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**LIBANIUS'S SPEECH «TO TIMOCRATES» AS A SOURCE  
FOR THE LATE ANTIQUE THEATRE CLACQUEURS STUDIES**

**Summary.** *The article deals with theatre claqueurs of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in Roman Empire as a progenitor of deme-odious «parties of hippodrome» of the 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Based on Libanius' speech, the article describes the number of claqueurs, their social status, activity beyond theatres, interactions with government (both local powers and Emperor representatives), their role in mass riots. **The methodology** of the study is based on the principles of science, historicism, consistency, as well as on the use of general scientific methods (induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis) and special-historical methods (historical-systemic, historical-genetic, historiographical and source-analysis). **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in the national historiography the activity of the theatre claqueurs has been investigated separately as a powerful organization, which has become an important factor in urban life since the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. **The conclusions** are as follows: the claque phenomenon was spread in Antique times even before that. People were hired by the theatre actors to back up the theatrical plays with claps and yells, encouraging other people to do the same. Other way to support actors*



was to repeat rhythmic phrases that were called acclamations. But in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, theatre claqueurs went further and became a political force in the cities of the Roman Empire. This perturbation was pictured in Libanius's speech «To Timocrates». Libanius himself was the most famous orator of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, originally from Syrian Antioch, spending most of his life in that city and dedicating most of his speeches to its problems. Antique author was very hostile towards claqueurs, he considered them to be a menace to the city, while describing their existence in full details. Analyzing Libanius's speech, other sources and scientific literature, one can see claqueurs as an organized association of young people who have set themselves the goal of making money both legitimate and not so legitimate. In the city of Antioch, their number was about 400 men. In addition to receiving funding from the actors of the theater, the claqueurs demanded money from officials for the approval of their person, also engaged in a simple extortion of money of ordinary people in Antioch. In social terms, most theatrical «screamers» were from the poor, but there were some representatives of wealthy families. The theory that the claqueurs were one of the initiators of the rebellion in Antioch against the emperor in 387 renders sound is justified. This means that they have gained the value of an independent political force.

**Key words:** theatre claqueurs, Libanius, Antioch, Late Antiquity.

### ПРОМОВА ЛІБАНІЯ «ДО ТИМОКРАТА» ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО ВИВЧЕННЯ ПІЗНЬОАНТИЧНИХ ТЕАТРАЛЬНИХ КЛАКЕРІВ

**Анотація.** **Мета дослідження** – характеристика діяльності театральних клакерів у Римській імперії IV ст. як прообраз демів – одіозних «партій іподрому» V–VI ст. Спираючись на промову оратора Лібанія, у статті визначається чисельність клакерів, їхнє соціальне походження, діяльність за межами театру, взаємовідносини з політичною владою (як місцевою курією, так і представниками імператора), роль в організації масових заворушень. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи науковості, історизму, системності, а також на використання загальнонаукових методів (індукції та дедукції, аналізу і синтезу) та спеціально-історичних методів (історико-системний, історико-генетичний, методи історіографічного та джерелознавчого аналізу). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше у вітчизняній історіографії окремо досліджено діяльність театральної клаки як потужної організації, яка стала важливим фактором міського життя, починаючи з кінця IV ст. **Висновки.** Явище клаки було відоме в Античності і раніше. Це були люди, які наймалися акторами театру, щоб підтримувати театральні постановки своїми оплесками та криками і тим самим підштовхувати інших глядачів до схвалення дійства. Однією з форм підтримки були акламації – спеціально заготовлені ритмічні фрази. Але в IV ст. театральна клака еволюціонує як організація і отримує, здавалося б, невластиві для себе ознаки. Ця пертурбація яскраво видна за промовою Лібанія «До Тимократа». Сам Лібаній – найвідоміший оратор IV ст., уродженець сирійської Антіохії, який більшу частину життя прожив у цьому місті і більшість промов присвятив його проблемам. Античний автор з ворожістю ставився до клакерів, вважав їхню діяльність злом для міста, але в той же час намалював деталізовану картину їхнього існування. Аналізуючи промову Лібанія, інші джерела та наукову літературу, можна побачити клакерів як організоване об'єднання молодих людей, які ставили собі за мету заробляння грошей як законними, так і не надто законними способами. У місті Антіохія їхня чисельність становила близько 400 осіб. Крім отримання фінансування від акторів театру, клакери вимагали грошей від чиновників за схвалення їх персони, займалися простим рекетом звичайних жителів Антіохії. У соціальному плані більшість театральних «крикунів» були вихідцями з бідноти, але були і окремі представники заможних родин. Обґрунтованою виглядає теорія, що клакери були одними з ініціаторів повстання в Антіохії проти імператора у 387 р. Це означає, що вони отримали значення самостійної політичної сили.

**Ключові слова:** театральні клакери, Лібаній, Антіохія, Пізня Античність.

**Problem statement.** In the early Byzantine Empire of the V<sup>th</sup> – VI<sup>th</sup> centuries, the most powerful and most dangerous for a central power by the force of urban life were demes, or the so-called «parties of hippodrome». The main ones were «Blues» and «Greens», with their political program, the structural organization and the paramilitary formations. Demes

repeatedly manifested themselves on the political arena with various performances, the most famous of which was the uprising of «Nicka» in 532. This rebellion barely cost the power of the Emperor Justinian and was trampled by extraordinary efforts. The IVth century was the time of the birth of the future odious parties to the hippodrome. Moreover, the embryos of such formations existed not only around the racecourse. One of the predecessors of the demes were theatrical claqueurs. Their job was to support theatrical performances with their applause and shouts, and thereby to encourage other viewers to approve the action. Clapping was not a phenomenon that appeared only in the days of the Late Antiquity. The theater claqueurs were also known from the previous epochs. Thus, Tacitus in the «Annals» recollects the soldier Percenius, who organized the riots in the army after August's death: «In the past, the head of the theatrical claqueurs, then the ordinary warrior, is eloquent and sagacious and is able, through his theatrical experience, to heat up the gathering» (Tacitus, Ann. I, 16). Dio Cassius reports that Nero used his guard services as theatrical claqueurs, which were called Augustinian with the number of 5 thousand people. They «were the initiators of applause, and together with them, even contrary to their own will, all the other spectators were forced to shout out» (DioCassius, LXII, 20.4). But in the IVth century the theatrical claqueurs evolved and developed, seemingly, uncharacteristic political features for them. The Speech «To Timocrat» written by the orator Libanius may help us to understand how the theatrical claqueurs functioned in one of the largest cities in the empire – Syrian Antioch.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The modern scientific literature is used in the article, in addition to the speech «To Timocrates» and other Libanius works. Since the issue of studying of the theatrical claqueurs in one speech is narrow/small-minded enough, but it was a part of a broader topic exploration. An important milestone in the study of the late antique class was the article written by R. Browning, who explores the participation of this social group in the Antioch rebellion of 387 AD. (Browning, 1952). The author considers the claqueurs to be the main reason for the performance to take place. D. French continues to study of the rebellion and mentions the claqueurs in this context (French, 1998). The article also uses the scientific works devoted to the life and views of Libanius. They help to understand deeper the outlook of the speaker, the reasons for those ratings that he gives to theatrical screamers. Libanius is a rather popular object of modern historical researches, both in the form of monographs and articles. The orator interests the researchers as a defender of the traditional model of education (paideia) and paganism associated with it (Swift, 2016; Jones, 2013). The significant investigator of Libanius activity was G. Kurbatov. He paid much attention to the speaker: one of the sections of the «Early-Byzantine portraits» is devoted to this author (Kurbatov, 1990), and also the monography, which in various aspects investigates the development of Antioch in the IVth century, including the widely used speeches of Libanius (Kurbatov, 1962). The greatest modernist researcher of Libanius is the historian R. Criore, who explores in detail the functioning of his school in Antioch (Criore, 2007). To evaluate the urban life of Antioch as an environment in which claqueurs developed, can help the fundamental work of G. Downey (Downey, 1961). The author mentions the theatrical screamers in the context of the uprising of 387 and supports R. Browning's view of their active participation in the riot.

**The publication's purpose** is to solve a number of the research tasks. Among them are the following: determining the number of claqueurs and their activities in the theater; the study of the origin and social belongings of this population; finding out the ways to earn money by claqueurs; the analysis of the peculiarities of the relationship with the political

authorities – both with the local curia, as well as with the representatives of the emperor in Antioch. The article also revealed the claqueurs involvement in the uprising in Antioch in 387 AD. Libanius's personal attitude towards this group of people was observed separately.

**Statement of the basic material.** Libanius is fairly considered to be a true titan of eloquence of the IVth century. We received about 70 of his speeches on the contemporary topics, about 50 declamations – on the topic of fiction and over 1,000 letters. His influence on the formation of the rhetoricians and sophists generations was enormous. According to the scientist Udaltsova there are 134 known names of his students (Udaltsova, 1984, p. 334). Many of his Christian speakers and preachers were the representatives of his school, for example, the famous Ioan Zlatoust. Libanius was born around 314 AD in Syrian Antioch in an influential and wealthy family of curials (Kurbatov, 1990, p. 52). According to Libanius, he was a spoilt kid in his childhood, but at the age of fifteen he embraced an all-consuming passion for eloquence, all the other interests were suppressed immediately and permanently (Lib., Or. I, 5). The lightning stroke Libanius, which led to the health problems and was the life-changing event. Like many other orators of the IVth century, Libanius focused on the self-development during 336 – 340 AD in Athens, which remained the capital of oratorical art (Cribiore, 2007, p. 15). He appeared to be an extremely talented intellectual and got the right to open his own school. During the next 14 years, Libanius was looking for the best place to realize his potential – he taught and performed in Constantinople, Nicaea, then in Nicomedia. The oratorical skills were so popular that the competition between well-known speakers raised the audience. In such kind of oratory battles, Libanius in Nicomedia won a victory over one of the most famous Athenian speakers – Hymerius, and Bemarchius in Constantinople (See: Lib., Or.I, 39; Udaltsova, 1984, p. 335). In 348 AD he had the opportunity to make a panegyric to emperors Constantius and Constans. Panegyric succeeded, and Libanius was officially approved for the position with the imperial salary in Constantinople. In Constantinople he strengthened his friendship with another prominent rhetorist – Themistius. However, Libanius didn't indulge into the Constantinople's atmosphere, with its new bureaucratic tendencies. He did not get accustomed to the capital and in 354 AD he returned to Antioch, received a heart-warming welcome and after numerous petitions he got permission to stay here (Udaltsova, 1984, p. 335). Libanius's school flourished. The students came to his school from all the East regions, and as a result, he even got the permission to hold his classes in the large hall of the Antiochian curia (Cribiore, 2007, p. 30). During Julian's reign, who valued his rhetoric art, he strengthened his position and influence. The speaker himself expressed his respect and respect for the ruler, especially during his stay in Antioch in 362 – 363 years (Teitler, 2013, pp. 264–265). After Julian's death, Libanius was in disgrace – he practically didn't write the speeches, his correspondence ceased (Kurbatov, 1990, p. 54). But with the reign of Theodosius I and Libanius brought his respect back, for instance, in 383/4 he was awarded the title of honorable praetorian prefect. The last decade of Libanius's life was extremely fruitful. A large number of speeches and letters were written precisely in this period, until his death around 393 AD.

