

UDC 929(477.82)(092)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058x.0.184418

Anatolii SHVAB

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Dean of the History, Political Science and National Security Department of Lesia Ukrainka Eastern European National University, 24 Shopen Street, Lutsk, Ukraine, postal code 43005 (anatoliyshvab@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6864-1726>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/H-1767-2019>

Larysa SHVAB

PhD (History), Assistant Professor of World History Department of Lesia Ukrainka Eastern European National University, 24 Shopen Street, Lutsk, Ukraine, postal code 43005 (lesyashvab@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9202-8910>

ResearcherID: <http://www.researcherid.com/rid/AAA-7711-2019>

Анатолій ШВАБ

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри нової новітньої історії України Східноєвропейського національного університету імені Лесі Українки, вул. Шопена, 24, м. Луцьк, Україна, індекс 43005 (anatoliyshvab@gmail.com)

Лариса ШВАБ

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри всесвітньої історії Східноєвропейського національного університету імені Лесі Українки, вул. Шопена, 24, м. Луцьк, Україна, індекс 43005 (lesyashvab@gmail.com)

Бібліографічний опис статті: Shvab, A. & Shvab, L. In search of national identity: from the life of Volyn family of the Levchanivskis. *Skhidnoievropeyskiy istorichnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin], scientific conference proceedings*, 145–154. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.0.184418

**IN SEARCH OF NATIONAL IDENTITY:
FROM THE LIFE OF VOLYN FAMILY OF THE LEVCHANIVSKIS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to recreate the model of Ukrainian identity under the pressure of dramatic historical circumstances through the prism of one family's life. The Research Methodology.* The authors apply new theoretical approaches and techniques proposed by modernist authors in the study of «nation» issues, as well as techniques brought to the historical analysis by sociologists and political scientists – Karl Deutsch, Ernest Gellner, Miroslav Hroch. The authors conclude that the nations are not «old as history» but rather recent communities, the product of the transition from agrarian to modern society. This scheme is applied to assert a dual understanding of the origin of the Ukrainian nation: ethnicity based on criteria of community of blood, language, customs or oriental model of nation, and western model of nation with criteria of common territory, equality of all members of national community, common social culture and ideology. **The scientific novelty** lies in the conceptual filling of the concept of «Ukrainian nation» with emphasis on particular external circumstances that

*incline a person to revise and change their national identity. **The Conclusions.** The authors' conclusions are based on ethical beliefs about the nation as a value that gives meaning to the inner life of a person. Therefore, the choice of the Levchanivski family of Ukrainian identity was considered as their valuable choice for the benefit of politically, socially and culturally abusive Ukrainian peasants, in the case of a particular family, residents of Volyn province (Volyn Voivodeship). To the factors that contributed to this choice, the authors refer to internal beliefs, such as the preservation of the national memory of a romanticized heroic Hetman state by Ukrainian Oleksandr Levchanivskiy, and external ones – the cultural influence of the environment in which the person was, that is demonstrated in the example of Olena Hrodzinska-Levchanivska. The national beliefs of their daughter Iryna were the result of the authoritative influence of their parents. The life of the Levchanivskis can be considered a model for the formation of the Ukrainian nation. The caveat is that the nation does not emerge from a single act of history, even as important as the formation of its own state, but is a long-lasting social and political process of integrating people with varying degrees of national consciousness into a community of political and linguistic and cultural unity. The unification of a cultural nation in one state should be considered the purpose of the nation-building process.*

Key words. Nation, national consciousness, national identity, Volyn, the Hrodzinskis, the Levchanivskis.

