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## UKRAINIAN LIBERAL STRUGGLE IN LEONID PERFETSKYI'S BATTLE PAINTINGS

Abstract. The purpose of the work is to investigate the Ukrainian liberation struggle period displayed in L. Perfeckyi's work, the artist-battalist, analyzing the artistic manner and the relevance of the historical events interpretation. The methodology of the research is based on the application of a set of methods: the general theoretical - analysis, systematization, generalization of the studied sources; the historical and the retrospective – to study the artist's creation stages and the artist's works; the art studies - in order to analyze the general creative style and the artist's artistic manner. The scientific novelty of the work is that for the first time L. Perfeckyi's creative heritage in the battle painting sphere is presented as a complete study, which clearly reflects the Ukrainian independence armed struggle period; the attention was also paid to the relationship between the artist's direct participation in hostilities and his service in the ranks of the UNR Army with the subsequent creative activity, which influenced the formation of a realistic style of the artist in conjunction with modernist quests. The Conclusions. Unfortunately, the number of artist works were partially lost. However, the preserved ones give an opportunity to think about the artist's extraordinary talent and the artistic originality, who witnessed the real events and skillfully embodied them in the artworks. L. Perfetskyi became known as the Ukrainian battalist painter, who managed to reproduce skillfully one of the most difficult periods in Ukrainian history. In addition, Leonid's works are supported by his personal view concerning the above-mentioned events as the direct participant. Taking into consideration, the scattered documentary sources, an artist's true-to-life image is also important in exploring various aspects of historical events, which makes Leonid Perfetskyi's works extremely valuable. Apart from the artistic point of view, Leonid Perfetskyi's works are known for their artistic references and searches among the modernist European trends, Cubism, which is constantly reflected in the increased expression and the paintings dynamics. L. Perfetskyi's works are filled with the creative experience and the genuine realism, which are capable of conveying the truthfulness seen through many decades.

Key words: L. Perfetskyi, liberation struggle, armed struggle, Ukrainian army, battle paintings, art works.

# УКРАЇНСЬКІ ВИЗВОЛЬНІ ЗМАГАННЯ У БАТАЛЬНОМУ ЖИВОПИСІ ЛЕОНІДА ПЕРФЕЦЬКОГО

Анотація. Мета роботи – дослідити відображення доби Українських визвольних змагань у творчості художника-баталіста Л. Перфецького, проаналізувавши художню манеру та відповідність інтерпретації історичних подій. Методологія дослідження трунтується на застосування сукупності методів: загальнотеоретичних – аналіз, систематизація, узагальнення досліджуваних джерел; історико-ретроспективний – для вивчення етапів художної творчості та робіт художника; мистецтвознавчий – для аналізу загальної творчої стилістики і художньої манери митця. Наукова новизна роботи полягає у тому, що вперше представлено цілісне дослідження творчої спадщини Л. Перфецького у царині батального живопису, який яскраво відображає добу збройної боротьби українців за незалежність; також акцентовано увагу на взаємозв'язку безпосередньої участі самого художника у бойових діях та його служби в лавах Армії УНР з подальшою творчою діяльністю, що вплинуло на формування реалістичного стилю художника у поєднанні з модерністичними шуканнями. Висновки. У результаті проведеного дослідження встановлено, що попри часткову втрату спадщини митця, ті роботи, що збереглися, свідчать про його непересічний талант і художню оригінальність митця. Свідок реальних подій, він майстерно втілив їх у художніх роботах. Л. Перфецький увійшов до когорти українських художників-баталістів та майстерно зумів відтворити одні з найскладніших періодів української історії, що підкріплюються його особистісним поглядом на ці події як безпосереднього учасника. Це  $\epsilon$  надзвичайно цінною якістю його робіт, адже, з огляду на розпорошеність документальних джерел, художнє правдиве зображення має також вагоме значення у дослідженні різних аспектів історичних подій. Окрім цього, з мистецької точки зору твори Л.Перфецького позначені художніми звертаннями та пошуками серед модерністичних європейських течій, кубізму, що постійно знаходило відображення у підвищеній експресії і динаміці картин. Усе це наповнює їх зміст непідробним реалізмом, здатним донести правдивість побаченого крізь багато десятиліть.