Libanius came from the municipal aristocracy and became an active defender of the municipal structure. He has the ideal view of a social life, it was a polis in the form of the municipality of the day of the Principate (Kurbatov, 1990, p. 54). The ritual paganism was in accordance with it. But Libanius was not a radical fighter for old believers like Julian the Apostate. He was tolerant to the Christians, perceived paganism as an element of the traditional municipal life, as well as a treasury of the mythological motives for the rhetorical

use. His views on the religious question are expressed in the speech «On Temples» (Lib., Or. XXX), addressed to Theodosius I. Most of the researchers considered this work to be the most prominent one (Jones, 2013, p. 860; Swift, 2016, p. 170). But Libanius paid attention to the public affairs, specific political problems. In his speeches, the speaker described practically all the basic elements of the life of Antioch in the IVth century.

The speech «To Timocrates» was written in the last decade of Libanius life. Filagrius, the comes of the East, is mentioned in the context he once held this position. (Lib., Or. XLI, 18). Officially, he served as a comes in 382 AD, respectively, the speech was written after that date. Filagrius became famous for punishing seven bakeries who tried to enrich themselves by rising the price of bread when Antioch had problems with the grain supply (Downey, 1961, p. 420). It is hard to define the exact date. The addressee of the speech is the Consul (Viceroy) of Syria Timocrates. But there is no written evidence that came to light about such a person among the rulers of the province in the 80-ies and the 90-ies in the IVth century. The speech «To Timocrates» is addressed to a high-ranking official. Libanius has got a lot of similar texts that refer to the leaders of the provinces and the emperors. In this context, it should be highlighted that while writing such speeches, the speaker did not put himself in the position of a flatter, but showed his civil attitude. Libanius, while approaching to the grandee, allowed himself to give a fair share of criticism of their actions, advising them on what kind of decisions to make. (Downey, 1961, pp. 424–425). However, on the other hand, the researcher R. Penella finds the examples of flattery in his speeches (Penella, 2012, p. 894).

The speech is a reference to Timocrates in his sad times. As the governor was upset after he returned from the theater because he received the cold welcome, there was no approval or applause for either the figure of an official representative or the theatrical performance in which he was involved. Libanius persuaded him not to worry because he was sure that the action was planned by the claqueurs: «They are making agreements to keep silent, while sitting in their places, and keep viewers under the threat by gestures, making them to do the same. Then, the day goes by, and those who had finished their performance, leave the scene without approval. It seems something outrageous to the ruler and he feels miserable» (Lib., XLI, 3). In contrast, in his speech «Against Florentius», Libanius is forced to admit the advantage of the claqueurs: «The claqueurs have the power in theaters, because they rule the mob by the power of their voices, and these people throw thunder and lightning on whom they wish ...» (Lib. Or. XLVI, 17). The following traditional scheme was as follows: the official was worried because of the silence of the audience, he appealed to the leaders of the theater claqueurs and bought their support on the certain or the next performance for money or other preferences. This support could be expressed in the form of acclamations – prepared beforehand «chants», the rhythmic phrases. They could either praise an official or criticize him if he could not agree with the claqueurs (see Browning, 1952, p. 17; French, 1998, p. 469).

Libanius refers to Timocrates with a speech for a specific purpose. The speech isn't aimed at verbally patting the official on the shoulder with the following words: «Do not worry, everything will be fine». The purpose of the speech is to convince Timocrat neither to negotiate with the claqueurs, nor to buy their support. After all, Libanius considers the claqueurs to be the most despicable part of the population of Antioch. The speaker's words leave no doubt to this: «... What is the price of the glorification/praising of these people, who have lived from their childhood till nowadays in cruelty and in great perversity? ... All these men came here with shame because of their crimesthey were expelled from their native cities...» (Lib.,

Or. XLI, 5–6). The hatred of the claqueurs makes the speaker to describe them exaggeratedly: the part of the theatrical screamers according to Libanius killed their parents, the part of their youth were hookers (Compare with: Browning, 1952, p. 16). But Libanius' basic idea can be taken for granted: a significant part of the claqueurs did not have permanent jobs and considered their activity to be the main source of income in the claue: «They hurried here to earn money from the local theater, wishing to live only for such income» (Lib. Or XLI, 6). According to Libanius, the actors of the theater provided for the claqueurs constantly: «Some of them were at mimes disposal, most of them were dancers (masters of pantomime). They provide them for more or less salary. The claqueurs receive low salary when they rest, and higher salary when they dance» (Lib., Or. XLI, 7). In the speech, the total number of the claqueurs in Antioch is 400 people, estimated by Libanius (Lib., Or. XLI, 9; see also: Kurbatov, 1990, p. 89). This number of people was enough to influence the events in the city. It is interesting that about the same number of people was the number of members of the Curia of Antioch.

Libanius, in his attempt to describe the claqueurs as the declassed elements contradicts himself. He reproaches the claqueurs that they are «spoiling» the noble boys. Some of these noble young men even give up classes in eloquence and go to the claue (Lib., Or. XLI, 9). Here, Libanius obviously sadly admits that some of his students have become the claqueurs, left their studies. Rhetorical education was the culmination of the education at that time, requiring the graduation from the grammatical schools and significant financial resources (Compare with: Cribiore, 2007, p. 30). Hence, we can make a conclusion that not only the poor foreigners became claqueurs, but also the young people who had quite good social and financial backgrounds were striving for making easy money and illegal adventures. The claqueurs activities for earning money go beyond the theater. In the speech «Against Florentius», Libanius accuses the claqueurs for being engaged in a racketeering: «It is necessary to give them respect, or to perish otherwise. What is respect? They ask for something and receive it, then again ask and receive ... At the same time, if one refers to his poverty as a cause, why doesn't he borrow him something, he is the offender, and he is ready for the abusive revenge ...» (Lib, Or. XLVI, 17–18). In the quotation it is said that the claue leaders demanded a «tribute» from the merchants and the craftsmen of the city. If they refused to pay, then public scandals could be organised against them, their property could be devastated, and in the worst cases they could be murdered.

As the time was passing by, the claqueurs key activity was their interaction with the authorities. But let's go back to the consular Timocrates. Libanius saw that during the theatrical performance, the official representative sent a messenger to get acquainted with the claqueurs with the following words: «I am not very acquainted with you», «What are you dissatisfied with?», «Why are you silent?» (Lib., Or. XLI, 15). Libanius consistently and rigorously criticizes Timocrates for such kind of actions, calls him not to seek for support from such indecent and unworthy people: «Like the tamed lions, who, had lost their freedom, are afraid of the guardian's threats, so are you. Having lost your power, you are able to lead yourself out of fear of four hundred people» (Lib., Or. XLI, 15). Libanius gives an example of the decent official representative – the comes Filagrius, who, without hearing the approval from the claqueurs of his person in the theater, just stood up and left the theatrical performance (Lib., Or. XLI, 18). He is compared with the two unnamed officials who collaborated with the claqueurs and therefore had a bad reputation in the city. Although, in other fields they were respectable and prudent men (Lib., Or. XLI, 18).

The clacker's exclamations not only flattered the pride of the officials, but could also influence their specific decisions regarding the management of Antioch. The above-mentioned speech written by Libanius «Against Florentius» informs about such kind of situation. The speech is addressed to Emperor Theodosius I, and is aimed at criticizing the activities of the Consular (governor) of the province of Syria, Florentius. Libanius accused him of co-working with the claqueurs and many others unworthy acts. The speech describes the unnamed rhetorician, a decent person, who was «disgraced by the bribed majority in the theater». Florentius succumbed to the «black PR» and gave the rhetorician away as «a sacrifice to habits and insolent, unlawful speeches» of his enemies (Lib., Or. XLVI, 5). The unnamed sufferer was the subject to the prosecution and, as a result, was deprived of the curial status. With the help of their screams the claqueurs could have an influence on the trial outcomes or just dishonor a person and call into the question the person's virtues. Libanius acknowledges this fact sorrowfully. While referring to Timocrates, the ancient author said that the claqueurs «have become stronger than the curia, and they receive more honors from You (Timocrat – authoritative) than those who spent their wealth on the public service» (Lib., XLI, 17). At the same time, Libanius believed that the claqueurs should behave in a different way: «... capture some of those who offend, show their anger to them, punish for the people's audacity, who live at the expense of the debauched dancers, there is no need to consider slander more reliable than the facts» (Lib., Or. XLVI, 5). Timocrat is required «if possible, to cleanse this city from scum, or if not, deprive this element of true power» (Lib., XLI, 19).

The claqueurs activity gradually became a threat to the entire city elite. For some period of time the claqueurs did not have their own political program and were ready to support any officials for the money. But soon the situation changed, the rebellion in Antioch in 387 AD was the reason for that. The main source of the riot research is actually the speeches of Libanius. Five of them (Lib., Or. XIX – XXIII) are dedicated to the rebellion directly. Most of them turned to the emperor and his officials to mitigate their sanctions against the city after the rebellion was suppressed. R. Browning, the researcher, calls the claqueurs the main driving force which stands behind the rebellion (Browning, 1952, p. 20).

According to the scientists, the approximate date of the performance was on the 25<sup>th</sup> or the 26<sup>th</sup> February in 387 AD (Stephens, 2013, p. 6). The people were dissatisfied with the new extraordinary city taxation imposed in the honor of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reign of Emperor Theodosius I (Kurbatov, 1962, p. 213; Downey, 1961, p. 426–427). In order to inform about the new taxation, Celsus, the governor of the province, gathered the curials in the courthouse. When the information was announced, the part of the wealthy Antiochians wept (Lib., Or. XIX, 26), some began angrily to deny that fact (Lib., Or. XXII, 5). Radical curials began to run out of court and appealed to the public. According to the reconstruction of R. Browning's events, the claqueurs intervened. Their participation in the rebellion was the following: the curials enlisted the services of theatrical screamers for organizing protests against the extraordinary tax imposed by Theodosius I. The protests were supposed to be peaceful, and the curia had to use that peacefulness as an argument for reducing the size of the duty. But at some point, the claqueurs refused to play the role they were given and began to call the citizens for violence. The rebellion was unstoppable, despite the fact that the curials separated from the rebels. The rebels tried to capture the emperor's palace, confusion began in craftsmen quarters. The statues of the emperor and the members of his family were destroyed in the city (Lib., XIX, 29; Lib., Or. XX, 4, Lib., Or. XXII, 8. See also: Browning, 1952, p. 20; Kurbatov, 1990, p. 90), the houses of the local elite representatives were burnt

down (Lib., Or. XIX, 32; Lib., Or. XXII, 9). The rebellion was quickly suppressed, but showed the complexity of the political situation in the cities of the empire.

The authoritative researcher G. Downey agrees with R. Browning's ideas about the claqueurs. Both researchers consider the claqueurs as the main driving force of the rebellion (Downey, 1961, p. 428). At the same time, it should be noted that in his speeches Libanius never calls the theatrical claqueurs as the provocateurs of the rebellion directly. As a result, some researchers doubt R. Browning's concept. The certain part of the researchers insist on the fact that there is not enough evidence of the key role of the claqueurs in the performance heating. Thus, D. French notes that the claqueurs could have been among the drivers of the rebellion, but their success in the rebellion of the crowd relied on the ability to remain unnoticed (French, 1998, p. 484). However, a few sentences in Libanius speech show indirectly that they were the main culprits. The ancient author rhetorically asked who incited the rebellion and then gave the answer: «Those who favoured the dancers over the sun itself, the moon and the clouds» (Lib., Or. XIX, 28). For several times, Libanius highlighted that the migrants from other cities were the initiators of the riot, which correlates with the orator's idea from the speech «To Timocrates» that the majority of claqueurs are the newcomers (Lib., Or. XLI, 6).