У ПОШУКАХ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ: З ЖИТТЯ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ РОДИНИ ЛЕВЧАНІВСЬКИХ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – через призму життя однієї родини відтворити модель становлення української ідентичності під тиском драматичних історичних обставин. **Методологія дослідження.** *Авторами застосовано нові теоретичні підходи й методики, запропоновані авторами-модерністами у вивчення питань «нації», а також методики, принесені в історичний аналіз соціологами й політологами – Карлом Дойчем, Ернестом Гелнером, Мірославом Грохом. Автори виходять із головного висновку вчених, що нації не є «старими як історія», а порівняно недавніми спільнотами, продуктом переходу від аграрного до модерного суспільства. Цю схему застосовано для утвердження двоякого розуміння походження української нації: етнічного, базованого на критеріях спільності крові, мови, звичаїв або східної моделі нації, й західної моделі нації з критеріями спільної території, рівності усіх членів національної спільноти, спільної громадської культури та ідеології. **Наукова новизна** полягає в концептуальному наповненні поняття «українська нація» з акцентуванням на особливих зовнішніх обставинах, які схилиють особу до перегляду і зміни своєї національної ідентичності. **Висновки.** Висновки авторів ґрунтуються на етичних переконаннях про націю як цінність, яка надає сенсу внутрішньому життю людини. Тому вибір родини Левчанівських української ідентичності розглянуто як їхній ціннісний вибір на користь політично, соціально й культурно скривджених українських селян, у випадку конкретної родини – мешканців Волинської губернії (Волинського воєводства). До чинників, що сприяли такому вибору, автори відносять внутрішні переконання, як-то збереження національної пам'яті про романтизовану героїчну Гетьманську Державу українцем Олександром Левчанівським, і зовнішні – культурний вплив середовища, в якому перебувала особа, що продемонстровано на прикладі життя Олени Гродзінської-Левчанівської. Національні переконання їхньої дочки Ірини були результатом авторитетного впливу батьків. Життя родини Левчанівських можемо вважати за модель формування української нації. Із застереженням щодо того, що нація не постає з одномоментного акту історії, навіть такого важливого як утворення власної держави, а є довготривалим соціальним і політичним процесом інтеграції людей з різним ступенем національної свідомості в спільноту політичної і мовно-культурної єдності. Метою процесу формування нації треба вважати об'єднання культурної нації в одній державі.*

Ключові слова: *нація, національна свідомість, національна ідентичність, Волинь, Гродзінські, Левчанівські.*

The Problem Statement. The rise of modern political nations began to be discussed relatively recently. In the 1950s–1980s, studies by Deutsch, Gellner, and Hroch «revolutionized» the knowledge of when and how nations emerged. Their main conclusion was that nations are the product of the transition from agrarian to industrial society, and therefore relatively

recent communities. And the «scheme of mobilization of national movements» of non-state peoples, created by Hroch (Hroch, 1985), had a particular influence on Ukrainian historians. Bohdan Kravchenko was the first to explore the growth of Ukrainian national identity in the context of the modernization of Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and 1970s (Kravchenko, 1997). The study of Yaroslav Hrytsak (Hrytsak, 1999, 2019) is now supplemented and reprinted, where, in the category of «normality», the formation of the Ukrainian modern nation of the 19th – 20th centuries is studied. Thanks to the research of Heorhiy Kasyanov (Kasyanov, 1999), we are aware of a large number of theories of nationalism that have now emerged (Hroch once complained about it), but we continue to «suffer from a lack of concrete studies of this phenomenon» (Hrytsak, 1999, p. 7). However, Ukrainian history is full of examples that have the power to confirm the modernist theory of nations, although they do not have sufficient force to deny its ethnic character. A vivid demonstration of this statement is the life of Oleksandr, Olena and Iryna Levchanivski in Volyn.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The authors rely on two types of research: methodological in nature – a complex of literature examining the issues of «concept of nation», «phenomenon of nation», «models of nation», «nationality», «concepts and interpretations of nationalisms», etc. and ego-documents – memoirs, diaries, letters of the Levchanivskis.

In comparing the two competing European national literatures to the understanding of «what is a nation?» – a primordialist (Anthony Smith) that interprets a nation as an ancient, natural community with a set of objective features (territory, language, faith) on the basis of which the community is formed by an awareness of its unity, and of the modernist (Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm), who unanimously respond to the question «when did the nation emerge?» – in the modern era (chronological frames are called different), but recognize ulcerative the certainty of certain social classes and social groups, which, united around common interests in the realm of equality of public rights and mutual respect, form a «political nation», we are accentuated by the «modernist theory of the nation», which, however, is underpinned by the traditional view of the nation as an ethnic nation, has many supporters among the younger generation of researchers. The renowned essay of the French sociologist of religion, Ernest Renan, *What is a Nation?* (Renan, 2010) is taken as a reference point for the «classical» understanding of the «modern nation» (and «the time of its formation»); the problems of defining the nation as a core value – by Peter Alter (Alter, 2010); a general view of the nation, nation-state and cosmopolitanism – by Fredrik Mainek (Mainek, 2010); the denial of the paramount importance of the «empirical qualities» of the nation (i.e. origin, language, religion) and the claim of «sentiment of solidarity» as its defining feature – by Max Weber (Weber, 1987); the statement about «fundamental normality of Ukrainian history» – by Yaroslav Hrytsak (Hrytsak, 1999).

