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**DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY OF JAN TOKARZEWSKI-KARASZEWICZ
IN EUROPE (1918 – 1923)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to single out the directions of a diplomatic activity of the scientist, the public figure, the statesman – Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz during the hetmanate of P. Skoropadskiy, the UNR Directory, the UNR government in exile. The methodology of the research: the complex of special and general scientific methods (the systematization of scientific and periodical literature, archival documents; a comparative analysis; the historical genetic, historical comparative, problem-chronological, ideographic methods) has been used. The scientific novelty: the life and a diplomatic activity of Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz in Vienna, Constantinople, the Vatican and Tarnow have been elucidated. The attention has been paid to the issues solved by the diplomat during 1918 – 1923. From the very beginning, it was the assistance, given to the Ukrainian Embassy as an advisor on the issue of the Brest Peace ratification. It was Austria-Hungary that was reluctant to fulfill its promises. The case of supporting the Catholic Church in Ukraine and appointing a papal representative also remained unresolved. The meeting of J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz and Pope Benedict XV on this issue is little known. On the basis of the innovation principle, the recognition process of the autocephaly*

canonicity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by the Ecumenical Patriarch has been rethought. It has been found out that Constantinople and Tarnow held the position of «avoidance from Russia». **The Conclusions.** Thus, podolyanyн – J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz joined the national construction in the first third of the XXth century. His diplomatic qualification and professionalism is confirmed by his work in positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, both in the period of P. Skoropadsky's Hetmanate and in the period of the UNR Directory and in the exile. J. Tokarzewski, by means of the diplomatic work, defended the positions and the problems of Ukraine in the representations of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, the Vatican, and Poland. A prominent diplomat solved the problems of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and took the position of «the separation from Russia». He was honoured with a granted audience by Pope Benedict XV, on which he highlighted the difficult condition of the Ukrainians. To sum up, it is worth noting that a devoted patriot defended the idea of the Ukrainian statehood and, owing to his skills, he worked for the benefit of Ukraine.

Key words: J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, Chabanivka village, Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Podillya, Ukrainian statehood, diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ДИПЛОМАТИЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ЯНА ТОКАРЖЕВСЬКОГО-КАРАШЕВИЧА В ЄВРОПІ

Анотація. Метою пропонованої розвідки є виокремлення напрямів дипломатичної діяльності науковця, громадського діяча, державотворця – Яна Токаржевського-Карашевича в роки гетьманату П. Скоропадського, Директорії Української Народної Республіки (УНР), уряду УНР в екзилі у Європі. **Методологія дослідження:** застосовано комплекс спеціальних та загальнонаукових методів (систематизація наукової та періодичної літератури, архівних документів; порівняльний аналіз; історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, проблемно-хронологічний, ідеографічний методи). **Наукова новизна:** висвітлено життєвий та дипломатичний шлях Яна Токаржевського-Карашевича у Відні, Царгороді, Ватикані й Тарнові. Закцентовано увагу на питаннях, які розв'язував дипломат протягом 1918 – 1923 рр. Із самого початку це була допомога українському посольству на посаді радника в ратифікації Брестського миру. Саме Австро-Угорщина не поспішала виконувати свої обіцянки. Також нерозв'язаною залишалася справа підтримки католицької церкви в Україні та призначення папського представника. Маловідомою є зустріч Я. Токаржевського-Карашевича із папою Венедиктом XV з цього приводу. На засадах принципу новаторства переосмислено процес визнання Вселенським Патріархом канонічності автокефалії Української православної церкви. З'ясовано, що в Константинополі та Тарнові він займав позицію «відхилення від Росії». **Висновки.** Застосування різноманітних методів досліджень дало можливість побачити висококваліфікованість і професійність українського дипломата, з'ясувати, що він обстоював ідею української державності, отримані результати дослідження слугуватимуть активнішому використанню досвіду минулого для державотворчих процесів майбутнього.

