in Kobryn region, seized the Orthodox Church, carried out the church things and locked the door. On June 1, he conducted the liturgy and announced that since then the church was turned into the cathedral». In the village of Koden, Belsk district (povit), Pidlyashya, the Catholic monks of the Order of the oblat, who converted the former Orthodox Church to the cathedral, seized the half of the Orthodox cemetery. They destroyed a part of the graves, the remains of the oak crosses were used for the fence. The peasants' complaints remained unanswered. In this village, all the Orthodox churches were closed. Of the former three churches, one was converted into a Roman Catholic church, the second (school) – closed, the third (castle) – converted to the cinema hall (Stokolos, 1999, p. 79). «This sin is allowed by one who boldly hopes for the eternal bliss without God's grace and good deeds» – A. Sheptytskyi wrote (Sheptytskyi, 2009, p. 474).

The so-called «zhabchynska sprava» became widely publicized. In the village Zhabche, Volyn region, a small group of Eastern Orthodox Catholics captured the premises of the Orthodox church, which had never before been either Uniate or Roman Catholic. The Catholic bishop immediately declared it to be his property. In February 1929, over 100 Orthodox parishioners entered the church, as a sign of protest, and refused to leave it. In the end, they were forced to leave it, but by the order of the supreme bodies of the state power the church was returned to the Orthodox parishioners (Stokolos, 1999, p. 84). Taking into account this fact, we may state that the official Polish authorities carried out a rather cautious policy in the religious sphere. On the one hand, it used all possible and available means of

the administrative influence for the polonization of the clergymen and parishes, on the other hand, in case of of an extreme religious crisis, the Polish authorities preferred to make a temporary retreat in their intentions to maintain calm among the local population. In this way, the freedom of religion was declared and the right to conduct religious rites in accordance with the community choice. It should be noted that the efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy and the Polish authorities, however, achieved some success. In 1933, the new uniatic church «converted» 20 thousand people, organized in 14 parishes. In this spiritual structure there were 25 priests, 16 of which joined the neo- uniatic church, being previously the Orthodox priests. (Stokolos, 1999, p. 84).

The village priests, who supported the Ukrainianization of the church, were persecuted not only by the hierarchs, but also by the authorities, who did not want to give them Polish citizenship. The religion education was conducted mainly in the Russian language at schools. At the same time, more time was spent on the study of the Church Slavonic language, but not on the study of the sacred history (Aloshyna, 2008, p. 131). In our opinion, the Orthodox clergy mostly overcame the artificial obstacles in the process of their daily service, that is, the secular (profane) life occupied a significant part of their time and attention. The cultivation and teaching of the Christian values of the rural population was reduced, as a rule, to a religious ritualism.

So, among the traditional, most common religions among peasants of Western Ukraine, we distinguish: Greek Catholicism, Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy. In *Rzecz Pospolita II* the outlined Christian doctrines were under different conditions in the aspect of the involvement into the process of the Polish statehood establishment. The rural population (not the Roman Catholics), together with the local clergy, had to fight for their right to an established, traditional religious rite, to uphold the right to the ownership of religious buildings. In our opinion, at that time, the emphasis from the comprehension, teaching and observance of the Christian doctrine (sacred) was shifted to the plane of the struggle for the secular (profane) – the affirmation of Polish values (Roman Catholics), the preservation of the right of the community to a religious faith (Orthodox), the national-political identity (Greek Catholics).

The Protestants deserve a particular attention, who were also presented, though not very numerous, in the western Ukrainian village during the interwar period (SATR, f. 231, d. 6, c. 1003, 7 p.). The Evangelical Christians, in addition to their own religious practices, tried to be exemplary owners: they demanded that their followers should keep their houses and farms clean and orderly; should plow and sow fields, as an example of diligence and an exemplary order; should take part in various social gatherings and allocate intelligent and useful advice; in the case of granting any public or authority duties – to perform the duties exclusively in a good faith; to spread the views of love and justice to all; to avoid quarrels and disputes; to fight against drug addiction and alcoholism (Borodynska, 2009, p. 131).

The special instructive meetings for the village community were typical of the activities in the Evangelical Christian communities (SATR, f. 231, d. 6, c. 1651, 22 p.). In particular, in February 1925, such event took place in the village of Poromiv, Volodymyrskyi district (povit), Volyn region. About a hundred peasants and the representatives of the local authorities took part in the meeting (Borodynska, 2009, p. 131). The services of the Evangelical Christians could be also held in the private dwellings of the peasants (Borodynska, 2009, p. 143). The Evangelical Christians were quite passive in public life. The reason for it was the fear of their religious faith revealing, because they professed non-traditional religions. They were more concerned with the well-being of the family (Borodynska, 2009, pp. 131–132).