The facts of life of the Levchanivskis (and the Hrodzinskis) became known to the public after the publication of Iryna Levchanivska's memoirs during 2000 – 2006. They cover different periods of family life in the twentieth century: the years of the First World War, the postwar years in Volyn as part of the Second Commonwealth, the life of mother Olena Hrodzinska-Levchanivska, the Soviet period of Iryna's life with her father Oleksandr Mytrofanovych, etc. (Levchanivska, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2006). To many of the author's judgments, historians may be skeptical or consider them meaningless to history. But they will not be right. Her memoirs populate history with people, reveal their humane and inhumane goals, demonstrate life choices in difficult historical circumstances, etc. In the end, people who are aware of «any particular value or political task» are identified (Alter, 2010, p. 281),

which will become the backbone of the nation, and even the «nation», for as long as their ideas and values are embraced by the social majority.

The purpose of the article is to recreate the model of Ukrainian identity formation under the pressure of dramatic historical circumstances through the prism of the life of the Levachnivskis.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Levchanivskis have been known in Volyn since the early twentieth century. It was founded by Oleksandr Levchanivskiy and Olena Hrodzinska in 1905, and their daughter, Iryna, left memories of her famous parents and thus gave a «second life» to the family.

Iryna Oleksandrivna Levchanivska was born on 17 May (according to the documents on 17 September) in 1913 in the village of Lyniv, Vladimir Uyezd of Volhynian Governorate (now Torchyn district of Volyn region) in the estate of his grandfather Karl von Hrodzinskyi. The von Hrodzinski family settled in Volhynia in 1895, when the head of the family, taking a loan from the Vilnius Bank for a period of 99 years (the loan was due to expire in 1994), purchased here 521 tithes of land with a house, farm buildings, a windmill, and livestock (SAVR, f. P-3190, d. 12. c. 30, pp. 1–48), etc. In the spacious manor house, his wife Tetiana Priakhina and their nine children arrived in Volyn.

Karl von Hrodzinskyi was an ethnic Pole from East Prussia, where after his Polish uprising in 1830, fleeing persecution, his father Jan Hrodzinskyi got. Jan died early and his only son Karl was raised in a «Lutheran-hostile to the whole Polish spirit» (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 6). Having taken care of the «grandson» agronomic education, he sent the boy to Russia in search of his own earnings. In Russia, for a long time Karl managed the estates of Count Musin-Pushkin, until he was able to buy his own land. He later received the Orthodox baptism, ascribed himself to the merchant state and came to Volhynia under the name Karp Ivanovych Hrodzinskyi. Having renounced the Baron's title, he had to lower the prefix «von», but for the rest of his life he called himself «von Hrodzinskyi».

In 1870, after the death of his first German wife, von Hrodzinskyi married for the second time with Russian Tetiana Priakhina, who came from the family of Priakhin, famed in Russia (SAVR, f. P-3190, d. 12, c. 91, p. 26; Vdovyn, 2003, p. 168). The Priakhins were serfs of Count Sheremetev, founder of the Ostankino Serfdom Theater (Sheremetev, 1897, pp. 48–54). In the eighteenth century, Fedir Priakhin bought the family from serfdom (Elizarova, 1944). Priakhin's descendants were educated and wealthy people (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 8). The great-granddaughter of his youngest son Oleksandr, Tetiana Matviivna Priakhina, fell in love with the experienced Karp Hrodzinskyi.

Therefore, in 1895, a large Russian family arrived in Volyn with numerous St. Petersburg services. They spoke Russian at home, nurtured Russian culture, brought up the faithful subjects of the Russian Empire.

Nine children grew up in the family, four from Hrodzinskyi's first marriage, called «Germans», they really had no Russian roots, they were Germans by mother and Poles by father; the five younger ones – Kateryna, Oleksandr, Lyzaveta, Olena and Mykhailo – were born in their father's second marriage, among them were «Russians» and «Ukrainians». Karp Ivanovych's beloved Olena Hrodzinska was sued for an «unread fate» in «long and painstaking work» (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 39) in the name of the Ukrainian case.

Even before moving to Volyn, the Hrodzinskis lived in Chernihiv Governorate in Nizhyn, next to Mytrofan Levchanivskiy's family of «excise official» – a descendant of the «Cossack Elders of the former national elite» who «quickly russified» and «the only way to nationalize»

