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**YEVHEN CHYKALENKO AND KHARKIV:
THE HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIP**

Abstract. *The aim of the research* is to find out the aspects of Yevhen Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv during his studies at Kharkiv University which have various interpretations in his Spohady (Memoirs) and scientific literature; to establish the specificity of Yevhen Chykalenko's circle of influence made up of the closest to him at the university; to highlight Yevhen Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv in order to determine the Ukrainian nationalist movement members' attitude to everything related to the urban world. **The Research Methodology.** The article focuses on the analysis of Yevhen Chykalenko's reception of such basic features of the urban environment as people; city space; the function of the city; the conditions of everyday life, which are based on the analysis of the archival materials, the documents of Kharkiv University, the full set of his Shchodennyk (Diary) of 1907 – 1929 and the correspondence of an outstanding entrepreneur and philanthropist Yevhen Chykalenko. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that the chronological framework of Yevhen Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv, the peculiarities of the social environment of the circle of his closest friends among the students and teachers as well as specificity and evolution of Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv have been regarded in the research for the first time. **The Conclusions.** Ye. Chykalenko's life in Kharkiv covered no more than two academic years, during which he studied at Physics and Mathematics Faculty and later at the Law Faculty of Kharkiv University. Taking into account the fact that he was just an audit student at university as well as the specificity of the educational process organization, he did not have the opportunity to "feel" the spirit of a big city. His childhood friends from Yelisavetgrad had the greatest impact on both his life in Kharkiv and the reception of the city. His closest social circle consisted of students from raznochintsy. Yevhen Chykalenko witnessed Kharkiv's evolution from the educational center on the border of the Ukrainian lands and therefore functioning mainly as a transit city for many young Ukrainians, to the centre of the Bolshevik political repression known as The Red Terror. Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv remained neutral rather than hostile. Nevertheless, it wasn't friendly. The main reason for such reception of the city was the central government. Concerning urban space, Ye. Chykalenko was mainly interested in such locations as hotels and theatres. However, the houses where he lived were less significant for him. He didn't like urban romance, urban lifestyle and he did not write anything about the social strata of the urban population, streets, and districts of the city, types of random passers-by. Ye. Chykalenko regards a big city as a necessary space for the implementation of the projects of the Ukrainian national and cultural revival. On the contrary, the romance of the rural world was just as inherent for Ye. Chykalenko as for the bearers of the traditional worldview – the Ukrainian peasants.

Key words: Yevhen Chykalenko, Kharkiv, Kharkiv University.

ЄВГЕН ЧИКАЛЕНКО І ХАРКІВ: ІСТОРІЯ ВЗАЄМИН

Анотація. Мета дослідження – з'ясувати аспекти перебування Є. Х. Чикаленка в Харкові у період навчання в Харківському університеті, які по-різному трактуються в мемуарах та науковій літературі, встановити специфіку кола найближчих до нього осіб в університеті; реконструювати ставлення Є. Х. Чикаленка до Харкова, що необхідно для визначення ставлення видатних діячів українського національного руху до всього, що пов'язане із урбаністичним світом. **Методологія дослідження.** У статті здійснено аналіз сприйняття Є. Чикаленком таких базових ознак урбаністичного середовища: люди; простір міста; функція міста; умови повсякденного життя на підставі аналізу архівних матеріалів, документів Харківського університету та всього комплексу щоденника 1907 – 1929 рр., матеріалів листування видатного підприємця та мецената. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше розкрито хронологічні рамки перебування Є. Чикаленка в Харкові, особливості соціального середовища кола найближчих друзів зі студентів та викладачів, специфіку й еволюцію ставлення Є. Чикаленка до Харкова. **Висновки.** Харківський період життя Є. Чикаленка охоплював не більше двох академічних років, протягом яких він навчався спочатку на фізико-математичному, а потім юридичному факультетах Харківського університету. Статус вільнослухача та специфіка організації навчального процесу не надали йому можливості “відчути” подих великого міста. Визначальними для перебування та сприйняття міста Харкова для нього були друзі дитинства елісаветградських часів. До кола його найближчого спілкування входили студенти – вихідці з різночинців. Харків в очах Чикаленка пройшов еволюцію від освітнього центру, який, перебуваючи на межі українських земель, виконував транзитну функцію для багатьох молодих українців, до осередка червоної бюрократії, більшовицького терору. Для нього він залишався нейтральним, не ворожим світом, але й не дружнім. Такому сприйняттю міста сприяла головним чином центральна влада. У міському просторі значущими для нього були такі локації, як готель, театр і значно меншою – будинки, де він мешкав. Він не захоплювався міською романтикою, міським способом життя, нічого не писав про соціальні верстви міського населення, вулиці та райони міста, типажі випадкових перехожих. Велике місто для Є. Чикаленка радше – необхідний простір для реалізації проектів українського національно-культурного відродження, а романтика сільського світу були такою ж мірою притаманні Є. Чикаленку, як і носіям традиційного світогляду – українським селянам.