Ключові слова: Я. Токаржевський-Карашевич, с. Чабанівка, Українська православна церква, Поділля, українська державність, дипломатія, міністерство закордонних справ.

The Problem Statement. Recently, under conditions of the tragic events, Ukraine has become one of the epicenters of an international attention. Nowadays, it is important not only to resolve the internal challenges, but also to provide an objective coverage of the situation and a diplomatic activity in the external arena. The experience of the prominent diplomats, who fought for Ukraine's interests abroad, can help in this case. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz – a public figure, a statesman, a scientist, a diplomat made a significant contribution to the history of the Ukrainian national movement of the first third of the XXth century. He was an active participant in the struggle for the Ukrainian national interests. The analysis of the social activities of J. Tokarzewski gives the opportunity to recreate the picture of a diplomatic life, to avoid the ideological prejudices, to rethink the history of Ukraine from 1917 to 1923.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. A complex study of J. Tokarzewski's diplomatic activity has not been done by the scientists. H. Kuras was the first Ukrainian historian, who lived in the United States, to directly investigate the figure of J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz and to attract the attention of the public in the recent period. In the collection of articles on the urgent problems of the Ukrainian diaspora research, the article, written by H. Kuras, was published «Diplomat, Historian, Patriot (Ivan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz)». In the article, the author concludes that the figure of Prince J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz is unique in modern Ukrainian history; the author indicates that the noble Polish aristocrat became a fiery Ukrainian patriot, who brilliantly combined a diplomatic ability and a scholarly activity, the community service and publicistic, he was characterized with a profound culture and erudition. (Kuras, 2007, p. 189).

In honour of the 53rd anniversary of J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz's death, marked by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic community in London, A. Makuei, published the article, «The Holy Capital and Ukraine. Diplomatic Mediation of Prince J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz. In the article the author concludes that the figure of the diplomat was forgotten by Ukrainian historiography, his name did not appear in the indices of Ukrainian history – by Subtelnyi, Mahocha, Doroshenko. He was rarely mentioned even in the works on Ukrainian diplomacy (Makuei, 2008, pp. 7, 12, 14).

In the articles, published in «The Hileya», a scientific bulletin, M. Dzhura characterizes J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz as a politician and a diplomat of the era of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for the state independence in the first half of the XXth century. M. Dzhura identifies the periods of J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz's political biography: pre-revolutionary, revolutionary (Ukrainian State and the UNR Directory), emigrational (Tarnow, French, Italian and English) (Dzhura, 2017, p. 307). M. Dzhura also elucidates the issue of the diplomat's affiliation with the knightly Christian orders of the Catholic Church (Dzhura, 2017, p. 32).

The purpose of the research is to single out the directions of a diplomatic activity of the scientist, the public figure, the statesman – Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz during the hetmanate of P. Skoropadskyi, the UNR Directory, the UNR government in exile.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Under modern conditions there is an urgent need to analyze the activities of Ukrainian diplomatic missions and to identify the main priorities of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy, which is now at the stage of institutionalization. There is the need to represent the concept of the state's new image abroad and to answer the question: why do the diplomatic instruments start to play such an important role in Ukraine's foreign policy at present? (Kukharuk, 2017, p. 82).

One of the diplomats, whose activities require a detailed study is Jan-Stefan-Marjan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz – a public and political figure, the diplomat, the historian, the heraldist, the prince (knyaz). He was born on June 24, 1885 in the village of Chabanivka (nowadays – the village of Kamianets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytskyi region). He was born in the family of Prince Stefan (de Tokary) and Princess Laura (of the Yanishevskyi origin). In his letter to M. Chubaty, the Ukrainian historian D. Doroshenko gave an exact description of J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz: «... Mr. Tokarzewski – a landowner from the Russian Podillya, until the spring of 1918 he acted as « a polak kresowy», but in the spring of 1918, under the influence, I think, of Lypynskyi, he joined the Ukrainian civil service, joined the Ukrainian national movement, working faithfully for Ukraine. He himself was an ardent Roman Catholic, devoted to his religion, but at the same time he wholeheartedly joined Ukrainian». V. Lypynskyi was a schoolmate of J. Tokarzewski and played an important role in the Ukrainian case involvement. In his memoirs J. Tokarzewski wrote that when he was at hospital, he was visited by D. Doroshenko and V. Lypynskyi. They convinced him to join the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to go to Vienna as the ambassador's advisor.