identify with the people, their language and culture», as Yaroslav Hrytsak wrote (Hrytsak, 1996, p. 11). Mytrofan and Anna Levchanivski raised five children who were neighbors and friends with the children of Hrodzinski. Two of them, Oleksandr Levchanivskiyi («Umochka» and Shuryk, as he was called in the family) and Olena Hrodzinska, fell in love and got married in 1905 (Levchanivska, 2004, pp. 38–46). To the fate of these two people, «many black flowers threw out the sea» and «Zeus was angry that there was no agreement between people», but one day «a rainbow announced to people» the birth of Iryna and the «ice has broken» (Levchanivska, 2001, p. 7). «I was little, so I was called Tiny Iris or Tiny. I was surrounded by Russians: my grandmother, aunt, uncle, their children and friends and servants from St. Petersburg. This is later, in Zhytomyr, our family was fully Ukrainian. I was Dotsinka, Rybonka, Liubuntsia, etc. Adult Ukrainians called me Yaryna, Orysia. My mother's old acquaintances of Poles during casual meetings at me, already an adult, used to say «panna Kroshka», – mentioned Iryna Levchanivska (Levchanivska, 2001, p. 7).

It is Shuryk Levchanivskiyi who will have a decisive influence on the election of her mother, Olena, of the Ukrainian identity, as opposed to the Russian one. Olena's first step will be to translate her diary from Russian into Ukrainian. But finally «Liubuntsia» will win ««Kroshenka» during the Great War.

On 18 August 1914, Olena wrote in her diary: «18. VII. 1914 – ... Horror came into our lives. Everything is confused in the mind, nothing can be understood. At the porch there are crowds of laborers and peasants – we read them newspapers. They ask and they worry. Tearful folnarks are breaking their hands ... A moan stands over the village. Gathered at 8, mine left at 5, and went from the village at 2 o'clock! Women and men wept and mourned. The women clung to the wheels and lay down in front of the carts. Gloomy, blackened, with tears and sleepless eyes, my servants said goodbye, asked to protect their wives and children ... The village was depopulated, the summoned and the attendants went. The yard deserted: no horses, no people...»; «21. VII Now we will go. So bitter that tears are missing, but not to take Kroshenka and my mother ... I got up early and went out on my porch: the morning is clear, quiet, the sky is blue and the sunflowers are glowing like gold. Everything is thickly covered with dew. Such an outburst engulfed me in the belief that, suddenly, I would never see it again. And it's scary to think that nature is so carelessly beautiful, and humans create such horror. There is a rush in the yard. There are carts loaded. The things are being packed up. They brought a telegram from Shuryk: «Hi, I am ok» – I beg to stay, because there is no danger when he wrote yesterday like that. Barin does not want to listen, and my mother is already «resigned», though she does not want to go» (Levchanivska, 2004, pp. 47–48). On the 21 of August 1914, women with a young nine-month-old child left Lyniv: «We were swept away by the epidemic, the advance of the enemy, and our «Christlike warfare» (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 57). During the years of refugee, they stayed in Nizhyn, Homel, Zhytomyr at different times, returned briefly to Lutsk to the village of Boholiuby, to the Otradne hamlet (but did not stay long, because the owners lacked generosity and wealth for one family), Kamianets-Podilskiyi, Chertkiv, Stanislaviv, Lviv, Kovel and again in Lutsk – «now for a long time». A father, Oleksandr Levchanivskiyi, came to his family to Nizhyn for Christmas of 1917, who, in February 1915, «engulfed in patriotism», left for Warsaw to work in the Road Department, building roads for the Russian army somewhere near Warsaw (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 59; Levchanivska, 1994, pp. 130–134).

Longest stay was in Zhytomyr. The parents rented a house in the depths of the garden where Marko Lutskewicz from Kovel and Samiilo Pidhirskiyi from Lubitov (near Kovel) lived together, both of whom later became ambassadors in the Polish Sejm of 1922 – 1927

(Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej). On the streets of the city they met Ukrainian writer Volodymyr Samiilenko or «Syvenkyi», as he was called by acquaintances. Often, Kost Kobylianskyi, an obsessed Enlightenment, came by. He went from village to village and set up «Enlightenment», and Lutskevych, with a bag on his shoulders, with a loaf of bread and a piece of bacon, cooperatives. All adults were involved in public affairs in the «Enlightenment», «Enlightenment» schools, editorial offices of newspapers «Volynska Hazeta», «Hromadianyn»; they held parties, read Shevchenko's poetry, etc. It was the first time when the parents made a Ukrainian national costume for Dotsinka. At the same time, for the first time, the girl recited poems in Ukrainian. But even in Homel in 1915, as Iryna Levchanivska would recall, she taught Russian poems and, under the applause of satisfied adults, the girl told of «Frost with her daughter, little Snow Maiden» (Levchanivska, 2001, p. 12).