**Ключові слова:** Л. Перфецький, визвольні змагання, збройна боротьба, українське війська, батальний живопис, художні роботи.

The Problem Statement. While studying the course of events of one of the most important and tragic pages of the national history – the Liberation Competitions Days of the 1917 – 1921, both the archival materials and the documents, as well as the testimonies engraved in the witnesses' works and the contemporary events participants, which could display the historical tension atmosphere of that time, as well as record the authenticity of certain facts, the historical persons' actions. The following article is an important complement for the researchers in the form of an extended, unbiased view concerning the pastime events and at the same time serves as a historical and cultural source for understanding the Ukrainian armed struggle deployment preconditions for the state independence of the early XXth century.

In order to cover the above-mentioned period precisely, we appeal to the work of the undeservedly forgotten Ukrainian battalion artist Leonid Perfetskyi (1901 – 1977), who managed not only to participate in the revolutionary armed events but also has reproduced the sequence of such events in his work talentedly. Due to the service in the ranks of the UNR Army and later on the enrolment in the «Halychyna» Division in 1940-ies, L. Perfetskyi formed as a conscious supporter of the Ukrainian national idea with his own view concerning the events of the Liberation period, especially being in the close proximity to the Ukrainian military commanders, the generals, who at that time determined the armed struggle strategy and tactics. L. Perfetskyi's main features that distinguish him from the Soviet battalions propaganda works and the separate intentional «splendor» in the heroic events of the Cossack times reproduction, were the author's «historical authenticity theses» and «atmospheric» works.

The artist's creative path consists of different periods, such as Lviv-Krakow, Paris, which are marked by the search for new artistic techniques and the manner of painting. In 1954 L. Perfetskyi emigrated to Canada in search of favorable living conditions, where he continued working in the field of creating religious subjects and church paintings. However, the artist's legacy, which nevertheless, attests to an important place in his creative battle works, requires a thorough study, much attention should be paid to the artistic and historical aspects.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. Unfortunately, there is a lack of scientific works today, which could cover the artist L. Perfetsky's life and creative path comprehensively. Among the individual works, dedicated to the artist is the monograph album, edited by S. Hordynskyi (Leonid Perfetskyi, 1990), published by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) (Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences) in the USA. The numerous scientists briefly covered artist's works in their scientific explorations: I. Kedryn (1965), M. Ostroverkha (1943), N. Petryk (2017), and O. Skus (2017). The following diaspora artists L. Klimchak (Klimchak, 2012), L. Krailyuk (Krailyuk, 2013), I. Matsishina (Matsishina, 2018), N. Miskiv (Miskiv, 2012) mentioned L. Perfetskyi in the context of the Ukrainian painting study; L. Perfetskyi was also represented as the author of the Ukrainian rebel comic book in N. Kosmatska's research (Kosmatska, 2012). We should also heed to the individual publications authored by T. Balda (Balda), B. Voron (Voron) which were dedicated to L. Perfetskyi.

It is appropriate to consider L. Perfetsky's creative figure in the context of the Ukrainian artistic life development in the first half of the XXth century, which was reflected in the works of N. Averyanova (Averyanova, 2012), L. Voloshyn (Voloshyn, 1998), and D. Gorbachov (Gorbachov, 2000), I. Keyvan (Keyvan, 1957), A. Kryzhanivskyi (Kryzhanivsky, 2008), O. Lagutenko (Lagutenko, 2006), V. Shcherbakivsky (Shcherbakivsky, 1995). Many artists as well as L. Perfetskyi, found themselves in exile, continued their creative career in the cultural and artistic environment of the Ukrainian diaspora. S. Gordynsky was the researcher of their work, who in 1953 became the founder of the Ukrainian Artist's Association (UAA) in the USA and devoted a great deal of his work to the Ukrainian diaspora painting study, in particular, P. Kovzhun (Gordynsky, 1943). H. Kruk, A. Pavlos, B. Mukhyna (Gordynsky, 1947), V. Tsymbal (Viktor Tsymbal, 1972), Y. Butsmanyuk (Gordynsky, 1982), H. Mazepa (Galina Mazepa, 1982).