«I resisted as much as I could – mentioned J. Tokarzewski – called for my unpreparedness, that politics, and especially diplomacy, are the things alien for me, but nothing helped. Dmytro Ivanovych found the answer to everything and, starting from a joke and ending in a patriotic speech, he made me agree to it» (Kuras, 2007, p. 185).

On June 11, 1918, Hetman P. Skoropadskyi approved the resolution, appointing J. Tokarzewski an advisor to the Ukrainian Embassy in Vienna (Kuras, 2005, p. 22). The extract of D. Doroshenko's letter on March 15, 1924 to V. Lypynskyi testifies to the authority, typical of the Ukrainian diplomats: «I remember J. Tokarzewski telling me how he, instead of you, was at the restful church liturgy held to commemorate Franz Joseph II at the Cathedral of St. Stefan, he (J. Tokarzewski) occupied the second seat (the German ambassador – the first one), and all other representatives sat further» (Lypynskyi, 1973, p. 75).

The experience, gained during his activities in the Red Cross Society in 1916 – 1918, helped the diplomat a lot. During this time, many well-known figures worked as medical volunteers in the field hospitals of the Red Cross in Kamianets-Podilskyi and Chernivtsi, for example, M. Bulgakov worked as a surgeon (Lozynskyi, 2016, pp. 44–46).

Having accepted the offer to assume the duties of the Ambassador of the Ukrainian State in Austria-Hungary, V. Lypynskyi personally formed the personal staff of the embassy, which included: Prince J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz – the advisor to the embassy; V. Poletyka, Myrhorod Marshal – the Senior Secretary; M. Bilenyki, the publisher of «The Snip» – the secretary; S. Vankovych, the landowner from Pinsk region – attaché; A. Zhuk, a well-known activist of Ukrainian Liberation, was responsible for the affairs of the Ukrainian repatriates and prisoners of war. In general, the Ukrainian Embassy in Vienna was one of the largest. The members of the Embassy arrived in Vienna on June 30, 1918 and stayed at the Bristol Hotel. The diplomats were given the visit by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary, Count Burian, in five days. The meetings with the Austro-Hungarian and German officials were held daily to discuss the ratification of the Brest Peace. The diplomatic mission had to solve key foreign policy issues of Ukraine. The main task was the ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty with Ukraine by Austria-Hungary and the exchange of the ratification instruments with Vienna, Germany, Bulgaria and Turkey. The future status of Eastern Halychyna and Bukovyna, Kholmshchyna and Pidlyasya was expected to be resolved. Despite the fact that according to the Brest Treaty, the territory of Kholmshchyna, along with the part of Pidlyasya, started to belong to Ukraine, the Austro-Hungarian authorities, whose troops occupied these lands, openly allowed the Poles to pursue the polonization policy and the destruction of the Ukrainian national life there. In Vienna, J. Tokarzewski together with V. Lypynskyi hosted the leading Ukrainian Halician figures, in particular, the Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation E. Petrushevych, Professors S. Smal-Stotskyi and O. Koles, Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi. On July 28, 1918, «The Nova Rada» newspaper wrote that the Ukrainian Embassy in Vienna witnessed a general commitment (Ostashko, 2003, pp. 130–131).

The further fate of the embassy with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was to be as follows: «The embassy, as accredited under the old Austrian authorities, should have been either: 1) or be liquidated and the new embassies may be established for the national states of the former Austria instead, 2) or, considering the possibility of rebuilding Austria and following the example of the other states embassies, it should be delayed by the fact that it would be given the directives to start the relations with the national states governments, while keeping in Vienna the unifying center of all our policy» (Pelenskyi, Zalutskyi, & Pelenska, 2003, p. 603).