The Union of Slavic Evangelical Christians included the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Russians, the Czechs and the others. Most of them were the inhabitants of Volyn and Polissya, who belonged to the middle class and even the poor layer of the society. Their consciousness was rather low. Consequently, they could not defend their national interests in the religious environment, as the Ukrainian Baptists did, for example, in Halychyna (Borodynska, 2009, p. 117). In Halychyna, according to the law, the Evangelical Christians were persecuted by the authorities (Borodynska, 2009, p. 144).

In Rzecz Pospolita II a serious problem of the functioning of the Protestants was a metrical record of a civil status, since those persons, who left the traditional churches, were restricted in their constitutional rights by the state. As the analysis of the situation shows, the rules of conduct of the metrical books were systematically violated or they did not conform to the instructions of the controlling bodies (Borodynska, 2009, p. 144).

By unifying the processes associated with the books of the civil status records, the Polish authorities tried to influence them, that is, to subordinate directly to their structures at the local level. There are the examples of this fact that, in Volyn Voyevodstvo, since December 1921, in some settlements gminy (Gmina – in Polish) had the right to make the records in the metric books.

Actually it is said that this order was based on the legislative base of the early XXth century, on the basis of which the parents presented two witnesses to get a metric for a newborn child; before the marriage there were selective rules. Instead, the fact of death was recorded at the place of residence of the deceased (Borodynska, 2009, p. 144).

In addition, a fee was set for fixing the entries in the specified books. The fee was different, there was no clearly defined sum of money, which was the main cause of bribery, receiving unlawful benefits and financial disturbances among the local officials. In particular, it is known that the marriage record in the metrical book for the Protestants was three times higher than for other persons who got married (Borodynska, 2009, p. 144).

A fee was set for each entry in the book of civil status, the sum of money was not fixed, which led to the abuse by the local officials. Often the local authorities took a separate fee for the same document several times. For example, for the record of marriage, the Evangelical Christians had to pay three times: for an advertisement, for making a record and for publishing a metric certificate (Borodynska, 2009, p. 144).

In order to save the community from the influence of other Protestant currents, the elders attempted to limit the communication among the members of their communities and the representatives of other religious currents. They did not have any right to cooperate or even to allow the preaching of representatives of those religious currents whose religious principles did not coincide with the views of the Evangelical Christians (SATR, f. 231, d. 6, c. 997, 10 p.). In order to prevent the breaking of the spiritual and moral principles of the community, the leadership of the Union advised the elders (presvitery) not to accept the newly «converted» members of the community in a hurry, and first check the strength of their faith and the essence of their life (Borodynska, 2010, pp. 117–118).

In Poland there were 10 thousand Catholic and 2 thousand Orthodox priests and only about 300 Protestant preachers of all confessions for 300 million people. Among the Protestant leaders, only 5% had a higher education, 15% had a secondary education, 40% had a primary education, and the rest were illiterate. Among the Protestant preachers a dozen people with higher and secondary education could be counted barely (Borodynska, 2010, p. 120).

Thus, the Protestants in the Western Ukrainian village formed their own spiritual area, which differed from the traditional Christian communities. Worldview religious values were interpreted in a different way, since a small number of presbyterians (presviter) were educated, all was reduced to a material manifestation of the practice of the Holy Scripture, such as the pursuit of a successful, exemplary household, the rejection of harmful, bad habits, tolerance and non-conflict.

The satisfaction of the spiritual needs of the Western Ukrainian peasants took place, as a rule with the help of the clergyman. It should include the regular visits to church liturgies, the conduct of other religious rites related to marriage, birth and death. Under the traditional, well-established manner, the peasants paid for the religious ritual service to their pastor. The priest could receive the most amount of profit from the fee for the request. Although in accordance with Joseph's II (1765 – 1790) patent of July 1, 1785, there was established the exact sum of money the believers were to pay for the pastoral services. The profits from the requests were taken into account (the fixed law concerning the level of a priest's income – the authors' note). There were many abuses in this system. In view of this, the higher hierarchs of the Greek Catholic Church (hereinafter referred to as – the HCC) urged the clergy not to ask too much money for performing pastoral functions. Traditionally, the marriage fees were high. Before the announcement in the church about the intention to marry (narrations), the bride brought a chicken to the priest (Halychyna). Immediately before the wedding, young people worked in the priest's household farm for three days. The wedding ceremony was paid separately. The funeral cost a lot to the peasants. During the interwar period, depending on the wealth of the deceased, the funeral fee could range from 15 to 120 zlotyh. This sum of money corresponded to the cost of one cow or three pigs (Baran, 2019, p. 16).

During the interwar period, the complaints about the general impoverishment of the peasants, and hence the reduction of income from the request to conduct a church service and the deterioration of the material position of the clergy, became more frequent. J. Kravchuk, a pastor of Velyki Birky, Ternopil district (povit) confirmed the fact from his own experience that during the years 1918 – 1928 the number of church services, ordered by the peasants, sharply decreased. If in 1918 the peasants paid for 368 church services, in 1919 – 215, then in 1927 and 1928, this figure was 64 and 68. In general, there was determined the priest's income from the request to conduct a church service of 40–60 zlotyh per month (Baran, 2019, p. 16).