Ключові слова: Євген Чикаленко, Харків, Харківський університет.

The Problem Statement. At the end of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries, relations between the Ukrainians and large cities were very complex. The Ukrainian nation was made up of peasantry, and peasants had a negative attitude towards all cities and everything related to the urban world. The reasons, manifestations, and consequences of such an attitude have been covered and reflected in various scientific works and Ukrainian fiction. However, the history of relations between distinguished Ukrainians and big cities has not still found a proper coverage in historiography. One of the most prominent figures of the Ukrainian national movement was Yevhen Chykalenko. He was a personality with the modern worldview, later – the Ukrainian Renaissance future leader, whose devoted work in the field of patronage, education, and political cohesion of the Ukrainians is well known to everyone.

The study of his attitude to cities will contribute to the deepening of knowledge about the ways of the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation. One of the most significant cities in his life was Kharkiv, the third most populous centre of the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire, where Ye. Chykalenko began studying agronomy. Therefore, relationships between Ye. Chykalenko and Kharkiv are important for the proper interpretation of his ideas and attitudes to the urban environment.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. There are no special studies on the problem of Yevhen Chykalenko's relationship with the urban world. The subjects related to the topic of our research have been presented in D. Doroshenko's, I. Starovoitenko's works

devoted to Ye. Chykalenko's life and work (Doroshenko, 2008, pp. 51–57; Starovoitenko, 2008, pp. 151–155; Starovoitenko, 2009, pp. 21–22, 189–190). Referring to his *Spohady*, the researchers state that he studied at Kharkiv University for three years and graduated from it in 1885 (Doroshenko, 2008, pp. 51–52; Korniienko, 2010, p. 414). His socio-political activity, and especially his participation in V. Maliovanyi, Y. Boiko, I. Fokin, M. Shytiuk, and A. Kozyrev's society have been thoroughly researched (Boiko, 2014, pp. 498–508; Fokin, pp. 13–14; Shytiuk & Kozyrev, pp. 103–108, 110–111, 113–116, 149, 151). Ye. Chykalenko's contribution to the educational work among farmers regarding the techniques and methods of farming on land has also been the focus of scientists' attention (Rohozha, 2018, pp. 168–169; Korniienko, 2015, pp. 413–414). The publication of the selection of Ye. Chykalenko's diary entries and correspondence in 2004 – 2016 opened up an opportunity for the source studies of his inheritance which were carried out by I. Starovoitenko (Chykalenko, 2011, pp. 7–31; Chykalenko, 2015a, pp. 6–29; Chykalenko, 2015b, pp. 6–27; Chykalenko, 2015c, pp. 6–31; Chykalenko, 2016, pp. 19–45).

In general, Kharkiv period of Ye. Chykalenko's life has been rather sparsely reported in the studies. Among the issues related to Ye. Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv and touched upon in the scientific documents, some require special research. Describing Ye. Chykalenko's studies at Kharkiv University, the scientists have referred only to the facts given by Ye. Chykalenko without investigating other sources of literature. For instance, in his memoirs Ye. Chykalenko mentioned that he had been an auditor at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Kharkiv University for three years (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92); later, in his diary, he made no comments on the false data on his study at university till 1875 as well as on his arrest mentioned in one of the articles about his life and his active work (Chykalenko, 2015, p. 138). The memoirist made some inaccuracies on his own since he relied only on his memory, which had a specificity to betray him (Ye. Chykalenko himself was well aware of this human memory specificity).