L. Perfetskyi's creativity as the Liberation period batalist is not exceptional. The art center activity under the Legion of the USS control was a striking phenomenon, which inherited a number of artistic monuments from the Ukrainian archery history, the creators of which were Yu. Butsmanyuk, L. Gets, I. Ivanets, O. Kurylas (Ukrayinski Sichovi Strilci, 2007). Numerous renowned Ukrainian artists were working and painting in such conditions, for instance, N. Khasevych, the chartist, who painted and displayed in his diverse works the UPA biography and the main OUN leaders in details, due to his own experience of being in its ranks (Graphics in the UPA bunkers, 1952; Nil Xasevych. Voyin. Mytecz. Mytecz. Mytecz. Mytecz. Legend, 2011). The Ukrainian diaspora artists art also became the subject of the scientific and artistic explorations of the following scientists: H. Apollinaire (Apollinaire, 1914), D. Karshan (Karshan, 1969), V. Ladzhynsky (Ladzhynsky, 1973), V. Markade (1980).

As a result, the Ukrainian painters representatives stylized the modernism ideas with the Ukrainian artistic tradition fruitfully and their art work has always aroused the professional interest among the researchers.

The purpose of the article is – to investigate the Ukrainian liberation period reflected in L. Perfetskyi's work, the battalist artist by analyzing the artistic manner and the correspondence of the historical events interpretation.

The Statement of the Basic Material. According to the bibliographical information, L. Perfetskyi was born in 1901 in Ladyzhyntsi village (Kyiv Province (Hybernia) territory at that time and the present time - Cherkasy region. His parents came from Western Ukraine, but later on the family lived in Russia, where Leonid managed to finish High School in Orel city. In 1917 Leonid became a student at Moscow University. He was apt for drawing even at that time. However, the World War I sequence of events and the revolutionary upheavals made some adjustments to Leonid's life, as he was mobilized and sent to Ensigns School in Peterhof, where he was serving. After her graduation, L. Perfetskyi received a military rank of a cornet and was preparing to go to the front. Due to some circumstances, Leonid's family was forced to move to Kazan. During that period of time the Tatar Republic declared their independence and the young man while studying at Kazan University, joined the ranks of army immediately. Owing to Bolshevik troops attack and Soviet power establishment in Tatarstan, Leonid was forced to return to Ukraine. In Ukraine he was involved in perpetual armed struggle against the Bolsheviks for the Ukrainian state independence. As there was the lack of people enrolled for the young Ukrainian army, L. Perfetskyi, having a military rank, entered the Ukrainian army without hesitation. The following experience had an impact on him and became the turning point in his life. Due to the above-mentioned experience, Leonid formed as a talented battalionist. Even when he was in internment camps in Poland, every time Leonid recalled his thoughts about the front, the battle, he was recreating years of hard and fierce battle with enemies.

Leonid served in a rather powerful military training unit, which was distinguished by its combat operations throughout the armed struggle. The military unit was and under the command of O. Udovychenko, M. Krat, V. Zmienko, the prominent Ukrainian army commanders. Obviously, these personalities made a striking impression on the young artist, who later became embodied in his artistic canvases.

As a result, at first L. Perfetskyi was appointed as commander of the Horse Troops Unit of the 8th Infantry Black Sea Regiment of the 3rd Iron Division of the UNR Army, commanded by O. Udovychenko. The division was one of the most battle-worthy units among the UNR Army, which demonstrated itself during the Diyeva Army attack in 1919 successfully. It was the fiercest fighting for the Vapnyarka railway station, where they were confronted by H. Kotovskyi's Horse Brigade and the 45<sup>th</sup> Soviet Army Division. Due to the victory in the above-mentioned fight the division received the honorary title «Iron». L. Perfetskyi's regiment also distinguished itself in these battles by carrying out a number of successful operations. During the Winter Army Campaign in December 1919, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Division, along with the other UNR Army units, marched on A. Denikin's Volunteer Army enemy rear, and was subsequently subordinated to the command of the 6<sup>th</sup> Polish Army. Subsequently, L. Perfetskyi's Horse Brigade was restored, and since the autumn of 1920 continued to participate in the battles on the Polish-Ukrainian front near the town of Lunynets in Belarus (Denysyuk, 2009, p. 64).