**Conclusions.** Consequently, the speech «To Timocrate» written by Libanius depicts that the claqueurs became a powerful force in Antioch at the end of the IVth century. At that time there were 400 men, which was enough for the group of claqueurs to achieve their goals. At first, the claqueurs served the theatrical actors (mimes and pantomimes) interests, they were always giving them the applause or weeping for the sake of the theatrical plays success. But throughout the time, the claqueurs realized that not only the actors were seeking for fame and recognition, but also the representatives of the political elite. The claques as an organization began to use that weakness, provided the support to the official representatives during the events for the appropriate reward. At the same time, the claqueurs activity went beyond the theater. Firstly, the claqueurs were demanding money from the local population under the threat of a physical abuse. Secondly, the elite was trying to use the claqueurs as a physically strong men group to perform their «delicate» tasks that the curia could not do themselves. For example, it could be the organization of the peaceful protests against the policy of the central government. But during the rebellion in 387 AD, in Antioch, the claqueurs refused to act in accordance with the plans of the curians and began to call people for the violence and the destruction of the emperor's statues. The events of the rebellion have shown that the claqueurs were gradually becoming the separate political force that was oriented towards their own interests, and they did not care about the wishes of customers. As for the social composition of the claqueurs, Libanius tried to convince the others that the claqueur's clan included only the declassed elements. But Libanius admitted that among the claqueurs there were also the youngsters who had strong social and financial backgrounds and joined the group of claqueurs because of easy money and their desire to live at a full speed. Libanius considered the claqueurs to be the vilest part of the urban population, the parasites, who lived on the body of Antioch. He called Timocrates for cleaning the city from these people, or at least not to cooperate with them.

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**CULT OF ST. IOAN NEPOMUTSKYI IN UKRAINE IN EARLY MODERN ERA  
(HISTORICAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASPECTS)**

**Summary. The aim of the research.** Among the total of the stored medallions, three of them are united by the same iconography. The article deals with the peculiarities of the images, their ideological load, and the influence of the religious cults on the development of the funeral culture. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of historicism, the systemicity, the scientism, the verification, the author's objectivity, as well as on the use of the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and the special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systematic) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the following: for the first time, on the basis of the rare finds of the religious medallions from the burials of the XVIIIth century, the poorly studied aspects of the funeral culture as the manifestation of the religious tendencies in the social life of the eastern outskirts of Rich Pospolyta (Rzecz Pospolita (Polska) – in Polish)) during a new era have been analyzed. **Conclusions.** The manufacture of the religious medallions with the image of St. I. Nepomutskyi is associated with the spread of the saint's cult in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries in the whole of Europe. The monastic orders: the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Franciscans were in the active propaganda of the cult. The devotional things, dedicated to St. I. Nepomutskyi, have not yet been the subject of a separate study. Their presence in the burial places, the location and a small amount in the collections of the funeral equipment, indicates the connection of the buried persons with the fraternal communities of St. I. Nepomutskyi. The ideological content, embodied in the cult of this holy martyr, enriched the funeral culture of the Baroque era with the new spiritual trends.

**Key words:** Dubno, Bernardine cathedral, crypt, burial, religious medallion, religious cult, Ioan Nepomutskyi.

**КУЛЬТ СВЯТОГО ІОАННА НЕПОМУЦЬКОГО В УКРАЇНІ  
У РАНЬОМОДЕРНУ ДОБУ (ІСТОРИКО-АРХЕОЛОГІЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ)**

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – розкрити особливості іконографії та ідейного змісту релігійних медальйонів із зображенням св. Іоанна Непомуцького, виявлених під час розкопок поховань у колишньому бернардинському костелі у м. Дубно; встановити значення медальйонів у контексті поширення культу святого на західних теренах України. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується

на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі рідкісних знахідок релігійних медальйонів з поховань XVIII ст. розглядаються слабо вивчені аспекти фунеральної культури як прояву релігійних тенденцій у суспільному житті східних окраїн Речі Посполитої у період нової доби. **Висновки.** Продукування релігійних медальйонів із зображенням св. І. Непомуцького пов'язане з поширенням у XVII–XVIII ст. культу святого на теренах усієї Європи. В активному пропагуванні культу відзначилися чернечі ордени: єзуїти, домініканці та францисканці. Девоціоналії, присвячені св. І. Непомуцькому, досі не були предметом окремого дослідження. Їхня присутність у похованнях, місце розташування і незначна кількість у колекціях поховального інвентарю, вказує на зв'язок похованих осіб з братерськими спільнотами св. І. Непомуцького. Ідейний зміст, закладений у культурі цього святого мученика, збагатив новими духовними тенденціями фунеральну культуру доби бароко.

**Ключові слова:** Дубно, бернардинський костел, крипта, поховання, релігійний медальйон, релігійний культ, Іоанн Непомуцький.

**Problem statement. The analysis of sources and recent researches.** During 1995 – 2007, the author carried out the archaeological research within the former Bernardine cathedral in Dubno, Volyn region, where the necropolis of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries was opened: the crypt was erected, the individual burial caverns under the side altars and the ground graves in the basements of the temple (Hupalo, 2007, pp. 315–336; 2007a, pp. 228–247; 2008, pp. 324–342). The obtained results showed the presence of various categories of personal objects of the Christian cult in the burial places (the so-called «devotional things» – the medallion icons, the crosses, the reliquaries, etc.), which in this context serve as an integral part of the funeral culture (Hupalo, 2005, p. 388–399; 2010, pp. 445–449; 2016, pp. 209–219; Hupalo, 2008, pp. 441–451). Still, such artifacts are the rare finds and belong to the poorly studied monuments. Among the devotional things, a special attention is paid to the religious medallions, the collection of which is represented by 18 items. The iconography of the samples is directly related to the certain dogmas of the Christianity of the Latin rite. In view of this, the medallions, as the bearers of the religious cults, reveal the ways and the means of spreading Catholicism in the bourgeois and gentry environments of the early modern period in Volyn region. This fact gives the study of this category of the funeral equipment a special topicality.

**The publication's purpose.** Among the total of the stored medallions, three of them are united by the same iconography. The article deals with the peculiarities of the images, their ideological load, and the influence of the religious cults on the development of the funeral culture.

**Statement of the basic material.** The Monastery of the Bernardines in Dubno arose owing to the foundation of Prince Janusz Ostrozky, founded in 1608 (Kantak, 1933, p. 10). The monks arrived in the town in 1614 and started building the monastery. During 1617 – 1629 the cathedral was built devoted to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mar. In 1658 the cell building was completed. The monastery functioned until 1855, when during the Russian occupation it started to belong to the Orthodox community. In 1921 – 1928 the Bernardines returned to Dubno for a short period of time to leave it forever.

In the walls of the monastery during the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth century there functioned a higher educational institution, in which, besides the theological and other disciplines, Physics, Astronomy, Optics and Geology were taught. The teaching staff included the prominent professors: Dionizii Svitkovskiy (1728 – 1731), Yan Tvardovych (1743 –

1746), Ubald Perakovskiy and Crescentii Moscalskiy (1789 – 1792). At the monastery there functioned the hospital and the elementary school. The representatives of the monastery community were repeatedly elected by the leaders of the Russian Bernardine province – the provincials or by the curators of the districts – by definition (Hupalo, 2006, pp. 515–543). Thus, the Bernardine Monastery in Dubno was one of the regional centers, where the teachings of St. Francis were intensely pulsating, where the highly educated staff for spiritual institutions were being trained, the active pastoral activities were being carried out.

In the essence of the life of Dubno Bernardines there were the western Christian values, which influenced the emergence of the certain forms of an individual devotion in the secular environment and it was clearly reflected on the funeral culture. Under conditions of the archival sources absence, the archaeological materials, extracted from the graves, reveal various aspects of the individual religious practices as an element of the Sarmatian *pompa funebris*.

In Dubno Bernardine Cathedral, for the burial purposes, first of all a great crypt was designed, where, for almost 250 years, the Bernardine monks dead bodies had been put up, as well as the dead bodies of the representatives of the local rich gentry, who distinguished themselves with special merits in the spiritual life of this community – the founders, the colitarians, the beneficiaries. Due to various circumstances, the burial place was destroyed, and there was preserved only a fraction of the funeral inventory. The most presentable category of the personal items of the Christian piety is the collection of the religious medallions, which, despite its fragmentary character, is one of the largest in Central and Eastern Europe. Most of the objects represent the samples that are often present in the burials of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries throughout Europe – for example: the medallions with the image of St. Benedict, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Ksaveriy, Barbara and the others (Hupalo, 2015, p. 104–116). Instead, the medallions, dedicated to St. John Nepomutskyi, are very rare, in rare instances. There are only three medallions from Dubno. They are made of mosyazh, in one case, the gold plated remains are preserved. The medallions have different shapes and sizes. A characteristic feature of the medallions is a two-sided relief image, the style and modes of which represent various artistic properties of the matrices. The study of the iconographic features of the medallions reveals a layer of knowledge associated with the production and distribution of the medallions, as well as the popularization of the cult of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi. Let's consider the peculiarities of the image.

On two medallions the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is presented on the obverse. One of the items has an oval shape (24.2 x 20.5 mm, with an eye of 34.8 mm). The Saint is depicted in full face, three quarters of height (**Fig. 1, a, рис. 1, a**). The garments and their characteristic elements are carefully depicted. There is a bonnet on the head of Ioan, from which the long hair is seen, the chin is framed by a short beard. The Saint is dressed in soutane with a rounded chest on which roketa is laid, and on top of it is a mantolette. St. Ioan stands shrouded with a quiet sadness,



**Fig. 1. Religious Medallion.  
Bernardine Cathedral. Dubno.  
1715 –1721: a – obverse, St. I.  
Nepomutskyi, b – reverse, Tongue of  
I. Nepomutskyi**



**Fig. 2. Religious Medallion. Bernardine Cathedral, Dubno. After 1729: a – obverse, St. I. Nepomutskyi; b – reverse, St. Barbara**

with his eyes lowered to the bottom. In the left hand, a large cross with the Crucifix is kept; the lower arm of the cross is supported with the right hand in which he holds the palm branch. On the edge of the medallion, in its upper part, around the figure of the Saint, there is a shortened inscription: S (ANCTVS) I (OANNES) NEPOM (VCENVS). On the reverse, in the center of the medallion's surface, there is a picture of a cut tongue surrounded by a glow; in the lower part of the medallion's plane, under the tongue there are the clouds in the form of the crescent-shaped cavities.

Another medallion, where the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is presented on the obverse<sup>1</sup> – the smallest and almost round

form (23 x 21.5 mm, with an eye of 30.8 mm). The saint is dressed in the same garments as in the image mentioned above, but in a simpler and schematic version (Fig. 2, a, рис. 2, a). Some other differences are also traced. Ioan holds a small cross with the Crucifix on his right shoulder, pressed against his chest; he holds the palm branch in the left hand directed outward; there is a rounded nymb behind John's head, on which five stars are placed. The outlines of the clothes, the edges of which are conjuring up in fantasy lines, point at the style features of the era of the high baroque. Around the Holy there is the abbreviated inscription: S(ANCTVS) IOA(NNES) NEPOM(VCENVS) M(ARTYRVS) around the Saint.