At that time, there was the Department of Sciences at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at Kharkiv University (Bakirov, p. 130) where Ye. Chykalenko could have studied; he did not mention anything about his arrest in his memoirs either (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 112–117).

In the preface to a practical guide to farming entitled *Rozmova pro s'il'ske khaziaistvo* (Conversations on Farming), which was reprinted several times at the beginning of the twentieth century, he appreciated the achievements of Professor Kostychev from St. Petersburg highly, whose book helped him to master the ways of using black steam (Chykalenko, 1908, pp. 3–4). It seems unclear why Ye. Chykalenko did not mention his Kharkiv teacher, Professor A. Zaikevych, and devoted only a few lines to the latter in his *Spohady* (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92). Yevhen Chykalenko did not refer a lot to his student years and Kharkiv in his *Shchodennyk* even though the city is known to be a place where Ye. Chykalenko's young years passed, and, consequently, a place to leave an imprint on his soul for the rest of his life. Therefore, we consider it significant to highlight the reasons why Kharkiv did not encourage an elderly person to immerse himself into the memories of the city of his student years. We also aim to find out whether the hostile attitude to a particular city is part of Ye. Chykalenko's reception of any urban environment or not.

The Publication Purpose is to find out the aspects of Yevhen Chykalenko's stay in Kharkiv during his studies at Kharkiv University which have various interpretations in memoirs and scientific literature; to establish the specificity of Ye. Chykalenko's circle of influence made up of the closest to him at the university; to find out Yevhen Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv

in order to determine the Ukrainian nationalist movement member's attitude to everything related to the urban world. The main source of research has become Yevhen Chykalenko's *Shchodennyk, 1907 – 1929* (Diary, 1907 – 1929), *Spohady* (Memoirs), police documents of State Archive of Kharkiv Region (SAKhR), and official publications of Kharkiv University, 1880 – 1885. In our research, the method of “new biographical history” has been used, in particular, one of its fundamental principles that “life is a narrative”, which involves the study of personality in the system of socio-cultural communication (Kolesnik, 2015, pp. 7, 9).

In *Shchodennyk*, the city of Kharkiv is mentioned a lot but compared to Kyiv, Kharkiv appears to be suppressed. Therefore, all the references to Kharkiv in *Shchodennyk*, especially in the documents without any comments have been thoroughly analysed in our research.

We believe such references to be interpreted as the author's indirect but quite acceptable attitudes to the city. To measure Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv, we consider it necessary to compare his memories about Kharkiv with those about other cities, in particular with Kyiv and Yelisavetgrad. The method used in the research is certain to determine the peculiarities of Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to large cities at the end of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries. The appeal to the concept of “personality and city” is important regarding the need to use the approach to urban studies. According to it, the city “has always worked as the main systematizer of memory, building our identity and affecting our belonging to a certain community” (Shlipchenko, 2008, p. 105).

In this regard, the article deals with the analysis of the publicist's references to such basic features of the urban environment as people (friends, enemies, teachers, family members, certain social segments, random passers-by, etc.); urban space (houses, streets, districts, transport, etc.); city functions (intellectual, economic and transit centre, the centre of concentration of bureaucracy); everyday life conditions (prices, salaries, wages, amenities, smells, sounds, etc.).

The Main Material Statement. Kharkiv was a foreign city for the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement. The narration description of the city in I. Maistrenko's memoirs proves this fact. He characterizes the city as follows “...it has its roots in Russia; “...it was migrant workers city for the Russian *Kurschyna* (Kursk region)”; and “the Russified Donbas, where the Russians worked mainly as miners, was more Ukrainian than Kharkiv not to mention Dnipropetrovsk or Odesa” (Maistrenko, 1985, p. 206).