The newspaper «The Renaissance» criticized the members of the Ukrainian Embassy in Austria-Hungary without any ground, calling them the traitors of Ukraine. At the end of October

1918, an official visit to Vienna was made by D. Doroshenko, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian State. As part of this visit, an advisory meeting was held to discuss the international situation in Europe after the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the need to establish Ukrainian diplomatic missions in Austria, Hungary and the Czech Republic. In the autumn of 1918, D. Doroshenko wrote a letter of a formal instruction in the name of V. Lypynskyi, confirming his authority as the head of a diplomatic mission in Austria. In order to organize a diplomatic mission, J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz was sent to Hungary and V. Poletyk – to the Czech Republic (Perederii, 2009, pp. 53–54).

On behalf of the government, J. Tokarzewski resolved the case of supporting the Catholic Church in Ukraine. On April 25, 1918, Pope Benedict XV appointed the historian Akille Ratti an apostolic visitor to Poland and the countries of the former Russian Empire. He was primarily concerned with the Latin Church, but also assisted the Eastern Catholic Churches to develop, to mediate the church unity between the Catholics and the Orthodox. In September 1918, after consulting with the bishops of Lutsk and Kamyianets in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, J. Tokarzewski addressed Vienna Apostolic nunciature concerning the Catholic Church in Ukraine. After receiving the advice to contact Akille Ratti, the diplomat wrote the first letter to the visitor on September 14, 1918, not as an official representative of the country, but as a «decent Catholic». Emphasizing the breaking ties with Russia, he singled out the need for the help of the highest ecclesiastical authorities in order to restore the Catholic structure in Ukraine, which was suppressed by the Russian authorities. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz noted that the Ukrainian State wasn't recognized by the Holy Capital because of the previous revolutionary governments. He also asked for advice on how to enter into official relations with the Vatican, and invited Ratti to become Ukraine's spokesman for the Vatican. In September, another representative of Ukraine, Count M. Tyshkevych, appealed to the Vatican to recognize Ukraine, and his request was denied. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz waited more than for a month for the answer. When Ratti returned to Warsaw and saw this letter, he wrote that he wanted to serve his friends to be an orator in the Holy Capital. He advised that Ukraine formally address the Vatican, and if the government invited him, he was ready to come to Ukraine to give the apostolic visit, that is, to visit the Catholic churches, as the first step on the way to the possible diplomatic ties with the Vatican. A week later, Ratti wrote to his rector Cardinal Gaspari, the papal secretary of state, thanking God and the people of a good will (i.e. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz). But Ratti never came to Ukraine (Makuei, 2006, pp. 7, 12, 14).

After the collapse of the central states and together with them Hetmanate Skoropadskyi, the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic came to power in Ukraine. A chief ataman S. Petliura confirmed the appointment of J. Tokarzewskii because he wanted the aristocrats of the democratic and patriotic beliefs to be on the diplomatic service (Makuei, 2006, p. 7). J. Tokarzewski, the head of a diplomatic mission in Hungary, was initially approved by the Government of the UNR Directorate. At the initial stage of his activity he used the diplomatic base of the Ukrainian Embassy in Vienna, where he worked until June 1919. (Doroshenko, 1969, pp. 90, 103).