The largest of the medallions, gold plated, had a rounded shape (34,1 mm in diameter, with an eye 44,1 mm). The image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is placed on the reverses<sup>2</sup>. The image is executed with a careful drawing of a hair bundle, the hand fingers, the thick folds of drapery of clothing (Fig. 3, b, рис. 3, б). The attention is drawn to the fact that, despite the readable elements of the outfit, the overall clothes are reflected very schematically. In addition to the bonnet on the head, it can be argued that Ioan is dressed in soutane, apparently, roketa and mantolette. Instead, from the top of the mantolette there is the fabric depicted, hanging over the left shoulder of the Saint and is draped over his chest. The fabric hangs from the right forearm. The head of the Saint is turned to the right and is bent down slightly. The view is directed to the cross (without the Crucifix), which rests on the right palm, and the lower edge is supported by the left hand. The lowered eye-lids give the face of the Saint a sad expression, but in general, the image is not saturated with the tragedy of martyrdom. Ioan's head is surrounded by five stars. There is a shortened inscription around the figure of the Saint: S(ANCTVS) IO(ANNES) NEPOMVC(ENVS) M(ARTVRVS).

The iconography of the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is directly related to the history of his life. The majority of the researchers believe that he was born between 1340 and 1350 in the area of Pomuk near Prague. Since 1370 he has taken tonsure and as a clergyman in Prague Courland began a gradual career growth in the spiritual field. Ioan acquired a good education. He began his studies at the newly opened Prague University of Law (1381) and continued his studies at the universities of Bologna and

<sup>1</sup> On the reverse the image of St. Barbara is depicted.

<sup>2</sup> On the obverse represents the image of Jesus the Nazarene of the Redeemed is represented.

Padua (1382 – 1387), where he received PhD Degree in church law. Having returned to his homeland, he occupied various positions (canonical, archdeacon), and then – a general vicar at the Prague Bishop Johann from Jenstein (Johannes von Jenstein). As a doctor of the church law, while protecting the interests of the Church, Ioan Nepomutskyi was in solidarity with the bishop who found himself in confrontation with the Czech King Vaclav IV<sup>3</sup>. The situation with Ioan was further complicated by the fact that he was a confessor of Queen Ioanna and kept the mystery of her confession. For the defense of the faith and the rights of the Church, Ioan was imprisoned and subjected to a cruel torture, after which he was executed in accordance with the decree of the King on the night of March, 20 to March 21, 1393. At the neck of the prisoner, a millstone was tied up, they bound his hands and feet, a wooden gag was stuck in his mouth and he was thrown from the bridge of the Vltava River. The body taken from the bottom of the river, was buried by the canonists later in the cathedral of St. Vita. In 1733 – 1736 in one of the altars there was a silver mausoleum arranged of the authorship of A. Corradini and I. E. Fischer von Erlach (Adamek, 1982, p. 373). This death for the faith turned I. Nepomutskyi into a holy martyr.

The after death history of Ioan Nepomutskyi is rich in miracles and wonders. Because of the protests of the Hussites and Protestants, which broke out the whole Czech territory, the canonization of Ioan was not carried out in the Middle Ages. However, despite this, his cult has developed to the enormous proportions, covering all the Czech territory and the lands of the Habsburg Empire. Only in 1729, Pope Benedict XIII, added the name of Ioan Nepomutskyi to the saints. In general, in the XVIII th century in addition to Prague, Vienna was the prominent center of the holy cult, he was worshiped in the archdiocese of Salzburg and Meissen. The special commemorations were also given to the Saint in Bavaria, Italy, France. The cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi spread to the territory of Poland, reaching its eastern outskirts. The cult did not have such a scale as in Austria or southern Germany, but remained popular for many centuries. The evidence of the viability of the cult is also its numerous traces and manifestations in the territory of modern Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine.

Officially St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is a patron of the Czech Republic, Poland, Austria, Bavaria. The prayer is given to him during floods, he cares for crossings across the rivers, the bridges, therefore the figure of the Saint was often installed on the bridges, near the water. He is considered to be the guardian of sailors, fishermen, rafters, millers and, in general, all those who are connected with labour on water, as well as pilgrims and dying; he protects against harassment; he protects crops from flood, storm, hail.

The main moments of Ioan Nepomutskyi's life found a symbolic reflection in the iconography, to which the sculptors, the painters, the graphic artists of the Baroque era addressed (Adamek, 1982, p. 378). As a rule, they represented him in a static position, which was an expression of the apogee of martyrdom or in the dynamics of the movement that bordered on a religious ecstasy. The majority of the images, despite their invariance, mostly followed the first model, a monument to Ioan Nepomutskyi, established in 1683 at Charles Bridge in Prague. The monument is made of bronze in Nuremberg in the workshop of Jerome Gerold in accordance with the project of Johann Brockoff (Knapiński, 2002, p. 117). In this case, the characteristic features of the sculptural image of Ioan Nepomutskyi were: priestly clothes, the cross and the palm branch. The bridge across the Vltava river was often represented in the background. The same tendencies are reflected in the religious medalery.

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<sup>3</sup> After a relatively calm reign of Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg, which was marked by a harmonious relationships with the Cathedral, the son of Vaclav IV came to the throne, who sought to implement the policy of a strong centralized royal power. As a result, this led to a decrease in the previously established freedoms, independence and the rights of the Cathedral and, of course, aroused a conflict between the king and the bishop of Prague, who was supported by Ioan Nepomutskyi (Adamek, 1982, pp. 371–372).

On the above-described medallions from Dubno the figure of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is represented in clothes corresponding to the position he occupied at the time of his death, namely, as a representative of the supreme clergy. There was the ermine mantolette put on the soutane as the sign of jurisdiction, as a choir outfit and the sign of a high distinction in the church hierarchy (Adamek, 1982, p. 378). The palm branch is a symbol of the martyrs. The cross, as a symbol of the remission of the sins, with the Crucifix reminds of the special piety of the Saint to the crucified Jesus, when he prayed daily for a long time, indulging into the experience of the Passion of the Lord.

The comparative characteristics of the medallions showed some differences in their iconography. So, there is no nymb around Ioan's head on one medallion, although there is the inscription «sanctus» (**Fig. 1, a; пус. 1, a**). This may indicate that the medallion was made before the canonization of I. Nepomutskyi. The key to understanding is the image on the reverse, where the cut Saint's tongue is depicted. The tongue acts as a symbol of silence, that is to say, to preserve the secrets of confession, in which Ioan was firm in spite of the tortures. In view of this, the tongue is surrounded by glare and is represented among the clouds, which are the symbol of the heavenly estate. The content of this composition is connected with the events of 1715 when, in connection with the preparation for the canonization of Ioan Nepomutskyi, the exhumation of his remains was carried out. The surveys of the remains showed that in a good condition the brain mass and tongue were preserved, which were put in the reliquary (Knapiński, 2002, p. 117, No. 2478; Kondraciuk, 2010). It is possible that this extraordinary event gave an impact to the creation of a separate medallion, which is most likely made somewhere in the 1715 – 1721, that is, on the eve of the beatification, but unquestionably before the canonization that took place in 1729.

A distinctive feature of another medallion (with the identity of the rest attributes) is that there is the nymb behind the head of St. I. Nepomutskyi. There are five stars on the nymb. These stars are connected directly with the moment of the death of the Saint. Thus, the Archbishop Ioan Einstein of Prague, in the letter to Pope Boniface XI, describing the execution of Ioan Nepomutskyi, noted the following: when the body of the Saint was absorbed by the waters of the river Vltava, five stars appeared in the form of a crown above the surface of the river, indicating the location of the Martyr (Adamek, 1982, p. 373). At the same time, these stars are endowed with a deeper ideological content in iconography. So, each of them means a separate letter in the word «tacui» – «I was silent», as well as these stars stand for five

wounds of the Christ. In addition, the stars serve as a symbol of the five virtues of the holy martyrs – such as piety, humility, secrecy, zeal, and mercy (Zawada, 2014, p. 50).

Significantly different from the above described medallions, there is the medallion, on which around the head of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi five stars are depicted, which form a kind of a nymb (**Fig. 3, b; пус. 3, б**). In the hands of the Saint there is the cross without the Crucifix, which in this case symbolizes



**Fig. 3. Religious Medallion. Bernardine Cathedral. Dubno. After 1729: a – obverse, Jesus the Nazarene was redeemed; b – reverse, St. I. Nepomutskyi**

suffering. In addition, there is the fabric on the shoulder over the mantolette, it is very similar to the coat in the images of the martyrs. The coats, especially red, were also symbols of suffering.

A separate issue is the problem of the time and the place of making Dubno medallions. It should be emphasized that all three subjects are characterized by a skillful execution. As a result, the medallions are characterized by a high artistic level of images, indicating the creation of the talented medallion makers. The absence of the mark of a moulder does not allow identifying these products with specific workshops. In this situation, the image of St. Barbara on the reverse of one of the medallions (**Fig. 2, b**) is of a great importance. A similar image of the holy martyr is known to be found on one object of T. Rewoliński's collections (Rewoliński, 1887, tab. III, 83). On this medallion the date was carved «1773» under the figure of St. Barbara, and on the obverse, under the image of Czestochowa Mother of God – the place of manufacture «ROMA». The same medallion, which unlike the previous one has the date «1775», was found in Pultusk (Kotyszko, 2007, p. 75, ryc. 3). These data allow, with some caution, to speak of the Roman origin of Dubno medallion and date it to the 70-ies of the XVIIIth century. This fact is not negated by the chronology of the common artifacts found in the spiritual crypt of Dubno Cathedral, from which the above mentioned medallion originates. At the same time, the remains of the coffins with the cut off date of death: 1780, 1781, 1788 acquire the defining value.

Consequently, iconography, the artistic properties of the images, a high level of moulding skill, as well as the flawlessness of the inscriptions in Latin, typical of all Dubno medallions, are those features that correspond to the requirements according to which the devotional things were produced. The most prominent center, from where the devotional things of this quality, as the bearers of a religious worship, spread and reached the most remote corners of the Christian oikumen, was undoubtedly Rome, where the high-level medallion workshops functioned<sup>4</sup>. During the XVIIIth – XIXth centuries Italian artistic centers reached the peak of the medallion art<sup>5</sup>.