However, Yevhen Chykalenko perceived Kharkiv as a boundary transit area, and he never made global generalizations characteristics. In his memoirs, he recalled the time when he used to discuss the reasons for the absence of the “old” Ukrainian community in Kharkiv together with fellow students: “...we often thought about the reason for that phenomenon and came to the conclusion that Kharkiv was the most whitewashed of all the Ukrainian cities; we called it “the entrance hall” of Ukraine where people never stay, but immediately go to other rooms (underscore – Auth.) There were a lot of Ukrainian students belonging to certain communities in Kharkiv. However, soon after graduating from the University, all of them went to work in other cities or villages” (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 93–94). Therefore, Kharkiv was primarily a transit city for Ye. Chykalenko. His reception of Kharkiv as a train-to-train transit station and the Russia-Ukraine border city remained with him until the end of his life (Chykalenko, 2004a, p. 330). This is especially evident from P. Rymarchuk's letters who was one of Yevhen Chykalenko's permanent correspondents (Chykalenko, 2016, pp. 77, 112, 298, 299).

In 1918 – 1919, the image of the city was supplemented by another one. Kharkiv appeared as a place (not a city!) of the confrontation between different armies: Ukrainian, Bolshevik,

White, Don Cossacks and the headquarters of “their own” republic (Chykalenko, 2004b, pp. 171–172, 173, 182, 200, 203, 204).

On the other hand, Kharkiv as well as other cities in Ukraine were not perceived by Yevgen Chykalenko as places immanently hostile to everything Ukrainian. Therefore, while presenting his speech in Przemyśl in October of 1919, he focused on the reasons for the Ukrainian magazines’ failure in Odesa, Yekaterinoslav, Kharkiv, and Poltava: they “had to close down due to lack of subscribers, because all those who worked the government or zemstva, as teachers, priests, and all zemstvo officials, under the threat of losing their positions, were forced to stop subscribing to the press” (Chykalenko, 2011, p. 136). Therefore, in his opinion, the main driving force of the “*obmoskovlennia*” of cities was the policy of the empire’s authorities rather than internal urban factors.

Ye. Chykalenko’s reception of Kharkiv as a transit centre was not accidental. According to his *Spohady*, he wanted to study in Kyiv (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 81). After his attempts had failed, he entered Moscow Petrovsko-Razumovsky Agricultural Academy (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 89, 91). The closure of the Academy forced him to move from Moscow to Kharkiv (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 91) and become an audit student at the local university. The first year of his stay at Kharkiv University was the academic year 1882/1883 when Ye. Chykalenko was an audit student in the first year of the Department of Natural Sciences of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics (Kharkiv University, 1882, p. 113). The following year, 1883/1884, he was a first-year student at the Faculty of Law (Kharkiv University, 1883, p. 125). Since he was no longer mentioned in the lists of university audit students.

The archive file “On Yevhen Chykalenko Putting under Police Surveillance” contains the information concerning this public figure collected on October 4, 1883. The following data on Ye. Chykalenko were available to the local police: age – 21; place of birth – the village of Peresher, Kondrativ volost’, Ananiv district, Kherson province. As to his mother, her name was Olena, and she was known to change her surname for Belikova after her second marriage. She lived in the city of Ananiev, Kherson province. Ye. Chykalenko had no private property and was financially dependant on his mother, who had her own property in Ananiev.

He settled in Kharkiv, 37 Chobotarska Street, Dakhnevskiy’s House (Police Station No. 5) (SAKhR, f. 3, d. 287, v. 1, c. 640, p. 4). His latest place of residence was known to be about a 30-minute walk away from the university.

According to the university student lists, the representatives of the most famous Kharkiv families such as Mykola Hredeskul, Kostiantyn Bych-Lubenskyi, the brothers Hryhorii and Dmytro Alchevski studied together with Yevhen Chykalenko. However, according to certain historical sources, there was no local elite in his closest social circle. Ye. Chykalenko never mentioned the people who later became eminent figures in politics and culture.

His closest university friend, with whom he maintained relations in his lifetime, was Arkadii Verzhbyskyi. During their first year of study, they both became audit students at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics, the Department of Physical and Chemical Sciences (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, p. 113), and in 1883/1884 he was a first-year student at the Faculty of Law (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1883, p. 125).