At that time, the diplomat continued to resolve the issue of the Catholic Church in Ukraine. In another letter to Ratti, he pointed at the change in power (from the hetmanate to the Directory), which did not require the new government to accept Ratti's proposal for his apostolic visit. He also informed the visitor that the Directory decided to send the delegation to the Vatican, and therefore, for the sake of Ratti's rank, as a visitor to all former Russian countries, J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz asked him for a letter of recommendation for Count Tyszkiewicz, so that he could be presented to the Cardinals of the Roman Curia. In this letter the author expressed his hope

«for the Europeanization of Ukraine». Ratti responded to the letter on March 4 and asked to be kept informed of the case. On February 21, the prince informed Vienna's nuncio Wolfre di Bondzo of the plans of the new Ukrainian government. Nuncio Wolfre confirmed the diplomat's view that the Vatican representative in Kyiv would strengthen the church's movement to separate from Russia and the commitment to Rome among the Ukrainians. Although Nuncio endorsed J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, he doubted whether the Ukrainian government would share views on Catholicism and express the idea of such proposals for the political reasons. In spite of these realistic doubts, the nuncio of Vienna encouraged the Cardinal to accept Tyszkiewicz's mission. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz wrote to Ratti on March 19 with the extensive information on Count Tyszkiewicz's, that he was a papal knight and his son was a Jesuit. He also provided the information on other possible members of the mission (the seminarian Peter Karmanskyi and monsignor Yuryk). The diplomat expressed his opinion on the exchange of the ambassadors. Ratti wrote to Cardinal Gaspari, confirming the proposal of J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz. However, Bishop Mankowski refused to write a letter of recommendation, because J. Tokarzewski warned him that the Polish clergy could threaten the Ukrainian state, and the Latin bishop had to state the position clearly on the national issue. From April 1919, the diplomat ceased to be involved in this matter for some time because the Vatican accepted an extraordinary Ukrainian mission. This was the issue of the Ukrainian government recognition «de facto», but, in accordance with the diplomatic customs, they waited for the recognition by other states in order to recognize «de jure» an independent Ukrainian state. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz spent all July of 1919 in Rome. By the letter, dated July 12, Tyszkiewicz introduced him to Cardinal Gaspari so that he could inform the Vatican of a difficult situation of the Ukrainians and the Greek Catholic Church in Halychyna under Polish occupation. On July 24, the priest K. Korolevskyi introduced the prince, Cardinal Marini, to the head of the Vatican Congregation responsible for the Oriental churches. In the conversation with Marini, J. Tokarzewski requested the Vatican interference concerning Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi, who persecuted by the Polish military authorities. The diplomat also stated that the Metropolitan «is not only our national hero but also a propagator of our faith and a very devoted defender of the Catholic Church» (Makuei, 2006, p. 12). The Vatican officials were so pleased with J. Tokarzewski's diplomatic skills that Pope Benedict XV granted him in a private audience, which lasted for almost an hour, asking in detail the cases that the Knyaz presented to the curial cardinals (Makuei, 2006, p. 13).

The Directory era raised the issue of establishing a diplomatic embassy in Constantinople (Istanbul). Jan Tokarzewski was transferred to the newly established O. Lototskyi's Embassy later. O. Lototskyi got acquainted with J. Tokarzewski on the 14th of February in 1919, when the mission arrived in Vienna, where he was waiting for the money (as in March 15, the Austrian government seized all the state Ukrainian funds) and French visas, and was forced to stay for more than a month. Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz provided assistance to the further delegation. The situation concerning the previous Ukrainian Embassy in Constantinople was openly anti-state. In December 1918 the Hetman's government collapsed, which actually meant that M. Sukovkin's mission as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister was bound to end, but he had effectively remained in charge of the mission by March 1919, pursuing an active anti-Ukrainian policy. The Ukrainian Embassy work was completely disorganized. The embassy started working as follows: «The allied military power negative attitude, the unlawful position of the Turkish government under the allied occupation, the former Ukrainian ambassador destructive power – all these created circumstances, very unfavorable for the activity and first of all, for the Ukrainian diplomatic representation very existence [...] The main reason for the delay ... recognition and

solemn reception by the Sultan was the fear of the Turkish government, so that there was no humiliation for him by the occupiers for recognizing an ambassador unrecognized by the state» (Lototskyi, 1939, p. 38).