In addition to the monetary measures, there was a system of payments in the form of food items (grain, eggs, dairy products, poultry). During the interwar period, this tradition was preserved partially, in particular when consecrating the houses on the 19th of January or conducting the church liturgies. A certain reflection was imposed by the conditions of coexistence of priests with priest's fold, formed in a certain area. For example, in the village of Pidgirtsy, Zolochiv district there was the custom to present calves to priests before a young couple got married. However, due to difficult material conditions and financial problems, the peasants rarely followed these unwritten rules. Sometimes the peasants gave food products to a priest's family who was in a difficult position. In general, the priests independently formed the basic principles of paying for pastoral functions independently, based on their own experience and local traditions. The unsettled nature of this problem gave rise to many abuses by the priests. On this basis, the conflicts between a pastor and parishioners happened, which in turn the radical forces tried to use for the anticlerical agitation (Baran, 2019, p. 17).

In general, the priest was the richest representative of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the countryside. The public expected from the clergy higher expenditure for the national goals.

In accordance with the concordat of February 10, 1925, the issue of the financial provision of the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church was regulated at the same level as for the Roman Catholic Church. The Polish government paid for the parish priests of the Greek Catholic Church 116 PLN monthly (1933), as much as for the Roman Catholic priests (Fedevych, 2009, pp. 116–117). K. Srokowski distinguished the characteristic feature of the clergy in getting used to good material and living conditions, but the most characteristic of it was the Orthodox clergy because they had large families. At the same time, the Orthodox believers were not characterized with a fanatical love for their pastors. The tangible financial situation made it impossible to make the substantial donations for the maintenance of the churches and their priests. Taking into account this fact, the role of the church land and church household increased as the main means of the clergy and their families profit (Srokowski, 1924, p. 45).

At the beginning of the early 1920-ies, the situation of the Orthodox clergy was difficult, in particular. Many of them had no Polish citizenship and they were under the constant threat of deportation. The Polish authorities granted the citizenship as an effective means of influencing the composition and mood of Volyn clergy. Without the Polish citizenship the performance of priests' duties was problematic or impossible (Borshchevych, 2008, p. 251). The priests were to receive the permission from the bishops and inform the authorities about their intention to leave the dean's office (the order of Polissya governor, which dates back to December 6, 1922) (Srokowski, 1924, p. 46).

G. Zieliński stated that the religiosity of the peasants was inherent with the elements of «rituals», supported dogmatically, and ethically, based on the Catholic faith. Behind the religiosity display, the ignorance and irreflexion were concealed. It was enough for the peasants to know that Jesus had redeemed them, and that the Mother of God cared for them. It was unnecessary to understand the essence of the doctrine, the religious truths. That was the sphere of the the priest to understand the essence of the doctrine. The main tasks of the peasants were: to observe rites diligently, to attend church liturgies, to sing in the church choir, to put off the cap and bend before the cross. If the peasant had a specific request to the God, he paid for of the pastor to conduct a church liturgy. The peasant gave money to abeggar, so that the latter prayed for a peasant sincerely. Thus, the peasant trusted his affairs into the hands of those who knew the way to God better than him (Zieliński, 1983, p. 314).

Conclusions. The religious life of the peasants of Western Ukraine during the above-mentioned period was determined by a number of factors. Firstly, the declared problem coincides with the time of the formation and establishment of the Polish statehood, which in turn predetermined the strict regulation of the spiritual sphere by the authorities. Secondly, the Polish authorities and the local Roman Catholic clergy, officially declaring the freedom of religion, in practice succeeded in the administrative pressure, manipulating and aggravating the interfaith relations. Under such conditions, the rural population, who formed the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic communities, became hostages in the struggle to preserve the traditional religious rituals and the national identity. The consequence of this was shifting the emphasis from the primary (sacred) cultivation of the Christian beliefs towards the profane. In particular, important were the external features of the churches, a religious self-determination, the administration of a religious life, and the involvement of the parish community into the political processes. The rural population was not particularly concerned with the essence of the Christian doctrine, being limited to the external attributes: the regular visits to the church, a jealous (demonstrative) observance of the traditional religious rites, the worship, the celebration of Christian holidays, a regular payment of donations. Actually

an important duty of the peasants was the strict observance of the established, traditional religious ritual. The understanding of the Christian doctrine and the communication with the God were a pastoral matter. It is worth noting that the clergy did not attempt to overcome this prevailing stereotype, and the parishioners were often viewed as a source of the clergy's wealth by means of conducting the sacred services.

A perspective direction of further scientific researches, connected with a religious life of the peasants in Western Ukraine in 1918 – 1939, on the one hand, is the investigation of the sacred and profane influence on the religious rituals and the cult peculiarities of other social groups, on the other hand – the representatives of different religious confessions. The investigation will deepen and broaden our knowledge of the outlook guidemarks during the interwar period.

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