From the moment of the canonization of Ioan Nepomutskyi, his cult became widespread throughout Poland, becoming one of the central cults in the religious life of the society. Particularly numerous traces of the worship of the Saint are known in the region of Roztochya and the surrounding areas (Kondraciuk, 2010). Undoubtedly, the orbits of the spread of the cult of this martyr were drawn the territories lying on the border with the crown lands, the so-called crests – modern Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine (Nepomuki kresuw ....). It should be noted that the promotion of the cult played an important role in the first printed works devoted to the biography of Ioan Nepomutskyi. The oldest ones appeared long before the canonization: 1716 in Krakow, 1721 in Poznań, 1726 in Vilnius, 1728 in Toruń. From the time of the celebrations of Ioan's recruiting to the Saints there were some works published in Krakow and Warsaw (1729), Branew and Toruń (1731), Czestochowa (1744 – 1745, 1756), Poznań (1753), Kalisz (1757), Łowicz (1761), Przemyśl (1790). In Ukraine, such works first appeared in Lviv (1740, 1753), and later in Berdychiv (1761) and Dubno (1787) (Warchałowski, 2003, pp. 154–155). In addition, in Dubno in the second half of the XVIIIth

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<sup>4</sup> The activity of the workshops that worked in the XVIIIth century on the territory of Poland gradually faded away, so in the XVIIIth century, according to researchers, in the kingdom there was no significant medallion maker. Instead, the devotional medallions were manufactured in the territories of Germany, Austria, Spain (Samek, 1984, p. 242, Koiyszko, 2013, p. 246).

<sup>5</sup> The group of the most prominent medallion makers included, for example: Gaspar Morone, Gaspar Mola, the Hamerrani family, Franczesko and Ignacio Bianki and many others.

century the cathedral was built, dedicated to Ioan Nepomutskyi<sup>6</sup>, which makes it possible to view the city as one of the centers for the spread of the Saint's cult.

The cathedral honors I. Nepomutskyi, primarily as a defender of the mystery of the holy confession, therefore the holy martyr represented a pattern of sanctity. The monastic orders propagated such a role of I. Nepomutskyi, of which the most active were primarily the Jesuits (Hochleiter, 2009, p. 128). The cult of Ioan Nepomutskyi was of a particular respect in the Dominican and all branches of the Franciscan orders (Sinkevych, 2009, p. 154). The geography of the propagation of the cult is reflected in the construction of cathedrals dedicated to Ioan Nepomutskyi (for example: Dolynivka near Stryi, Bilolivka, Lyubar, Zavaliiika, Mizoch in Volyn region, Zamikhiv, Markova, Stara Sinyava, Zbryzh, Boyana, Turilche in Podillya), the separate altars in the temples (however St. Andrew's Bernardine Cathedral and St. Anne's Augustinian Cathedral in Lviv, the Cathedral of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin in Vynnyky, the Cathedral of St. Bartholomew in Drohobych, the Cathedral in Ostroh, the Jesuit Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul in Lutsk) and the fresco painting (Jesuit Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul in Lviv, parish Cathedral in Navariya, Tadany in Lviv region and many others) (Nepomuki Kresouw ...). However, in the second half of the XVIIIth – first half of the XIXth century a mass phenomenon there became the single figures of Ioan Nepomutskyi, made of stone or wood, often covered with the polychrome paintings<sup>7</sup>. They were installed on the pedestals of the open air or under a peculiar coating that had the appearance of a chapel. To this day, a significant part of such figures have already been lost, but those that have been preserved show the extraordinary popularity of the Saint's cult. They were located mainly at the crossroads (for example: Lopatyn, Ushnya, Sukhodil, Mostyska) and near the bridges through streams, rivers, dams (Lviv, Lubin Velykyi, Mostyska, Zbarazh, Ivanychi, Holoby) (Nepomuki Kresouw ...). The mechanism of propagation of the cult of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is connected directly with the emergence and spread of the fraternities of his name and the transfer of the parts of the remains of the Saint as relics. It should be noted that the oldest brotherhood in Poland arose in 1733 at the cathedral of St. Ann in Warsaw, as well as in Wskhow; later on there were organized the communities at other spiritual centers: 1736 – in Toruń, 1748 – in Górká Klyashtorna, 1753 – in Kalish and Kozmin. The first wave of the emergence of the fraternity of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi also came to Ukraine, where in 1737 a fraternity arose in Lviv at the Trinitarian cathedral, in 1753 in Zaslav at the Bernardine cathedral, and in the 1960-ies of the XVIIIth century – in Annapol and Berdychiv (Warchałowski, 2003, p. 160). In general, in the XVIIIth century in Poland there was a significant number of fraternities, especially in Bernardine cathedrals (Kuźmiak, 1997, p. 813). As a rule, the fraternity had a place in a cathedral, which was marked by the altar dedicated to the Saint. The activities of the fraternal community were regulated by the statute, the content of which consisted of the definition of the moral virtues, the definition of rights and responsibilities, the establishment of release rules, the compilation of texts of prayers, hymns, songs to St. I. Nepomutskyi.

<sup>6</sup> The foundation of the first wooden temple (the so-called «Yannivskyi») was founded in 1612 during the reign of the Duke Janusz Ostrozky. As of 1656, the temple was still in the state of construction, which testifies to the testament of Barbara Yaikovsky: «... do końcioia Farskiego Dubieckiego pikset zi.p. na zbudowanie Końcioia» (in Polish) (APBK (Archiwum Prowincji, Bernardynów w Krakowie), rkps RGP-b-3, s. 339). The Cathedral is dedicated to St. Jan (John) – the patron of the founder. In 1725 the temple was burned during the storm. The construction of a new building of the cathedral initiated the later Bishop Jan Chrysostom Kachkovsky. The time for the construction of a major building, which occurred after the canonization of Ioan Nepomutskyi, obviously influenced the dedication of the temple to the holy Martyr.

<sup>7</sup> A wonderful example of this sculpture survived in the village of Kotsuriv near Lviv.



It is known that the members of the oldest fraternity of St. John Nepomutskyi, founded in 1706 in Prague by Christan Florian Heger von Hegern at the Chapel of St. John of Nepomutskyi at the monastery of Emmaus, wore the medallions with the image of the Saint (Kult i patronat Jana Nepomucena ...). There is reason to believe that this tradition has become one of the hallmarks of the members of this fraternity throughout Europe. The proof of this fact are the medallions with iconography dedicated to J Nepomutskyi, found in the burials. It should be noted that the social section of the fraternities shows the membership of the representatives of various social groups: first of all, different rank of the clergy and the educated strata of the society, gradually covering the gentry, artisans, merchants and the others (Warchałowski, 2003, p. 162). The medallions found in the under altar crypt in Dubno, undoubtedly belonged to the representatives of the social elite.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that among the considerable number of the medallions found today in the archaeological research of the burials (both soil and crypts), the samples devoted to St. I. Nepomutskyi, are still rare. For example, two medallions with a depiction of the Saint are known in the graves at the cemetery at the cathedral of St. Nicolas in Maniowy in Pidhallya, where the objects are laid in the hands of the deceased (Chudziński, 1998, pp. 76–77, 103–104, tab. XXV, 52, XXVI, 15). An interesting medallion comes from the grave at the Cathedral of All Saints in Gliwice, Silesia. It is made of a thin plaque in the form of a tear, on the obverse there is depicted a half figure of the Saint, and on the reverse – there is the Saint's tongue surrounded by the glow, over which two angels hold the crown. The medallion was near the hip of the deceased, near the placement of rosary beads, which, according to the authors of the research, belonged to (Furmanek, & Michnik, 2004, p. 402, 410, ryc. 2, 4). Several items are known from the necropolis in Pomoria. One medallion comes from a burial place in the cathedral of St. Jacob the Apostle in Lembork (Kołyszko, 2013, pp. 93–94, ryc 46–47). The medallion with the image of St. I. Nepomutskyi was found in only one of the many graves at the parochial cemetery in Starogard of Gdańsk. Its place on the neck of the deceased indicates that the subject hanged on the chest of the deceased (Aleksandrowicz, 2017). The discovery draws attention in the cathedral in Tchev as well. There, in the family crypt of the Charlinskyis (where the rector of the cathedral and the two canoniks – Varminskyi and from Wroclaw were buried), one medallion of St. I. Nepomutskyi was found (Zieliński, 2011). One «Sviatoianskyi» medallion was found in Prague, among the things found in a group grave near the cathedral of St. Trinity (Beranová, 1989, pp. 271–274, appr. 2). In Lviv, during the research of the crypt of St. Kasymyr Cathedral only one medallion with the image of St. I. Nepomutskyi was found among the destroyed burials (Nepomuki Kresouw ...).

If we proceed from the fact that the members of the fraternity of St. I. Nepomutskyi had the duty to wear the medallions with the Saint's image during their lives, we can assume that they could be buried with them. Although this fact was not obligatory. At the same time, a certain connection of the cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi with a funeral culture points at the content, which is endowed with one of the attributes of holiness of Ioan Nepomutskyi, namely the cross with the Crucifix. This cross has a special, clearly defined form. Having it during the moment of death and addressing to the cross the last prayers, one could obtain a complete remission of sins (Scheer, 1990, p. 13). Therefore, as Janusz Hochleiter points out: «Katoliccy duchowni upatrywali w nim swojego szczególnego patrona, poprzez jego orędownictwo nad sprawowaniem sakramentu pokuty» (Hochleiter, 2009, p. 135). In this context, the presence of the figures of St. Ioan of Nepomutskyi becomes clear at the

public cemeteries (for example: in Lviv at the Lychakiv cemetery at the grave of Ioanna the Cavanna, which dates back to 1874, in Navariya, Medenychi, Kostyiev, Komarno, Pustomyty-Lisnevychi, Zbarazh). Often, the figure of the Saint was erected near the cathedrals, where in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries the cemeteries functioned, which as a rule, were liquidated during the XIXth century (for example: in Lviv – the Cathedrals of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Anne, in Pidhirtsi – St. Joseph Cathedral, in Horodok – the Exaltation of the Holy Cross Cathedral, in Kamyanets-Buzsky district – the Cathedral of the Savior, in Kotsuriv – the Cathedral of St. Simeon, in Soroky Lvivski – the Cathedral of the Lord's Revelation, in Turka – St. Nicolas Cathedral, in Pidkamin – the Chapel at the Dominican Cathedral, in Leshniv – the Chapel at Bernardine Cathedral and the others). (Nepomuki Kresuw).

**Conclusion.** Summing up the analysis of the three medallions from Dubno, it is worth emphasizing several important points. First of all, there are the reasons to believe that the medallions with the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi represent the highly illustrative examples of a religious medallion making. Considering the perfect image relief, the perfect compositional plot and the impeccability of the inscriptions, such medallions could only be made in a highly professional workshop, which was most likely to function in Rome, or in one of the well-known European centers. The ways, in which the medallions were brought to Dubno, were different – they were acquired during the individual pilgrimage tours or «at home» – in the monasteries and cathedrals, especially those dedicated to St. I. Nepomutskyi. First of all, such medallions, obviously, were intended for the members of the Holy Brotherhood of Ioan Nepomutskyi. Among them the closest to Dubno there was the community that functioned at the Bernardine Monastery in Záslav. The persons buried in Dubno Bernardine Cathedral, had the «sacred» medallions, could have been the members of Záslav fraternity, as well as they could have acquired the medallion image in Dubno Cathedral of St. I. Nepomutskyi. At the same time, the attention is drawn to the fact that in Dubno medallion collection the samples with the image of I. Nepomutskyi quantitatively are less numerous than the medallions with the image of Jesuit Saints – I. Loyola and Francis Ksaveriy. This fact allows linking these medallions with the activities of the Communities of Jesus, the powerful centers of which functioned near Dubno – in Ostroh (1624 – 1773) and Lutsk (1608 – 1773) (Shevchenko, 2002, pp. 86–92). It is more likely that in spreading of the cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi the Jesuits, like the Dominicans and the Franciscans, relied primarily on the educated strata of the society. The numerous traces of the Cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi (the temples of his name, the altars, the fresco paintings) show a deep-rooted belief in the patronage of the Saint, which was a special manifestation in the roadside chapels and figures. Instead, the presence of the «sacred» medallions in the burials is a phenomenon that is based on the theological and philosophical reflections on issues of life and death, on the sacrament of repentance, a spiritual purification on the way to the God. The presence of such a medallion as a funeral inventory is not just an element of the ritual, but the introduction of a deeper and thinner understanding of the meaning of the last repentance on the threshold to an eternal salvation in the funeral culture.