However, despite the difficulties, the UNR embassy work was slowly getting better. At the new embassy building in the city center, the National Flags and the Coat of Arms were hung, the guard was dressed in the Ukrainian uniform. During this period, in August 2 in 1919, Jan Tokarzewski arrived at Constantinople and worked as O. Lototskyi's advisor. The following embassy personnel was finally formed: L. Kobylanskyi – the second adviser, M. Chykalenko – the first secretary, centurion M. Lyubymyskyi – the second secretary, O. Rathaus – the consul, I. Spafarys and O. Lototska – the translators. O. Lototskyi highlighted the following: «The Embassy has managed to establish a rather broad friendly relationship not only among the national minorities representatives in Constantinople, but – and most importantly – with the Turks». In August 1919 such relations were revived with Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, the Knyaz adviser arrival appointed to the Embassy in Constantinople. Every Thursday, my wife had tea parties, which were attended by quite a number of local citizens. Because of the Embassy female element presence at those receptions, in addition to my wife and daughter, several other women members of the Embassy – it gave the opportunity for the Turkish ladies to visit our salon and events» (Hospodyn, 1989, p. 27).

One of the main and difficult tasks assigned to the diplomatic mission was the the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Autocephaly Canonality recognition by the Ecumenical Patriarch. First of all, the church circles were generally conservative about changing any «status quo»; in addition, the Patriarchal Throne was free, and the Patriarchate affairs were managed by the locumtenens of the Patriarchal Throne, Metropolitan Dorofey. The Turkey's delay concerning the ambassadorial recognition was formally the main obstacle for the beginning of the church service. As a result, on the 15th of January, 1919, a petition was submitted to the Patriarchate for the UOC Autocephaly recognition in accordance with the UNR law issued in January 1, 1919 (Trembitskyi, 1965, p. 76).

The formalities were partially resolved by July 1919, and the Ukrainian delegation was duly granted by Metropolitan Dorofey's audience. The Russian Orthodox Church, from which the new church separated, was not eager to consent to the Autocephaly. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, being the Mother Church, traditionally opposed any separation (Andrusyshyn, 1997, p. 59). Defending their positions, the Ukrainian Embassy proceeded from the assumption that «the solitude of the churches was not voluntarily agreed, but was the outcome of a lasting necessity as a result of a long and stubborn resistance [...] to the means of the final outcome of that struggle must be appropriate – a real balance of power and actual opportunity. Only on such kind of ground the Autocephaly case has been solved for almost a thousand years» (Shvydyki, 2005, p. 41). In response, Metropolitan Dorofey reported that it was impossible to make a final decision for canonical reasons.

Due to the fact that the Directory did not control the entire territory in Ukraine, the central ecclesiastical authority and the bishopric on the ground ceased to take it seriously (Yevsieieva, 2000) Bishop Podilskyi Pymen (Pehov), who had to deal with Directory officials most of all hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church, called them «boys who decided to play in the state game» (CSASPAU, f. 1072, d. 3, c. 9, p. 13).

On March 25, 1920, at the Ukrainian government request, O. Lototskyi left Constantinople, leaving behind Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz. He served as the Trustee of Ukraine, and from April 1920 to December 11, 1921, was the UNR Extraordinary Ambassador in Turkey. In the spring of 1921 the diplomat received a diploma from the Patriarch of Constantinople with the

of the head of state, government and the UOC blessing, which was not a complete recognition of the mission, but still a step forward (Shvydkiy, 2005, pp. 36–41). The claim by the Ukrainian government and the UNR embassy in the case of the UOC Autocephaly after O. Lototskyi's departure was carried on for some time by Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz (CSASPAU, f. 1072, d. 2, c. 149-a, pp. 1–4).