The Levchanivskis' stay in Zhytomyr from 1917 to 1918 coincided with the time of maturation and consolidation of the Ukrainian national movement, which advocated the political self-determination of Ukraine until its separation from Russia. The period between spring and summer of 1917 passed under the sign of «Ukrainization» of social and political life. Civic life was rapidly reviving; a large number of new newspapers and publishers appeared, new mass public organizations, Ukrainian schools, etc. were formed (Soldatenko, 2010, p. 23). The national and cultural uplift of this time awakened the consciousness and energy of Zhytomyr refugees.

In 1918 the Levachnivskis returned to Volhynia. But, at the end of the hot summer of 1919, they had to leave Lutsk again. This time, their path ran to the heart of Podillia, the town of Kamianets-Podilskyi, where the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic was located starting from 10 June 1919. They spent the last night at a government house to drive to the Polish border on a wagon cart. At that time, already «nationally conscious» (so an adult Levchanivska has already called herself, but the girl was six years old at the time, so there is no certainty that the child was in such awareness), Iryna Levchanivska, «had a hard time ending the Ukrainian state»: destroyed some papers. Everyone is upset, scared, because the Bolsheviks are approaching. I picked up a piece of paper with a UNR stamp and Trident. For many years I kept it as a relic, as a memory of my state, as proof that it was» (the story with the Trident piece of paper is quite true; Levchanivska showed it to many close people) (Levchanivska, 2001, p. 28; Levchanivska, 2004, pp. 73–74).

In June 1921, the seven-year refugee of the Levchanivskis ended. The family returned to Volyn, now to Poland. The houses of the Hrodzinski estate were destroyed. The earth lay besieged. They lived with Nikon Kulish while his father was building a «house», a small one-room hut – the Lynivskyi House of the Hrodzynskis «for Poland».

The Levchanivskis were involved in public-political activities in the «Enlightenment», in the end all the post-war Volyn intelligentsia in the Second Commonwealth was closely associated with the «Enlightenment» and Lutsk Ukrainian Gymnasium, and in 1922 actively joined the campaign of election of ambassadors to the Polish Parliament. They met with Lutskevych and Pidhirskyi – old Zhytomyr friends (they also became ambassadors to the Cadence Sejm during 1922 – 1927 (Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej)), discussed the possibility of involving Levchanivskyi's candidacy in the Bloc of National Minorities (list no. 16). They also became ambassadors to the Sejm. Oleksandr Mytrofanovych, a decent, but pessimistic person, refused. And Mrs. Olena, who was present at the conversation, jokingly suggested, «You can write me down. I will not worry if there are not enough votes for me» (Levchanivska, 2004, pp. 41–42). So, quite unexpectedly, Olena Karpivna became a senator of the Polish Sejm. Her education and strong-willed character invaluablely served to protect the rights of the Ukrainian minority in the Second Commonwealth. Levchanivska's speech

in the Senate exposed the Polish government's discriminatory policy toward Ukrainians. Knowledge of several Slavic, French, German, Italian languages helped to protect the interests of Ukrainians from the highest tribunes of European congresses. Throughout her life, Iryna Oleksandrivna kept several texts of her mother's speeches, carefully transcribed with her own hand. In senator's candid and bold statements such as, «High Senate! On our lands, forcibly annexed to the Commonwealth (voice in the hall: how is it forcibly?» (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 99), we never recognize a woman who wholeheartedly sought to live among the peasants, cultivate and sow the land. She regrets the abandoned village with her letters to her husband.

Olena Karpivna's attachment to peasant life arose in her early years when she had to return from St. Petersburg to her father's estate. With no specific plans for a permanent stay in Lyniv (she also studied law at the time at Vienna and at the Conservatory of Vienna); she was forced to stay to help her mother run the estate after the death of her older sister Kateryna. Her main surroundings were Ukrainian peasants – workers of the estate. Mutual commitments between the Hrodzinskis and the peasants were nothing but a «clearly expressed desire to live a life together,» a «daily plebiscite», as Ernest Renan wrote in his famous essay «What is a Nation?» (Renan, 2010, p. 262). Olena and Mykhailo Hrodzinski, who lived among Ukrainian peasants for the longest time, linked their civic duty to Ukrainians and Ukraine. They were called «Ukrainian» children of Hrodzinski as opposed to «Russian» who left their parents' home early, settled in Russia and never felt themselves Ukrainian. Even more, referring to her aunt Lyzaveta, Iryna Oleksandrivna assured that she deliberately had no Ukrainians in her Leningrad environment, and at meetings she asked not to speak Ukrainian and so on. But in her stingy letters to relatives, Lyzaveta used Ukrainian words abundantly: «...Are you alive there? Or, according to the father's covenant, «this thing must be chewed» (SAVR, f. P-3190, d. 12, c. 90, p. 1a). The daughter of Oleksandr, the eldest son of the Hrodzinskis, Kateryna Pille lived the life of a Russian emigrant in France: «... I never considered myself Ukrainian,» she told her cousin Irina, but all her life she cherished loyalty to her little homeland: «... I live only in the past, and not only with the memories of our days, and in the distant antiquity of Volyn land, and even earlier...» she wrote in a letter to Iryna Oleksandrivna (SAVR, f. P-3190, d. 12, c. 95, p. 95).