On the basis of his military life and gained experience, L. Perfetskyi created the most significant battle paintings which at the same time conveyed the events of the Ukrainian liberation struggle for the independence as accurately as possible. He created a series of paintings from the Ukrainian military history that recounted various important and tragic

episodes of the struggle: «The 6<sup>th</sup> Sich Rifle Division in Stanislaviv. 1919», «Winter Army Campaign. The Cavalry Attack», «Kyiv Arsenal Obtaining. 1918», «The Fighting with the Poles at the Railway Palace in Lviv», «Defense of the Student unit at the Kruty Railway Station, January 29, 1918» and the others (Bashnyak).

Once in the internment camp in Poland, in 1921, L. Perfetskyi moved to Lviv, where he continued to deal with painting. Since 1922 he has participated in group exhibitions in Lviv and Paris. He also studied at O. Novakowski art school. O. Novakowski was Krakow talented post-imperialist master, who was invited to Poland from Lviv, where in 1923, on the initiative of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, O. Novakowski was offered to establish his own school. Metropolitan Sheptytskyi supported this institution financially, buying and transferring a separate house for his needs. The school's main task was to create a new generation of artists, who were capable of creating national art based on the spiritual traditions combined with the world innovations.

However, L. Perfetskyi wanted to broaden his knowledge, hence, he entered Krakow Academy of Fine Arts. Professor Dembitskyi was Leonid's mentor and teacher till 1925. While studying at Krakow Academy of Fine Arts Leonid drew his first battle paintings concerning the liberation competitions, for instance, «The Mazepyntsi Attack», «The Batareya (Artillery Unit) in Danger». In Krakow L. Perfetskyi also joined «Ukrainian Students-Emigrants Community» (a similar branch was also located in Warsaw), which consisted of about a hundred persons. Such membership gave the opportunity and allowed its members to participate in the cultural and artistic life of Poland at that time actively, to take part in public events, exhibitions. V. Kryzhanivskyi, V. Perebyinis, O. Tretyakov-Sosnitskyi, Y. Kyrinko, O. Stovbunenko, S. Lytvynenko were the members and Polish immigration students-artists.

Owing to the acquaintance with Wojciech Kossak, the famous Polish battalionist, L. Perfetskyi formed up as a battalionist and graphic artist in Krakow greatly. Due to the cultural and artistic environment of that time, there were close and creative contacts between Polish and Ukrainian artists. For instance, M. Boychyk, O. Novakivskyi, P. Kovzhyn were noted for their dynamic activity as they triggered the Ukrainian Art Leaders Circle establishment. P. Kholodnyi, M. Holubets, O. Kulchytska, L. Hets and the others were the Ukrainian Art Leaders Circle members. The above-mentioned figures cooperated closely with the renowned artists O. Kurylas, I. Trush, A. Manastyrskyi while organizing some exhibitions. What's more, the Ukrainian Art Leaders Circle members kept in touch with the Ukrainian artists from abroad.

In 1925 L. Perfetskyi moved to Paris in order to develop professionally, where he was studying paint work at the private academy of the famous artist Andre Lot (André Lhote). Leonid settled in Montmartre and actually stayed in France up till the beginning of war. S. Hordynskyi noted that Andre Lot participated in contemporary art exhibitions at the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv as he presented cubist works. Having analyzed Andre Lot's and Leonid Perfetskyi's works, S. Hordynskyi emphasized that such kind of French «logic forms» found resonance among the Ukrainians because of a similar sensuality, «in which the rhythmic harmony of images was the main purpose of the creative expression» (Leonid Perfetsky, 1990, p.10).

The perseverance in his daily work combined with the creative pursuits of modernist trends made it possible for L. Perfetskyi to create the prominent French portraits series. In France, he exhibited his works in the prestigious The Salon des Tuileries and in the private galleries, and received the most demanding criticism.

In 1931 S. Hordynskyi brought numerous works form the French Artistic Center of Ukrainian Artists to Lviv on occasion of the First Exhibition of the Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists (ANUM). Among the announced paintings, there were O. Hryshchenka, M. Hlushchenko, A. Khmelyuk, L. Perfetskyi works. Moreover, there were some works painted by P. Picasso, A. Deren, M. Chagall, A. Modigliani, G. Severini and the others. The exhibition was held at the National Museum. There was L. Perfetskyi's painting «The Sailor» (Matros) among the others works. It should be highlighted that the Ukrainian art community in Paris in the early 1930ies consisted of about two dozen first-class artists, who worked in different styles: from Realists to Cubists and Expressionists (Voron B.). At that time L. Perfetskyi worked in Cubism style and was known, first of all, as a highly professional Ukrainian battalionist.