He stated the following: «whether England gives Greece money or not; whether the Turks beat the Greeks, or the Greeks beat the Turks. This view has emerged ... after numerous attempts to speak with the local hierarchs only on the faith matters, separating them from politics. The patriarch will probably not be chosen until the Greek-Turkish war is over. Metropolitans and bishops, Constantinists and Venizelists quarrel with the separatists (Turcophiles), and this only meddle with the Holy Synod. Regarding the Ukrainian Church in the Patriarchate, they think that Ukraine is relative to the Patriarch of Constantinople, like Serbia to the Moscow Patriarchate, which means that Moscow must give us consent to Autocephaly. The Greek hierarchs are afraid of losing Russian aid in the future, and so they add up to the canons and the absence of the Patriarch, but in reality it is all about politics and materialism» (CSASPAU, f. 1072, d. 2, c. 116, pp. 4–5). And further: «Serbia has paid solidly. They are rumors about a few million dinars and that may be true. The Patriarch put himself in the passive role – he registered the fact of Serbia separation and the of the Patriarch choice and that was the end» (Evseeva, 2000). Therefore, because of the national hierarchy and national statehood absence, the Ukrainian church was seen as a sphere of influence of the ROC, and therefore could not be a full subject of international politics.

At that time, parallelly, Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz maintained relations with the Vatican and continued to propose the appointment of a separate papal representative for Ukraine. In 1919, a local apostolic delegate, Angelo Dolci, wrote to Cardinal Gaspari that Jan Tokarzewski had requested an official representative because he would have helped greatly when the decision concerning the independent Ukraine existence would be made. The diplomat informed Dolci secretly that the Ukrainian government had begun negotiations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Nuncio Ratti wrote a letter of recommendation to Monsignor Cheretti in charge of church affairs on political issues so that the diplomat could re-imagine the Ukrainians plight in Eastern Galicia and the Greek Catholic Church persecution. Then he wrote two letters to the papal government, requesting the appointment of an Apostolic Visitor once again. Cardinal Gaspar gave the answer to the latest letter on December 9. He noted that the conditions were not yet appropriate. During an audience on the 28th of January, 1919, twenty days later, after a negative response from Gaspar, Bishop Papadopoulos, the Eastern Congregation secretary, made a report on the Greek Catholic Church state in Halychyna and in general the Ukrainian people harassment. He suggested appointing a Visitor, officially in order to coordinate the materialistic and the medical care for Ukraine but at the same time, informally and secretly in order to monitor the Ukrainians condition in Eastern Halychyna. The Pope tested the plan and appointed the Italian missionary, Father Giovanni Genocchi, as Ukrainian Apostolic Visitor on the 13th of February. Due to the above-mentioned appointment, Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz wrote the last letter to the Vatican from Constantinople, this time the letter was addressed to the Eastern Congregation Head. On behalf of the Ukrainian government and in general all Ukrainians, the diplomat expressed his satisfaction with this important step of appointing Genocchi. Finally, what Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz has offered since 1918 has come true (Makuei, 2006, pp. 7–14). Owing to the above-mentioned taken measures, Pope Benedict XV not only recognized Ukraine's right to sovereignty, but also allocated 100,000 Turkish liras in cash and medicine in February 1920 (Yevsieieva, 2000). The «Congregation for the Eastern Church» at the Vatican donated

50,000 Turkish liras to the Ukrainian mission for the clergy (CSASPAU, f. 1072, d. 2, c. 33, pp. 20–21).

In general, while staying in Constantinople, Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz worked on the Consular Convention preparation and tried to initiate the Ukrainian-Turkish trade as the ground for the future economic relations, organized the Ukrainian prisoners export (mainly Halychan and Bukovyntsiv), within the Consular functions concerning the Chornomorskyi issues, Asia Minor (Asian Turkey (Anatolia) for registration and defense of the Ukrainian citizens interests, the case of arrested steamships «Queen Olha», the company's commercial steamship «ROPIT», the currency regulation matter and the trade relations beginning (CSASPAU, f. 3696, d. 3, c. 49, p. 34), the Ukrainian Co-operation in Tsargorod (contacted the appointed representatives of the Association of the Central Ukrainian Co-operative Unions Abroad (OCUCS) – Filipovych and Trukhlyi, indicated their indifference, relations with the Russians, the anti-national character, hostility to the Ukrainian government (CSASPAU, f. 3696, d. 2, c. 529, p. 13), implemented the idea of establishing the Honorary Consuls Institute (to certify the Ukrainian presence in the European countries and to provide a possible degree of guardianship to the Ukrainian citizens, who were abroad in because of the various reasons, and needed the state aid), the Black Sea Union organization and the 3 Union Agreement Projects arrangement have been concluded between a representative of the UPR, Georgia, Azerbaijan and the North Caucasus conducted the cooperation in Prometheus movement and the anti-Bolshevik bloc nations. Owing to Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, on the 23rd of November, 1921, protocols were signed concerning the intentions of union interstate agreements with Georgia and on the 28th of November with Azeibarzhan (CSASPAU, f. 1429, d. 2, p. 108, pp. 23–27).