Yevhen and Arkadii were under the “guardianship” of their friend Mykola Levytskyi (1859 – 1934), who entered the Faculty of Law in 1881/1882 and graduated from it in 1885 (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1881, p. 31; Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, p. 39; Kharkovskiy universitet, 1883, p. 47; Kharkovskiy universitet, 1884, p. 60).

Ye. Chykalenko called Arkadii Verzhbyskyi “my old friend” and “my childhood friend”. In September of 1916, Arkadii came to see him after having lost his teaching post in Katerynoslav region, and Ye. Chykalenko believed that “...he will serve as a “guardian” until his arrival, even though he is not good at housekeeping,” (Chykalenko & Stebnytskyi, 2008, pp. 472, 473; Chykalenko & Yefremov, pp. 173, 176, 177). Judging by the correspondence with Yefremov, the two friends maintained regular contact (Chykalenko & Yefremov, pp. 113, 163). Ye. Chykalenko’s correspondence contained mainly critical and sarcastic statements about Mykola Levvitskyi on account of the latter’s opinion on some problematic political and cultural issues (Chykalenko & Nikovskyi, pp. 288, 313; Chykalenko & Yefremov, pp. 74, 219; Chykalenko & Stebnytskyi, p. 478). Their close relationships failed probably because both young men displayed affection for the same girl during the “Kharkiv years” (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 98).

In his memoirs, Yevhen Chykalenko mentioned that the students who left the Ukrainian Student’s Community at the beginning of 1884 and set up the Ukrainian Radical Community belong to his close circle of friends. Ivan Telychenko who had been studying at the Faculty of Medicine since 1882 was among them. He came from the bourgeoisie and graduated from Kharkiv Grammar School No. 1. Mykola Sokolov, a medical student and a graduate of Belgorod Grammar School, whose ancestors were shop floor workers, was also one of his friends. They both were forced to earn money to support themselves (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, pp. 90, 91). Another friend of his Vasyl Mynyc from Belarus was discovered while studying the university documents. In the 1882/1883 academic year Vasyl was a fifth-year student at the Medical Faculty. He came from the peasantry and was a graduate of Minsk Grammar School No. 1, a state-funded institution (Kharkovskiy universitet, 1882, p. 110). His other friends have not been found yet. In his memoirs, Yevhen Chykalenko also mentioned a medical student Selek (however, such a person was not found in the student lists) and “Yakovlev from Ostrohshchyna” (there were at least three Yakovlevs in the student lists). Later on, all the five university students “disappeared from Yevhen Chykalenko’s life”. I. Telychenko left the Ukrainian movement and started working in Katerynoslav Railway Council. M. Sokolov was killed during the cholera riots in Samara province. Selek died of tuberculosis, and Khvoshchynskyi, working as a military doctor in Siberia, never came back (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 102). Obviously, in the same way, Ye. Chykalenko lost contact with Yakovlev.

While being an audit student Yevhen Chykalenko wasn’t greatly impressed by his studies at university. Among the reasons for that were the following: his membership in the Ukrainian movement and Maliovanyi’s society; his love affair that ended up in his marriage to M. Sadyk; cramped and inconvenient lecture halls and classrooms and, as a result, inability to study properly (the university management even admitted that fact). Thus, half of the students could not attend lectures, and those, for whom there wasn’t enough space in the lecture room, were forced to leave the lecture halls (Zaklyuchenie o pravilakh, pp. 42–43). Therefore, some young people could not participate in the educational process, and, consequently, they sought other activities to get involved in. They participated in political projects and arranged rendezvous with females. Moreover, the Department of Agronomy was not regarded to be of great importance at the beginning of the XXth century as, judging by the words of its head, Professor Zaikevych, it had not made significant progress in the research work compared to other university departments at the beginning of the XXth century. “It performed either a fundamental role, and then attending lectures on agriculture was obligatory even for law students ... or its role became minor and agriculture was optional for science students...” (Bagaley & Osipov, 1908, pp. 356–357; Ivanov, p. 122).