So after completing the cadence of the ambassador to the Polish Sejm in 1927, Olena Karpivna returned to Lutsk; and after her daughter Iryna finished her studies at Lutsk Ukrainian Gymnasium in 1931 – to Lyniv. It was no longer possible to influence Ukrainian social life in the late 1920s. In Lutsk, the club «Native Hut» was opened, in the villages – «Enlightenment Huts», locals called them «Khrunian Huts», because they «erected on the graves of «Enlightenment» (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 155). After departure from Volyn in 1938 by Henryk Yuzevskyi, a «kulka shliakhty zahrodovoi» (small-scale gentry's circles) appeared in the villages. The leaders of the «kulkas» convened the peasants and explained to them that they could return to the «nobility» and «faith of the fathers», which were once selected by the tsarist government. There were Ukrainians who agreed to baptize in exchange for a number of benefits, while others were mocking. Peace and harmony still prevailed between Ukrainians and Poles. The Polish families of Rybchynski, Yavorski, Zhukovski, etc., and other gentry from the origin lived near the village of Pasyka near Lyniv. Some families were Orthodox, others were Catholic. Everyone spoke Ukrainian. They went to Lyniv for day job. They honored each other's holidays. Therefore, Olena Karpivna had eight more years to live in sewing, embroidery, cooking, writing articles, quite the one she dreamed of (about these years, Iryna Levchanivska described in letters to Kateryna Pille stored in: SAVR, f. P-3190, d. 12, c. 95, 166 p.).

Nothing predicted trouble for the Levchanivskis even after the beginning of the German-Polish War on 1 September 1939. From the years of the Great War, the Bolsheviks feared, so when the Soviet troops attacked Poland on 17 September, they were going to flee across the Bug. Familiar owners of the village in Okhlopiv dissuaded them from leaving and the Levchanivskis returned home. In December 1939, Olena and her daughter were summoned to Horokhiv. The commissioner asked about the Senate's work. Did they only deal with political prisoners and nationalists, and did they know any communists? Writing everything down, the commissioner assured that no one would bother the family anymore. And on 24 December, in the house of Levchanivski the Enkavedists appeared. They made a search, Olena Karpivna helped to write the report, and she was joking. She was eventually arrested (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 163). On 16 January, Iryna came to the police, but her mother was not there. Another police officer handed the girl a letter: «Dear, sweetheart, daughter! I cannot say how much I am sorry for you, but I ask you very much not to be alarmed, the citizen chief says that some people have already been released from those who left me from Lutsk, and may soon be released there as well» (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 165). Until 30 May 1940, the woman was in Lutsk prison. On that day the prisoners were taken to Zdolbuniv (Levchanivska, 1992, pp. 145–150). Olena Karpivna was 58 at the time; her daughter was 26 years old.

In 1994, lists of 3435 shot Ukrainians were sent to the Polish prosecutor's office from Moscow, dated 24 April 1940. Among them is the name «O.K. Levchnivska» – victim No. 43/3 – 37 («43» is a prisoner from Volhynia, «3» is a group of the executed person, «37» is a serial number of the executed person (Levchanivska, 2000, p. 12). That is all that is known about the last days of «Senator Levchanivska».

In December 1939, after her mother's arrest, Iryna Levchanivska had to leave the Lyniv house, which had been plundered by the Red Army, and at night, having taken only what was necessary, reached Lutsk. There were few who wanted to carry one of the Levchanivski's in Lyniv. A twenty-year-old boy, who drove Iryna to Lutsk in the sleigh through snow-covered path, disappeared. She settled in her father's small apartment and waited for her to come (just then, the families of those who had been arrested were taken out of Lutsk). The father was quieter, but when he left for business for a few days, Levchanivska left her room every night, hung the lock on the door, and informed her mistress that she was going to her friend for the night. She walked around the house several times, entered the room through the window ... and in the morning in the same way «returned home». And she was doing like that for three years in a row (Levchanivska, 2004, p. 167). During the life of Iryna, some of her friends «wondered» how she and her father were not arrested. Levchanivska answered these questions in the memoirs, between the lines. For all her life, she had been afraid of knocking on the door. And she was afraid not in vain. In the 1990s, she was assigned to a person who was apparently watching over Iryna Oleksandrivna because Levchanivska was unhealthy, ill, elderly, and unlikely to threaten the system.