**Perspectives of further research.** In addition to the medallions analyzed, the collection of the devotional things in Dubno consists of the numerous products that contain the information on other religious cults, spread in the early modern days, both in Western Europe and in Rzecz Rzeczypospolita. These categories of the funeral equipment are an invaluable source for knowing the mentality of a religious solum.

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for illuminating the appearance and spread of the cult of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi, as a component of a religious culture in the territory of Western Ukraine in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries.

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## THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN KING BOARD MANORS OF RUS VOYEVODSTVO IN THE XVIth – XVIIIth CENTURIES

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research* – the reconstruction of the judicial system in king board manors of Rus province in the XVIth – XVIIIth centuries. *The methodology of the research* is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity. The following methods were used while carrying out the research: historical, problem-chronological, component-analysis. *The scientific novelty* of the work is determined by the fact that the reconstructed model of the judicial system within the limits of a separate administrative-territorial complex. It has been illustrated how the lower institutions functioned, which were intended to ensure the efficiency of legal proceedings in the everyday life of the population. It has been clarified how they interacted with judicial and administrative institutions located at one or more stages above. **Conclusions.** In the XVIth – XVIIIth centuries the judicial system in king board manors created a multilevel hierarchical model. Such kind of the multilevel hierarchical model was to a certain extent the reflection of the administrative apparatus since the government officials and the institutions

were entrusted with the governing functions and were engaged in the legal proceedings. The civil courts, *kraynyk courts*, the collegiate courts formed the lower link of the judicial system in king board manors. They were the embodiment of the public administration relics, were based on the customary practice of the active involvement of the population in the legal field. The upper levels of the court system in king board manors consisted of the *pidzhupnytskyi courts*, the Vice-Administrative Courts and the Administrative Courts. They were organized by the administration as the castle courts (*Sqd grodzki*) and the dominical courts in private estates.

**Keys words:** king board manors, Sambir economy, civil courts, collegial courts, castle authority, jurisdiction.

### СИСТЕМА СУДОЧИНСТВА У КОРОЛІВСЬКИХ СТОЛОВИХ МАЄТКАХ РУСЬКОГО ВОЄВОДСТВА У XVI – XVIII СТ.

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – реконструкція системи судочинства у королівських столових маєтках Руського воєводства у XVI – XVIII ст. **Методологія дослідження** базується на засадах, в основі яких – історизм, об'єктивність. Під час проведення дослідження використані такі методи як історичний, проблемно-хронологічний, компонент-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** визначається тим, що реконструдована модель системи правосуддя у межах окремого адміністративно-територіального комплексу. Показано, як функціонували низові інституції, покликані забезпечити ефективність судочинства у повсякденному житті населення. З'ясовано, в якій спосіб вони взаємодіяли з судово-адміністративними установами, розташованими на один або кілька щаблів вище. **Висновки** Таким чином, судоустрій королівських столових маєток у XVI – XVIII ст. творив багаторівневу ієрархічну модель. Вона була певною мірою віддзеркаленням адміністративного апарату, адже урядовці та інституції наділені управлінськими функціями з-поміж іншого займалися судочинством. Нижчі ланки формувалися з громадських, крайницьких, зборових судів. Вони уособлювали релікти громадського управління, ґрунтувалися на звичаєвій практиці з активним задіянням населення у правовій сфері. Верхні щаблі судоустрою склалися з піджупницьких, віцеадміністраторських, адміністраторських судів. Вони організовувалися адміністрацією на зразок гродських судів та домінальних судів у приватних маєтках. Відсутність достатніх сил для контролю над повсякденною правовою практикою населення королівських столових маєтків та недосконалість правові бази змушувала адміністрацію миритися з паралельним існуванням іншої відмінної системи права. Однак зі зміцненням апарату управління, підвищенням його ефективності, замкова влада у XVIII ст. позбулася залежності від громадсько-зборових судів. Як наслідок – громадсько-зборове судівництво занепадає. Громада і збори втрачають свої правові функції, крайники переставляють бути частиною громадського самоврядування й перетворюються на замкових урядовців.

**Ключові слова:** королівські столові маєтки, Самбірська економія, громадські суди, зборові суди, замкова влада, судочинство.

**Problem statement.** The judicial system in the king board manors of Rzecz Pospolita was rather complicated and cumbersome. This is because of the absence of the unified legal system in Rzeczpospolita, in general for all groups of people. The class, confessional, ethnic gradation of the society, the ambiguity of public and private law, the absence of a bureaucratic component at the lower administrative level prompted the variety of legal practices. The well-established rules and procedures, which were generally accepted throughout Rzecz Pospolita and understood in different parts of it, were combined with the local specific traditions that couldn't be found outside a specific region. The king board manors can serve as the typical model of the organization of the jurisdiction, which easily combined the abovementioned trends. Sandomierz (Sandomyr) economy, Sambir economy, Malbork economy were within the Polish land boundaries. On the territory of the modern Ukrainian lands one of them was located, that is Sambir economy.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The management of the king board manors and the legal aspect of this organization were in the limelight for the Ukrainian and

Polish historians. Some information can be found in V. Inkin's and Yu. Hoshko's work. Both researchers studied the specifics of Vlach law and its functioning in the areas of Sambir's economy. Both wrote a lot about the activities of the government public bodies, collegial and 'kraynytskyi' courts. In particular, they found the organizational forms and the procedure of their activities, the legislation they served; made a comparison with the similar legal practices of Ancient Rus' and the (Hoshko, 1999; Hoshko, 1976; Inkin, 1977; Inkin, 1986; Inkin, 1978; Inkin, 1975; Inkin, 1990; Inkin, 1996; Inkin, 1984). The high-level legal proceedings can be found in the works of E. Stanchak, who investigated the activities of the Royal Treasury Commission (Stańczak, 1973). In general, the mentioned topic is present in the scientific discourse, but needs further study.

**The publication's purpose** – the reconstruction of the judicial system in king board manors of Rus province in the XVIth – XVIIIth centuries

**Statement of the basic material.** The lower link of justice was formed at the level of rural communities. The eligibility of each member was equal and was restricted only to personally dependent subcommittees, comorbidities, minors, suspects and accused of a crime. In each case arising in the legal field, the community and its individual members serve as witnesses, experts, judges, defenders, intermediaries, etc. In the acts they were under the different names: «the entire mshanets' community», «trustworthy people», «unsuspected neighbors», «good people», «jury box», «mohorychnyky», etc (Inkin, 1996, p. 20). The fields of activity together with the organizational forms of the community-based legal proceedings activity and their government officials were diverse. In particular, the community was an indispensable participant as the third-party witness of purchase and sale agreements, pledges, making wills, the definition of boundaries, and so on. At the same time, the community could act not only as the passive witness, but also interfere in the property cases actively. For instance, the community has banned family property distribution in the XVIIIth century in Strilbychi village (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 555/III, p. 100v). The community also took part in the special criminal cases investigations, especially, during the theft of cattle and any property, murders within its territory. In such cases, the community resorted to the so-called «persecution trail» that has been known since the creation of the «Ruska Pravda» (Rus' Law or Rus' Justice) (Inkin, 1986). The procedure was the following: when a theft or a murder happened, the community, on its own initiative or at the request of the injured party, was on the trail of the culprit to the community's frontier, if the culprit was not found on the territory of the community, then the criminal was passed to the neighbor community. As a result of the long-standing practice, there were numerous nuances, for example, the time of the trail persecution, how and to whom to pass the trail, who was involved in the trailing, on what kind of trail it was worth keeping the track or not etc. The «shaking of the house down» (searching for the offender within the community) and the «ruhovi courts» (had the character of a «total purge oath» and it was necessary to certify that the offender was absent) were also the main components of the customary public practice in the XVIth – XVIIIth centuries (Vinnychenko, 2008, p. 514–515). The community could judge the suspect of committing the crime on their own and determine the degree of the guilt. If the community considered unanimously that the accused really deserves punishment and they handed down the relevant verdict («Konwinkacja», «konwinkować»), then it was an indisputable proof. Thus, the suspected man in the arson from Berezhnytsya village wasn't given the sentence, because of the local and neighbor communities defense. The man paid the fine, 10 hryvnias (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 548/III, pp. 152v–153v). The composite courts (one of the public

courts' type) had an interesting practice: the court was assigned to resolve the murder cases amicably for both sides of the trial and prevent the vendetta (blood revenge). The community was playing the dominant role during all stages of legal proceedings in this court, for instance, the community representatives were keeping an eye on following some rituals: along with the murderer the representatives were coming on by the victim's relatives, asking for the reconciliation. What's more, the community representatives were responsible for the murderer's life, hence, they protected him from the vendetta (blood revenge) and took part in making the composition agreement between both parties (Inkin, 1990, p. 72–85).

What was the main role of the public officials? The public officials along with the rest could participate in the abovementioned legal proceedings as the ordinary members of the community. However, in most cases, the duke-governors, the elders, the 'tyvuns', the atamans served as the initiators and the coordinators of the civil courts activities. The king board manors administration considered their participation in the legal proceedings to be of the highest legitimacy and legality. Apart from the participation in the community's legal activities, the government officials had a range of legal responsibilities. The duke-governors existed in Vlach law villages, had the right to summon their own courts, which dealt with the property cases of the community members and some trivial crimes («small affairs»): fights, quarrels, etc. They made the appropriate decisions like giving verdicts and imposed penalties, usually in the form of the fines – «guilty» (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 514/III, pp. 1–276; d. 515/III, pp. 1–141). In German law (Magdeburger Recht; also called Magdeburg Law) villages the legal proceedings were served by the ordinary ruling «viyty», but unlike the dukes they didn't conduct the trials on their own, the jury box and the community were taking part in the court trials, as a result, the essence of their existence was the leading role of the civil court (CSHAUL, f. 142, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 7, 10, 12–17, 29, 40, 47, 89, 91, 208, 241, 375, 378, 385).

The next link in the court system of king board manors after the public courts were the 'kraynyky' courts in the countries, key holders and collegial courts. These institutions served as the appellate courts on the decision of the civil courts. The legal proceeding was the following: the dukes, the ruling 'viyty' with the jury box were summoned from several neighbor villages, who were making the board of collegiates, such meetings were headed by the 'kraynyk' or the key holder in order to look into the case one more time (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 520/III., pp. 14–15). The collegiate court cases didn't differ much from the civil court cases if to compare. The collegiate courts could only look into the «small affairs», like beatings, mutilations, thefts, the «big affairs», like robberies, arson were removed from the jurisdiction of the court. However, the 'kraynyky' and the key holders didn't restrict themselves only to fines, like the civil courts, but also resorted to corporal punishment, which was widely practiced in the XVIIIth century (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 538/III, pp. 34, 56; c. 525/III, pp. 8–8v). One more peculiar feature of the collegiate courts was the fact that they were the first institutions considering the land border disputes. The castle authority was the initiator, as a rule, and the collegiate courts were the castle authority representatives in turn (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 520/III, pp. 364v–365v.). Quite often the administration gave them the forensics proxy in order to study the case on the spot, that is the functions of the judicial officer ('voznyi') with the subsequent consideration of the case in the castle and the adoption of a corresponding decree (BP SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 517/III, p. 857; c. 520/III, p. 463v, 467, 519v–520, 547v–548). In general, the 'kraynyky' and the officials were obliged to keep track of the order within the limits of their administrative-territorial unit. The public officials were reporting to them about all cases of delinquencies and they were reporting



accordingly in front of the castle authorities and at the meetings. By carrying out such police oversight functions, these officials could detain the criminals and keep them in custody until they were transferred to the castle (Inkin, 1975, p. 308).