The highlight of the Department of Agronomy was its emphasis on providing students with practical skills. Under the initiative of Professor A. Zaikevych, some experimental agricultural fields were equipped in various localities of Kharkiv, Poltava, and other provinces (there were at least four fields during the period of Ye. Chykalenko's study at university, and the total number of such fields created by A. Zaikevych was 33). Those experimental fields were institutions where Ye. Chykalenko, willing to get specific knowledge in farming, had an opportunity to get some practical skills (Bagaley & Osipov, 1908, p. 356; Ivanov, 1959, pp. 26, 34). The future agricultural entrepreneur often visited "perfect" local landowners farms in the area. That distracted his mind from the academic atmosphere of the university, theoretical issues and the art of lecturing (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92).

The story of a well-known corn culture brochure left an unpleasant trace in Ye. Chykalenko's memory. The text written by Ye. Chykalenko on demand of A. Zaikevych did not receive any comment from the professor. That hurt the feelings of a young and ambitious author (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 92).

Later, when he was in exile in Czechoslovakia and worked at the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Podebrady, he wrote down: "They wanted me to teach them "sheep farming" in autumn, but I did not give my consent as I wondered how I could be a lecturer. I didn't not even graduated from university, and I had fear for public speaking in front of an audience" (Chykalenko, 2016, p. 89).

Student years are known to be associated with entertainment and friends' parties. For young Ye. Chykalenko, Kharkiv remained mainly a place of solitude. In his memoirs, he wrote: "I didn't know what I would have done in Kharkiv if it hadn't been for that the Ukrainian troupe one winter, where my friends Saksahanskyi and Sadovskiyi played in...

I went backstage every day to see my friends; I stayed with them after the performance until they went to bed" (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 110–111).

Some detailed data concerning his spare time in Kharkiv were revealed by M. Sadovskiyi in his letter to Ye. Chykalenko in December of 1921: "While reading your letter, my whole being was enveloped in that familiar warm wind. I was sitting with my eyes closed, and the pictures that brought back sweet memories were passing in front of me as if I was at the cinema: Kharkiv, student's youth, Fedia, Petia ... Returning from the theatre to the hotel. That wonderful *tropak* (the Ukrainian step dance) on the sidewalk, from which the echo was coming around... and tears, joys, sorrows blurred my eyes. Oh, youth! Oh, happiness!" (Chykalenko, 2015a, p. 321).

Other markers of the urban world, like the houses where Ye. Chykalenko lived or spent much time, did not give him so many positive emotions as his friends or going to the theater did. It was probably because of the constant police surveillance of him in Kharkiv, and a violation of personal privacy during the inspection of his premises (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 110).

Secondly, Chebotarska Street area, where he rented accommodation, was not prestigious and did not differ much from the similar urban areas of any county town in Ukraine.

Therefore, there was nothing to admire (the construction boom changed the provincial centre only 20 years after Ye. Chykalenko's departure from Kharkiv). The only connection to Kharkiv urban area in Yevhen Chykalenko's memoirs was his mentioning the hotel "Ruf" in Rybna Street, where he had appointments with V. Malovanyi (Chykalenko, 2003, pp. 105, 116). Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kyiv was similar to his attitude to houses as city markers (Chykalenko, 2011, p. 425; Chykalenko, 2015a, pp. 202, 258, 293).

Judging by the series of documents from his diary, we can state that Ye. Chykalenko had that typical Ukrainian feeling of nostalgia for the countryside and rural life:

“In my elderly age, I am particularly interested in the area where I have spent my childhood and adolescence. Sometimes, I dream of possessing my estate in Pereshory again as well as of being given a piece of land” (Chykalenko, 2016, p. 281).

A sketch of the town of Podebrada in Czechoslovakia is, in fact, the author’s only record of this kind. It shows that the urban area mattered to him when he was able to experience a rural atmosphere there: “Podebrady is a small town being converted into a European resort due to its carbon dioxide springs, but even though you can come across the fields of corn in the middle of the square, and every day, on the way to the Academy, you can see cows or modern Ford tractors ploughing the fields as well as sowing and harvesting processes, etc. Now the harvest time is over and the threshing has begun. All day long I can hear the hum of the threshing machine, and it reminds me of Pereshory. This humming makes me feel upset. My heart aches...” (Chykalenko, 2016, p. 172).