In 1942, she and her father «found an apartment abandoned by landlord» in a house erected in 1939 by Polish doctors and lawyers for their families. In the house, now on the street 17 Hradnyi Uzviz, Iryna Oleksandrivna lived for 69 years. She and her father occupied one room and kitchen in a communal apartment, and the other room in 1944 was handed over to the Kalashnikov family. Once, a 10-year-old girl, Levchanivska attended international forums with her mother-senator in Warsaw, Prague, Vienna, Paris, Geneva, Berlin, and Freiburg. In the grand hall of the Faculty of Theology, University of Paris, she listened to Sofia Rusova. Everything was taken away by history. In a small communal apartment, among hundreds of books, Levchanivska hid letters, postcards, diaries, etc. – everything that was a memento of life before the «Soviets».

A special meeting took place in the life of already elderly Iryna Oleksandrivna. A German journalist accredited in Moscow came to her apartment to offer an interview for *Die Neue Zeitung*. He offered communication in Russian. The 92-year-old Levchanivska indignantly refused and for several hours spoke to the interviewer in German, which she last studied in the 1920s in a Ukrainian high school.

The Soviet reality carried a realistic danger of complete irrigation (no one spoke Ukrainian in Levchanivska's environment in the Soviet times), but Iryna Oleksandrivna was never asked to choose the language of communication and, consequently, of nationality. In the Soviet project of the «Ukrainian modern nation», it will be considered «the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist» and on this basis special bodies will control her life.

Iryna Oleksandrivna Levchanivska's terrestrial life ended on 1 May 2011, when she was 97 years old.

The national consciousness of the Levchanivskis was formed at a time when Ukrainians only had to fight for their state. And although Peter Alter asserts that «national consciousness is not dependent on the existence of a nation-state» (Alter, 2010, p. 279), the Russian and Polish environment of the Levchanivskis could have completely influenced the choice of identity. But as it seems, precisely because Russian and Polish nationalisms were the dominant statesmen, the Levchanivskis opted for the «ideal image of humanity» (Maineke, 2010, p. 272) – a Ukrainian peasant who, though had no clear idea of which nation he belonged to, required «the spread of popular culture, political equality, economic emancipation and social liberation» (Hrytsak, 1999, p. 14). Disturbed by the national and cultural rise of the peoples of the Russian Empire in the early twentieth century, the Ukrainian intelligentsia led this movement. Among the Ukrainian intelligentsia there were ethnic Ukrainians and those who redefined their identities.

Oleksandr Mytrofanovych Levchanivskyi belonged to the Ukrainian race, whose «soul was nestled with a romantic sense of the past» (Korolenko, 1954, p. 87). His choice can be considered more obvious. Olena Karpivna Hrodzinska-Levchanivska, under the influence of the Ukrainian environment and her husband, revised and changed her identity in favor of the Ukrainian, for which she recognized the uniqueness and even «supremacy». Her Ukrainian-centric convictions strengthened during the First World War. Renan's «shared patience is more than common joy» (Renan, 2010, p. 262), proves this phenomenon. According to Olena's diary, she is deeply disturbed by «Stakh and Filka from Svyniukhu», but it is also stated that «the power of the idea has overcome fear and disadvantage».

Their daughter, Iryna Levchanivska, has never been asked the choice of nationality since reading her first poem in Ukrainian. Her social behavior (which is still of interest to individuals today) was entirely dependent on value criteria, not «on the prospects of her success» (Weber, 1978, pp. 24–25). An example of social action of this type is the behavior of individuals, as Weber writes, who «regardless of the possible loss to themselves, uphold their own beliefs, guided by the fact that they require duty, honor, the pursuit of the beautiful, religious vocation, personal devotion or importance a particular case, no matter what it is» (Weber, 1978, p. 25). Therefore, as Weber understands, the concept of «nation» comes from the realm of values (Weber, 1978, p. 922).

The Conclusions. Having made a valuable choice for the benefit of the Ukrainian nation, the Levchanivskis put their price at the end of history: Oleksandr Mytrofanovych and Iryna Oleksandrivna – social preferences, Olena Karpivna – the highest – the life. So let's agree with Renan's conclusion that the question of whether a nation exists ultimately depends on the individual.