Collegiate courts were the attribute of governance in the villages of Vlach Law. However, there were also the community keys where the villages of the Magdeburg Law (German law) and former villages of the Rus' law were grouped predominantly. They lasted until the XVIIIth century, the so-called assemblage was mentioned and the communities of some keys were paying in the first half of the XVIIIth century (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 566/III, p. 21). According to V. Inkin, the meeting of the countries took place initially, near Old Sambor and St. Savior (St. Spas) Monastery, and since the beginning of the XVIIIth century – in the castle in New Sambir (Inkin, 1975, p. 305). Hvozsdetska and Pidbuzka countries were the exception, their meetings were held in Stara Sil and Banya Kotovska. In the XVIIIth century all countries, without exception, gathered for the meeting in New Sambir (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 538/III, pp. 23–79). The frequency of gathering the meetings was already established in the XVIth century, there were spring and autumn meetings. In the 60's of the XVIIIth century, all the countries without the exception gathered once a year in turns for their meetings, designated for universal administrator day, for example, in 1765 the meeting was held from the 3rd till 12th July, in 1768 – in 14 – 24 of June (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 538/III, pp. 69, 198; c. 551/III, pp. 12v, 39, 51v., 53, 54v; c. 550/III, pp. 292v, 378, 383, 388, 529, 537, 602). The adult population of the country took part in the meetings. The turnout for the meetings was mandatory, a fine was imposed on the person, who didn't appear for the meeting. Apart from the communities, the other groups of the population, who lived in the country and weren't signed for any membership participated in the meetings. They were free people ('vilnyk'), village heads ('soltys-lannyk'), kochmars, millers, foresters, guards of the various services, dukes, 'kraynyk', Jewish-tenants (dealt with the community relationship matters), priests and the others. (Inkin, 1975, p. 307–308). The Higher Economy Administration was also mentioned as a member of the meeting participants. Thus, the Royal Commissars along with the sub-headman Jerzy Hoszowski and Lawrence Wodzicki, the administrator were present at the meeting in 1667 and in 1679 Stanisław Skarszewski, the administrator, took part in the meeting and in 1636 – Stanisław Trojan Geslarowski performed as the deputy sub-headman (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 514/III, p. 107v, 182; c. 536/III, pp. 232, 244; c. 548/III, pp. 575–575v). At Hvozdetzsk and Pidbuzsk countries meeting, the castle administration was represented by Stara Sil and Kotovskyi 'pidzhupnyk' (the representatives of economy administration), and in the keys the castle administration was introduced by their subheadmen and the officers, for example, as in Oziminsk in 1599, Jan Záleský was mentioned as the «subheadman of Ozymynsk» along with Y. Mesnik (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 517/III, p. 372). As the representatives of the royal power, their duties were aimed at taking over the control of the meeting activities, but they didn't have the right to interfere in the work of the meetings. The whole power was concentrated in the hands of the board, which consisted of the dukes and 'kraynyk', actually, they were responsible for the organization of the decent meetings functioning (Inkin, 1975, p. 306).

The collegiate courts were looking into the appeals, which were submitted by the population of the country in order to make decisions and bylaws of the civil and 'kraynyk' courts. The government officials were presenting their report-books in which during the whole year they were putting down the information about the offenses and fines. The offenses and fines were reviewed by the judicial panels and some relevant notes were issued on the

made decisions of approval or non-approval by the officials (Inkin, 1975, pp. 308, 318–319). On the basis of the community evidence, the court fines (of being «guilty») were verified. The royal representative received such kind of evidence annually, provided by the officials. The collegiate courts were not only taking control of the lower rank official's legal activities, by checking their records and correcting their court decrees, but also they were conducting their own judicial practice. The saved protocols of the collegiate courts that go back in times till 1659 – 1665 and 1667 – 1670 are full of numerous records about the offenses and the imposed sentences against them. (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 514/III, pp. 1–276; c. 515/III, pp. 1–141). According to V. Inkin, the subject matter of the court cases that were investigated during the meetings was extremely diverse. For instance, the researcher has found more than 20 fines, mentioned in the Sambir Headman Inventories during 1558, 1568, 1585, some information was also found in the registers of the XVIIIth century. The most common cases were dealing with 'golovshchyna', reluctance of giving the trace of the criminals, playing cards, 'potrava' (damage by cattle), beatings ('syni ta kryvavirazy'), 'zboyichyzna' or 'pozemshchyna' (that is the ransom, in a court, of the left thing or cattle by the thief) fines imposed for disobedience, for theft (pena furti), 'bykov' (for giving birth to a child out of the wedlock), divorce or 'rozvidnyi' (the dissolution of marriage), 'oborne' (the redemption of the lost cattle by the owner, driven to the castle), 'detske' (the ransom of the royal cattle captured in the woods), 'bludnyi' (the cattle left by the thief), 'virne' (the process of putting into ownership by a court on the basis of its decision or privilege), 'vidumershchuna' (the purchase of the real estate by the relatives of the childless dead person) (Inkin, 1975, p. 318–319). Most of the property cases, the civil court cases, as well as the criminal cases were under the jurisdiction of the collegial courts, the exceptions were only the most serious crimes related to the death penalty. Quite often the cases were sent from the castle to the collegiate courts, which were handed from the Vice-Administrative court as the cases weren't related to the Vlach law. For instance, in 1626 A. Baranowski, the administrator handed over the mutual claims case for the collegiate court jurisdiction between Sambir bourgeois and the Jewish, the former and current tenants of Sambir flea market area (Inkin, 1975, p. 318–319). At the Hvozdet'ska country meeting could have considered cases that were under the jurisdiction of Stara Sil prosecutor's court. (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 544/III, pp. 45v–46, 49, 50, 67v). In the XVIII century the legal functions of the meeting were minimised, and 'kraynyk' along with the castle court took over the main role, in the 1760's the boards of court meetings were no longer summoned and the cases weren't considered by them. (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 538/III, pp. 24–69).

The 'pidzhupnytskyi' (prosecutor) courts, the vice-administrator courts, the administrative courts were the next link in the economy of the judiciary after the civil courts and the administrative courts. There was a separate litigation ('viyivsko-lavnychy') court in Sambir and Staryi Sambir and in Stara Sil.

The existence of the 'pidzhupnytskyi' courts is closely connected with the pidzhupnyk's activities. One question that remains unresolved and should be elucidated is the power equality in legal spheres among Stara Sil 'pidzhupnytskyi' court, Kotovskyi 'pidzhupnytskyi' court and Drohobych 'pidzhupnytskyi' court. There is written evidence, the record case books that remained unchanged and preserved in Sambir economy archives about the legal proceedings of Stara Sil 'pidzhupnytskyi' court, covering the period of time since the 1605 till 1805 (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, cc. 551/III, 557/III, 544/III, 553/III, 570/III, 554/III, 545/III, 556/III, 543/III, 561/III). The court was working continuously till the Sambir economy elimination

and even for a short period of time during the Austrian occupation. There is no written pieces of evidence, the record case books of Kotovskyi 'pidzhupnytskyi' court and Drohobych 'pidzhupnytskyi' court as the result of their legal activities didn't remained till our times, hence, it is unknown whether the following courts existed at all. However, we could make an assumption that Kotovskyi 'pidzhupnytskyi' court existed, as the abovementioned court was performing the 'kraynyk' duties of the Pidbuzh country for a long time (at least until the middle of the XVIIIth century). The sphere of legal activities of Stara Sil 'pidzhupnytskyi' court and Kotovskyi 'pidzhupnytskyi' court had in their subordination the territory where the 'zhupa' was located. 'Zhupa' or the population, permanently residing on that territories (the working staff) and on the local Hvozdetsk outskirts (more than 20 villages) and Pidbuzk local outskirts (about 10 villages), whose communities were obliged to perform various duties in the 'zhupa', such as the firewood delivery, salt export, equipment repair and maintenance (SLLNU-SMHPDRB, c. 552/III, pp. 45, 47v, 49, 67; CSHAUL, f. 856, d. 1, c. 106, pp. 46, 92–93.). In general, the 'pidzhupnytskyi' court and the castle court were dealing with the same legal cases. For example, the 'pidzhupnytskyi' court considered the theft lawsuits, violence lawsuits, debts lawsuits. Stara Sil 'pidzhupnytskyi' court also investigated the salt-water fishing cases. In 1761 the case which dealt with the salt sales at lower prices by Stara Sil tradesmen, in 1749 the case about the provision of Drohobych by saltwater from the economic wells between Drohobych pidzhupnyk and Drohobych bourgeois representative was considered, in the same year, the complaints about the non-compliance with the conditions of lease by the Modrytsk kvotnyk were investigated (SLLNU-SMHPDRB, c. 556/III, pp. 122–123v, 149–150.).

The Vice-Administer's Court was the key body among the other judicial bodies of economy during the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries. The court consisted of the vice-administrator and the scribe. Traditionally, the Vice-Administer's Court was summoned in the castle, but field visits were also practiced, in such cases the local officials joined the legal proceedings (SLLNU-SMHPDRB, c. 518/III, pp. 105, 256v). The frequency of the court convocation was 1 – 2 days a week, if necessary, the court functioned continuously for several days in a row. The Vice-Administer's Court jurisdiction extended to the whole territory of the king board manors and the population living there, that's why, for some people the court was an appellate instance, for example, in the property cases, for others – it was the first institution, where the same property issues were solved. The people, who didn't dwell on the economy territory, but had some economic, financial, litigation cases with the local population and administration also turned to the Vice-Administer's Court for help. Those people could be, for example, the tradesmen and the merchants from the other cities, as Drohobych, Stryi, Przemyśl, Lviv, and the distant cities – Warsaw, Gdańsk, Toruń; the noblemen, and the clergy, whose estates were on the border with the economy, or those who visited the economy and due to different circumstances, were forced to resolve their affairs with the help of the court; the residents of Zabskid (SLLNU-SMHPDRB, c. 518/III, pp. 594–594v; c. 521/III, pp. 109v–110, 126–126v, 138, 185v).