The image of Kharkiv during the Bolsheviks party ruling was completely different in Ye. Chykalenko’s eyes. In October of 1921 he added to his diary a lengthy article clipping from the “Ukrainska Trybuna” – a reprint of the Polish conservative newspaper “Chas” with a detailed description of Kharkiv. The article was about the departure of the Polish diplomatic mission from Warsaw to Kharkiv.

The Polish journalist claimed that the mission “took along everything they could, everything that was necessary enough for several people to live on for a few months. Except for the consumer products they took along the doctor, the chemist’s, and even the pencils, ink, and several wagons of coal that were in Kharkiv – the former capital of coal. Now you can’t get it for any price! When our mission set out, it was more like the beginning of a polar expedition... And what best characterises the situation with the Bolsheviks is our diplomatic mission. It has occupied Kharkiv grammar school building which was previously vacant!” (Chykalenko, 2015a, p. 269). This description of Kharkiv greatly contrasted with the mentioning of plenty of food in his student years (Chykalenko, 2003, p. 108).

According to the diary materials of 1921 – 1929, Kharkiv became the centre of the newest Ukrainian communist bureaucracy. In December of 1920, V. Sadovskiy informed Ye. Chykalenko that he had to “pay homage to Kharkiv” (Chykalenko, 2015a, p. 39). In August of 1922, Ye. Chykalenko wrote to his father that he was leaving for Kharkiv: “I will test the waters. You will probably be able to live in peace in Kyiv” (Chykalenko, 2015b, p. 194).

In O. Voloshyn’s letter, it was stated, “and the order has been received from the centre: not to translate anything into Ukrainian and not to print anything in Odesa without permission from the central authorities, and those” (Chykalenko, 2015c, p. 292; Chykalenko, 2016, p. 100 et al.). The motto “to pay homage” or “to obtain something”, was dominant in the reception of the former university centre. Another aspect of the image of Kharkiv was its reception as a centre of repression against the Ukrainian movement, the city which involves danger and copyright infringement, etc. (Chykalenko, 2015a, pp. 270, 271; Chykalenko, 2015b, p. 167; Chykalenko, 2015c, p. 243; Chykalenko, 2016, pp. 242, 295, 326).

The Conclusions. Thus, Kharkiv period in Yevhen Chykalenko’s life took no more than two academic years, during which he studied first at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics, and then at the Faculty of Law. The status of an audit student and the peculiarities of the university organisation process did not allow him to “feel” the advantages of living in a city.

His recollections of Kharkiv were associated with his friends from the Yelisavetgrad times: Verzhbyskyi, Saksahanskyi and Sadovskiy. The documents of Kharkiv University reveal the social background of the students. His closest social circle consisted of students

from *raznochintsy*, which is considered unusual for a person from a wealthy family. Ye. Chykalenko believed that Kharkiv, which was situated on the border of the Ukrainian lands, performed a transitory function for many young Ukrainians, having evolved from the educational centre to the centre of Bolshevik bureaucracy and terror. Concerning urban space, Ye. Chykalenko was mainly interested in such locations as hotels and theatres. However, the houses where he lived were less significant for him. Ye. Chykalenko's attitude to Kharkiv remained neutral rather than hostile. Nevertheless, it wasn't friendly. The main reason for such reception of the city was the central government. Ye. Chykalenko did not like urban romance and lifestyle. He left indirect mentions about his living conditions in Kharkiv. He wrote nothing about the social strata, streets, districts of the city as well as the types of passers-by. Ye. Chykalenko regarded a big city as a necessary space for the implementation of the projects of the Ukrainian national and cultural revival. From the history of the relationship between Ye. Chykalenko and Kharkiv, we may state that, like other Ukrainian peasants who were the bearers of the traditional outlook, he loved the romance, sounds, and landscape of the countryside. The question is whether the incomplete reception and unwillingness to immerse into the world of a modern city could become the reasons for the weakening of the Ukrainian movement at the beginning of the XXth century. Therefore, the history of relations between outstanding Ukrainians and the urban world is considered to require further research.

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