Acknowledgments. We express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for printing.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alter, P.** (2010). Natsiia: problemy vyznachennya [Nation: problems of definition]. In *Natsionalizm. Antologiiia* (O. Prochenko, V. Lisovyi, Uporiadn.) (pp. 273–282). Kyiv: Smoloskyp. [in Ukrainian]
Derzhavnyi archive Volynskoi oblasti [State archive of Volyn region – SAVR]
- Elizarova, N.** (1944). *Teatry Sheremetevykh [Sheremetev's Theaters]*. Moskva: Ostankinskii dvorets-muzei, 520 p. [in Russian]
- Hroch, M.** (1985). *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. New York: Cembidge University Press, 220 p. [in English]
- Hrytsak, Ya.** (1996). *Narys istorii Ukrainy. Formuvannia modernoi ukrainskoi natsii XIX – XX stolittia [Essay on the history of Ukraine. Formation of the modern Ukrainian nation of XIX – XX centuries]*. Kyiv: Heneza, 360 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Kasyanov, G.** (1999). *Teorii natsii i natsionaizmu [Theories of nation and nationalism]*. Kyiv: Lubid, 382 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Korolenko, V.** (1954). *Istoriia moego sovremennika [The story of my contemporary]*. (Vol. 6). Moskva: Pravda, 327 p. [in Russian]
- Kravchenko, B.** (1997). *Sotsialni zminy i natsionalna svidomist v Ukraini XX stolittia [Social changes and national consciousness in Ukraine in XX century]*. Kyiv: Osnovy, 423 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Levchanivska, I.** (1992). Pamiati moiei mamy Oleny Levchanivskoi: U 110 richnytsiu z dnia narodzhennia [In memory of my mother Elena Levchanivska: The 110th Birthday Anniversary]. *Litopys Volyni, (17–18)*, 145–150. [in Ukrainian]
- Levchanivska, I.** (1994). Olena Levchanivska pro Pershu svitivu viinu: «Shchodennyk». Statti. Dokumentalno-hudozhnia proza pro pershu svitovu viinu [Iryna Levchanivska about the World War I]. *Materialy i tezy dopovidei ta povidomlen mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii, 23 – 26 zhovtnia 1994 p.*, (pp. 130–134). Луцьк. [in Ukrainian]
- Levchanivska, I.** (2000). *Daleke i blyzke [Far and near]*. Lutsk: Nadstyria, 216 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Levchanivska, I.** (2001). *Zgadalos meni...(spogady dytynstva) [It was mentioned to me ... (Memories of childhood)]*. Lutsk: Volynska oblasna drukarnia, 94 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Levchanivska, I.** (2004). *Senatorka [Senator]*. Lviv-Dubno-Lutsk: Dzherelo-Nadstyria, 258 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Levchanivska, I.** (2006). «*Shche ne zabulosia...*» (spogady) [Not yet forgotten (memories)]. Lutsk: Vydavnytstvo oblasnoi drukarni, 124 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Maineke, F.** (2010). Zagalnyi pogliad na natsiiu [A general view at the nation]. In *Natsionalizm. Antologiiia* (O. Protsenko, V. Lisovyi, Uporiadn.). (pp. 264–272). Kyiv: Smoloskyp. [in Ukrainian]
- Renan, E.** (2010). Shcho take natsiia? [What is a nation?]. In *Natsionalizm. Antologiiia* (O. Protsenko, V. Lisovyi, uporiadn.). (pp. 253–263). Kyiv: Smoloskyp, [in Ukrainian]
- Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej I kadencji (1922 – 1927)**. URL: [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sejm_Rzeczypospolitej_Polskiej_I_kadencji_\(1922%E2%80%931927\)](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sejm_Rzeczypospolitej_Polskiej_I_kadencji_(1922%E2%80%931927)) [in Polish]
- Sheremetev, S.** (1897). *Otgolosky XVIII veka (Vypusk IV. Ostankino v 1797 g.) [Echoes of the XVIIIth century (Issue IV. Ostankino in 1797)]*. SPb: Tipografiiia M. M. Stasiulevicha, 99 p. [in Russian]
- Soldatenko, V., & Liubovets, O.** (2010). *Revoliutsiini alternatyvy 1917 roku i Ukraina [Revolutionary alternatives of 1917 and Ukraine]*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 320 p. [in Ukrainian]
- Vdovyn, H., Lepskaia, L., & Cherviakova, A.** (1994). *Ostankino. Teatr-dvoret [Ostankino. Theater-Palace]*. Moskva: Russkaia Kniga, 320 p. [in Russian]
- Weber, M.** (1978). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology* (Ed. by G. Roht and C. Wittich). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1091 p. [in English]

*The article was received on May 5, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 06/11/2019.*