On the 16th of March, 1921 in Moscow an agreement on friendship and brotherhood between the RSFSR and the Turkish Republic was signed, which referred to the prohibition of entities or groups claiming the role of the government of another party or part of its territory in their territory aimed at fighting with another state (Potomkin, 1945, pp. 68–69). On the 2nd of January, 1922, a similar agreement was concluded in Ankara by the USSR. In this regard, UNR Ambassador Jan Tokarzewski and «Special Military Representative of the UNR Directory and the Chief Ombudsman of Ataman Petliura in Turkey Government» V. Kedrovskyi left a country that did not recognize the UNR (Piskun, 2006, p. 270).

After Tsarhorod, Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz was recalled to Tarnów (Poland) by his deputy, and from the 12 of January, 1922, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UNR in exile (Makuei, 2006, pp. 7–14). At the beginning of January 1922, the Ambassadors Council meeting was held in Cannes, summoned in order to convene the Eastern Allies' final policy. On the 14th of January, a meeting was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at which a decision was adopted to prepare for the contributions concerning Poland's participation in the international action concerning Russia economic reconstruction, as well as mutual economic relations between Poland and Russia, in accordance with the recommendation of the Ministers Council since January 12, 1922 the decision was made and established the inter-ministerial commission. The inter-ministerial commission, set up in Warsaw, had one of the main tasks which dealt with the Ukrainian market research and its exploitation of the Poles (Betlii, 2002, p. 206). Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, the UNR Foreign Minister instructs the UNR diplomatic mission in Warsaw to contact with the Polish Foreign Ministry representatives and provide them with as much comprehensive information and material as possible about Ukraine, since, according to the received information, not all government officials did not even have the foggiest idea about the true situation in Ukraine (CSASPAU, f. 3696, d. 2, c. 61, p. 16).

On the 8th of August, 1923, Tokarzewski issued a letter of instruction to all his ambassadors, proposing to debunk the Bolshevik government illegal activities in Ukraine. The instruction letter called on European countries not to contact with the USSR. At his suggestion, the ambassadors were to formulate to the appropriate government under which they were accredited a note of protest and to send back copies of those notes (CSASPAU, f. 3696, d. 2, c. 83, pp. 41–42).

In general, in his position at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, J. Tokarzewski remained until September 3, 1924, when, according to him, «... went on the demission and left Tarnow via Prague to France. He had never held any government office since» (Kuras, 2007, p. 186).

The Conclusions. Thus, podolyanyn – J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz joined the national construction in the first third of the XXth century. His diplomatic qualification and professionalism is confirmed by his work in positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, both in the period of P. Skoropadsky's Hetmanate and in the period of the UNR Directory and in the exile. J. Tokarzewski, by means of the diplomatic work, defended the positions and the problems of Ukraine in the representations of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, the Vatican, and Poland. A prominent diplomat solved the problems of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and took the position of «the separation from Russia». He was honoured with a granted audience by Pope Benedict XV, on which he highlighted the difficult condition of the Ukrainians. To sum up, it is worth noting that a devoted patriot defended the idea of the Ukrainian statehood and, owing to his skills, he worked for the benefit of Ukraine.

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