While being in France, L. Perfetskyi improved his artistic skills and was engaged in other cultural and social work, in particular, he worked as the Art Department Head in Ukrainian Library named after Symon Petliura. In the summer of 1937 Leonid Perfetskyi became the exhibition curator, dedicated to the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Hetman's mace acquisition by Ivan Mazepa, organized by the Ukrainian Diaspora. The exhibition's lion's share depicted Mazepa and Charles XII Union. Furthermore, the exhibition organizers represented the photographs collection, hetman portraits, literature about hetman in Ukrainian and foreign languages, the engravings and paintings by various artists to the general public. There is a watercolor entitled «Charles XII meets the Cossacks» in the L. Perfetskyi's heritage.

Concerning L. Perfetskyi's general style as a battalist, it should noted that all his paintings were based on real and certain Ukrainian history episodes, for instance, some battles and fights that were embodied in art works: «The Battle Near Konotop», «The Cossacks Near Trapezund», «The Battle Near Kruty», «The Last Fightings», «The Execution Near Bazaar». The Cossacks' era was also consonant with the combat events and their realities which the author experienced himself through the armed struggle. L. Perfetsky's works were distinguished by a clear «cubism» of outlines and dynamics that added extraordinary realism. Drawing the tragic pages of Ukrainian history, in particular, the UNR army in the «Death Quadrangle" or the Cossacks in a fierce battle, the artist has always tried to convey soldiers' sacrifice, the inevitability of fate, and at the same time the carelessness of such victims who are already heroes for their Fatherland.

Among L. Perfetskyi's creative works devoted to the Liberation subject, the canvas «the 6th Sich Rifle Division of the UNR Army in Stanislaviv. 1919» catches the eye. The painting depicts Ukrainian UNR Army generals Vsevolod Zmiyenko and Mark Bezruchko at the head of a cavalry column in the foreground. The painting plot is also not accidental and is related to the glorious Ukrainian armed struggle history. It refers to the UNR army and the Polish army as a joint fighting in 1920 and depicts the Bolshevik army repulsion. During one of the most difficult and turning points at the front, when the Polish army was defending Warsaw, but at the same time it was necessary to withstand the Red Army attack near Zamosc. The one and only armed, fighting unit was the 6th UNR Army Rifle Division, which struck the Budyonnyi army. Having become convinced that it would not be possible to overcome the 6th Sich Rifle Division defense and take over Zamosty, Budyonnyi withdrew his thin units towards Volodymyr-Volynskyi. In fact, M. Bezruchko and V. Zmiyenko rescued the whole Poland from a terrible defeat because the 6th Sich Rifle Division did not give any opportunity for the 1st Cavalry Army to reach Warsaw. Being under the Zamosc cover, the Polish Army managed to complete its military deployment and regrouping quietly. As a result, the Polish

Army carried out a successful counter-attack against Tukhachevskyi's army and to defeat it. Hence, M. Bezruchko and V. Zmiyenko received the titles of a general for the fearless Zamosc defense (Denysyuk, 2010, p. 283). L. Perfetskyi was aware of the above-mentioned details, as well as the glorious commanders of Ukrainian army.

The war broke out in 1941 and L. Perfetskyi along with the others was taken to Germany for agricultural works forcibly. During the departure numerous L.Perfetskyi's works disappeared and it was impossible to retrieve them. However, in 1942, at the Ukrainian Publishing House request, located in Lviv, Perfetskyi was brought back to work as the illustrator in front of the German administration. The publishing house reassured and persuaded the German side that Perfetskyi was an indispensable artist, who would be able to serve better as an artist than in some physical work. Leonid worked on the books cover design in Lviv. He also designed a number of illustrations for the magazine «Nashi Dni» (Our Days).

However, the work in the Publishing House was controlled and censored. Moreover, while working as the illustrator in the Publishing House he did not receive high income and the orders implementation were moving slowly, which forced Leonid to seek for more decent ways of earning a living. In order to improve his condition, L. Perfetskyi decided to become a teacher at the «Higher Fine Arts Studios», where he conducted the drawing techniques. The school was organized on Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi's initiative and was functioning under his auspices. The Metropolitan himself also conducted lessons on the Art History, while other classes were conducted by M. Butovych, M. Osinchuk, V. Manastyrskyi, S. Lytvynenko, and M. Mukhin. The school existed for about six months. At the same time, L. Perfetskyi joined the Art Society «Ukrainian Fine Artists Works Union» and in 1942 presented his painting «The Cossacks Near Trapezund» and four battle drawings at the third exhibition of this organization.

At the end of March in 1944, as the front approached, the Studio artists group, along with the several students, traveled farther from Lviv in the western direction, to Labov village, Lemkiv settlement. The artists were kept by the Greek Catholic Church parishioners, as a result, they pledged to restore church paintings. The general project was developed by V. Krychevskyi, and separate scenes were performed by M. Butovych, S. Lytvynenko, T. Berezhnitskyi, and L. Perfetskyi. The artists painted with the help of vegetable paints, made by V. Krichevskyi's prescription (Voron).

The artists stayed in Labov till August and then decided to go to Western Europe with the hostilities intensification. L. Perfetskyi along with his colleagues made up their minds and changed their decision leave. They decided to join the Ukrainian division «Halychyna» on their own initiatives. Leonid became a correspondent artist, hence, he focused his efforts deliberately not on the military armed struggle, but rather on the artistic documentation of the war and the perpetuation of its participants.

In 1945 after Germany was defeated in the war, some divisors found themselves in an internment camp in Austria (Salzburg), where they joined the British army with their weapons in their hands. While being in the camp, L. Perfetskyi continued to work in the battle painting style, he drew mostly watercolor and graphic paintings on the Ukrainian liberation struggle subject concerning the Ukrainian-Russian war, the Ukrainian-Polish war. Some of his works were dedicated to the Cossacks. The artist documented the Black Sea Fleet Ukrainianisation, the Arsenal capture in Kiev, the Battle near Kruty, the «Death Quadrangle» events, the typhus epidemic, and both UNR Army Winter Campaigns. About eighty watercolors and paintings have been preserved from that period of camp creativity. In a camp the daily newspaper «Svoboda» (Freedom) published an artwork written by L. Perfetskyi in the style of the comic

book under the title «Ukraine in Struggle» in 1953, where various episodes of the Ukrainian liberation struggle were taken as the basis. In 1954 the artist decided to move to Canada, where he settled in Montreal. Since then, a new page in his work has begun, primarily related to the religious painting.

The Conclusions. Unfortunately, the number of artist works were partially lost. Some works presented to Lviv museums were destroyed due to Bolsheviks advent and the «Paris cycle» works were also destroyed by the Germans or vanished into the thin air. However, the preserved ones give an opportunity to think about the artist's extraordinary talent and the artistic originality, who witnessed the real events and skillfully embodied them in the artworks. P. Kholodnyi, the researcher highlighted that Leonid Perfetskyi's work would be a flexible consolidation and reproduction engraved in the future generations memory concerning the most tragic and at the same time the brightest moments of our history (Leonid Perfetsky, 1990, pp. 28-29). L. Perfetskyi became known as the Ukrainian battalist painter, who managed to reproduce skillfully one of the most difficult periods in Ukrainian history. In addition, Leonid's works are supported by his personal view concerning the above-mentioned events as the direct participant. Taking into consideration, the scattered documentary sources, an artist's true-to-life image is also important in exploring various aspects of historical events, which makes Leonid Perfetskyi's works extremely valuable. Apart from the artistic point of view, Leonid Perfetskyi's works are known for their artistic references and searches among the modernist European trends, Cubism, which is constantly reflected in the increased expression and the paintings dynamics. («Fight Above the Sea», «Krytu Railway Station Defense by Students», «The Black Division Cossacks Attack on the Armored Train», «Cavalry Attack»). Due to its polyphonic character L. Perfetskyi's work is chronologically consistent with the active Ukrainian avant-garde development, which has become a unique artistic phenomenon of the first half of the XXth century.

L.Perfetskyi's works are filled with the creative experience and the genuine realism, which are capable of conveying the truthfulness seen through many decades.

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