The trial was conducted in the same way as in the other courts of economy, the both parties presented their information and the court made the final decision. If some circumstances remained unclear, then the additional investigation was carried out, for this purpose the government official was instructed to carry out the «inquisition» and to clarify the details in the local places. The kraynyk, the duke, the ruling vit, the voznyi could have acted as the government official. As a rule, the court looked into such kind of case after some period of

time, usually after two or four weeks and took the appropriate decree (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 542/III, pp. 239, 245, 247v). Sometimes the Vice-Administer's Court could have transferred the case to the specially created committees or to the other instances (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 518/III, pp. 600–600v; c. 520/III, pp. 15–16, 30v–32, 40–41). For instance, in the XVIth – XVIIth centuries the murder cases which weren't connected with the robbery or the assassination, beating cases were considered by the amicable courts («compositio amicabile, pojednanie, concordia»), the castle authority could have only determined the jury and ready signed decision-making agreement («zapowiedź o pokój») that were accepted for the case record books (Inkin, 1990, p. 72–74). The representative of the castle authority considered the land cases in order to meet the requirements of presence at the specific territory. As a result, the 'kraynyk', given proxy by the Vice-Administrator, looked into the land cases in the countries, while the castle authorities approved his decree (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 518/III, pp. 600–600v). The investigation of the serious crimes was carried out with the tortures and the people were sentenced to the death penalty. The serious crimes were transferred from the Vice-Administer Court to the civil viytivsko-lavnuchyi courts and to the similar judicial bodies in Chukva village and Nahuyevychi village (Inkin, 1984). There were numerous cases which the Vice-Administrator was unable to resolve on his own because of the limited possibilities, hence, such kind of cases were postponed until the arrivals of the economy administrator or the commissions. In addition to the abovementioned cases, the civil cases and the criminal cases were under the governor key holder jurisdiction. As the representative of the judiciary in economy, the Vice-Administrators were constantly involved in the commissions appointed by the Royal Treasury in order to resolve the complex cases. Some former Vice-Administrators gained much experience and knowledge over their working period and, as a result, they were used for the economy's interests protection in Supreme Courts. (CSHAUL, f. 43, d. 1, c. 193, pp. 692–693). In the judiciary system of the economy, the Vice-Administer Court was the appellate instance for the decisions of civil courts, kraynyk courts, collegiate courts, civil viytivsko-lavnuchyih and state courts.

The decision-decrees carried out by the Vice-Administrators were supposed to be implemented by the lower government officials. The kraynyks, the key holders, the zhupnyks were responsible for the successful executions and the resolution compliances with the ruling court. There were special judicial officials: voznyi, instigators, in order to ensure the proper functioning of the castle courts. Their main duties were the preparation of the trial (the transfer of the lawsuit, the certification of all kinds of the physical damage and the material losses, and thereby giving them the status of evidence, carrying out the inquiries on the spot). Moreover, they supervised the implementation of the Vice-Administrative Court decrees in places, they also represented the castle authorities as one of the parties during the trials, rarely they were representing the economy's population – at court sessions.

When the administrator of the economy took part in the castle court meetings, such kind of trials felt into the Administrative Courts category, though they didn't differ from the Vice-Administrator's Court trials. The Administrator of the economy had the authority, which allowed him to resolve the cases that his governors didn't dare to. Hence, such cases, carried by the Administrative Court differed due to the covered issues. For instance, in 1616 Mykolay Danylovych dealt with the dispute between the community and the duke about the public field usage. In 1635 Yan Mykolay Danylovych considered the complaint of the village Storona community about the forcing of the illegal payments and the capturing of the public land by the duke (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 518/II, pp. 92v–93; c. 548/III, pp. 546–546v). In 1716 the

community of the village Strilky were complaining about the extortion of the zhovnir. The castle court decided to postpone the case until the Administrator's arrival. What's more, the castle court had called for the summoning of the claims against the militants in two weeks terms, before Baron von Blumenthal arrived. (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 542/III, pp. 99v–100). The cases about the violations of the land borders between villages and countries were also postponed, prior to the arrival of the Administrators (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 519/III, pp. 198–198v). In relation to the Vice-Administrative Court and other judicial bodies of economy, the abovementioned court acted as an appellate instance (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 518/III, p. 373). In the middle of the XVIIIth century, the castle court or the Vice-Administrator Court and the Administrator Court were named as the appellate court solely, in one of the rescripts of the Royal Treasury Commission. (SLLNU–SMHPDRB, c. 565/III, pp. 112–112v). During the XVIIth and at the beginning of the XVIIIth century the courts were regarded as the first instance of the economy's population.

**Conclusions.** In the XVIth – XVIIIth centuries the judicial system in king board manors created a multilevel hierarchical model. Such kind of the multilevel hierarchical model was to a certain extent the reflection of the administrative apparatus since the government officials and the institutions were entrusted with the governing functions and were engaged in the legal proceedings. The civil courts, kraynyk courts, the collegiate courts formed the lower link of the judicial system in king board manors. They were the embodiment of the public administration relics, were based on the customary practice of the active involvement of the population in the legal field. The upper levels of the court system in king board manors consisted of the pidzhupnytskyi courts, the Vice-Administrative Courts and the Administrative Courts. They were organized by the administration as the castle courts (Sąd grodzki) and the dominical courts in private estates.

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**THE MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN  
THE CRIMEAN KHANATE AND THE ZAPOROZHIAN HOST  
IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE XVIIth CENTURY**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the study* – analysis of the historical events associated with the development of the formation process of the military and political alliance which was in force from the time of the end of the Khotyn War till the 40s of the 17th century. The set up aim has been achieved on the base of observing the general theoretical and methodological principles of sources studying, so as to provide identification of the typical features of the above said historical events. **The study methodology** is based on keeping in line with the principles of historicism and historical sources-studying, those ones of objectiveness and specific historical systematicity, as well as on the principles of interdisciplinary approach, identification of the truth and informational value of the identified data and facts. While carrying this study, there have been applied the general historical methods of the historiographic, terminological and typological analyses, as well as the comparativistics method. **The academic novelty** of the study is a civilisational comprehension of the Historiography of Ukraine in the context of a renovation and development of its statehood, and the application of the author's methodology for the interpretation of the respective historical events with taking into account the information available in Turkish-Ottoman written sources.

**Conclusions.** *The sources-based study we have carried out of contents of the Turkish Ottoman written documents, where there are available data about the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine in the first half of the 17th century and about its relationships with the Ottoman Empire, gives us grounds to make the following conclusions:* 1) the Khotyn Military Campaign became a historical event, which noticeably changed the correlation between the military and political forces in Eastern Europe and in the Northern Black-Sea Area, while the consequences of that campaign were as follows: a) destabilisation of the domestic situation in the Ottoman Empire, hence – a further decrease in the capabilities of that state to keep holding its military and political positions in the above said regions; b) emergence of tendencies to making actions in the foreign policy of the Crimean Khanate against the central power; c) a further rise of the military power of the Zaporozhian Sich and transformation of the «Cossack factor» into an important component of the international relations in Eastern Europe and in the Northern Black-Sea Area; 2) a crisis in the domestic situation, which was one of the most negative consequences for the

*Ottoman Empire after the defeats of its military forces in the Khotyn Military campaign, resulted in incapability of this state to provide help to the Crimean Khanate in suppressing by that the protesting movement of the population, and that made the ruling circles of the Crimean Khanate search a political union with the Zaporozhian Sich, that in the second quarter of the 17th century turned into one of the most powerful at that time military force, which both the Ottoman Empire and the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth had to think of in their activities. It was this fact that became a pre-condition for strengthening the military and political cooperation between the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine and the Crimean Ulus. However, such a scenario of the events made it possible a development of the cultural relations between these countries which require making further studies.*

**Key words:** military cooperation, an Ottoman-Turkish written source, historiography, the Ottoman Empire, Khotyn, the Zaporozhian Host.

### ВОЄННА СПІВПРАЦЯ МІЖ КРИМСЬКИМ ХАНСТВОМ І ВІЙСЬКОМ ЗАПОРОЗЬКИМ В ДРУГІЙ ЧВЕРТІ XVII СТ.

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати історичні події, пов'язані з розвитком процесу формування козацько-кримськотатарського воєнно-політичного союзу в період, що тривав від часу закінчення Хотинської війни до 40-х років XVII ст. Досягнення поставленої мети реалізується на основі дотримання загальних теоретико-методологічних засад джерелознавства з метою забезпечити виокремлення характерних ознак названих історичних подій. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, історичного джерелознавства та наукової об'єктивності, на конкретно-історичному та системному принципах, а також на принципах міждисциплінарності, встановлення достовірності та інформаційної цінності виявлених відомостей і фактів. У дослідженні застосовано загальноісторичні методи історіографічного, термінологічного, типологічного аналізів та метод компаративістики. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у цивілізаційному осмисленні історіософії України в контексті відновлення та розвитку її державності та у застосуванні авторської методології інтерпретування відповідних історичних подій з урахуванням наявних відомостей з османсько-турецьких писемних джерел. **Висновки.** Джерелознавчий аналіз наявних у досліджених нами османсько-турецьких рукописних документах, які містять відомостей про козацько-гетьманську Україну першої половини XVII ст. та про її взаємини з Османською імперією, дає підстави зробити такі висновки: 1) історичною подією, яка значною мірою змінила співвідношення воєнно-політичних сил у Східній Європі та у Північному Причорномор'ї, стала Хотинська воєнна кампанія, а наслідками цієї події було таке: а) дестабілізація внутрішнього становища Османської імперії, а отже – зменшення можливостей цієї держави утримувати свої воєнно-політичні позиції у названих регіонах; б) тенденції виникнення дій у зовнішній політиці Кримського ханства проти центральної влади; в) подальше зростання воєнної сили Запорозької Січі та перетворення «козацького чинника» на важливу складову міжнародних відносин у Східній Європі та Північному Причорномор'ї; 2) внутрішня криза, що стала для Османської імперії одним із негативних наслідків невдач її збройних сил у Хотинській воєнній кампанії і призвела до неспроможності цієї держави надати допомогу Кримському ханству в справі придушення протестного руху його населення, і яка спонукала владні кола Кримського ханства до пошуків політичного союзу із Запорозькою Січчю, що в другій чверті XVII ст. перетворилася на одну з найпотужніших на той час військову силу, з якою змушена була рахуватися як Османська імперія, так і Річ Посполита. Така обставина і стало передумовою посилення воєнно-політичної співпраці між козацько-гетьманською Україною та Кримським улусом. Разом із тим, такий перебіг подій уможливив розвитку культурних взаємин між цими країнами, що потребує особливого дослідження.

**Ключові слова:** воєнна співпраця, османсько-турецьке писемне джерело, історіографія, Османська імперія, Хотин, Військо Запорозьке.

**Problem statement.** The topicality of the study is accounted for by the point that studying the historical events associated with the military cooperation, as well as the formation process of the Cossack-Crimean Tatar military and political alliance during the period from



the time of the end of Khotyn War till the 40s of the 17th century, requires a thorough academic analysis with taking into account the data available in Turkish-Ottoman written documents and in that historiography. In particular, there are issues related to the influence of the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks, as well as the effect of their military marches in the Black Sea, on the relations between the Ottoman Empire, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovia. When pondering the consequences of the Khotyn War, for instance, the causes that contributed to the convergence of the Crimean Tatars with the Zaporozhian Cossacks, in our opinion, one should mind the historical event having been fixed in the Turkish-Ottoman chronicles of that time (Ostapchuk, 1989, p. 23–48). The essence of that event is tries of the Sublime Porte and those of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to set up mutual relations. However, the Khotyn War demonstrated the impossibility for those endeavours to come true, as neither party was capable of keeping under control the population in the border area, that is the Crimean Tatar and the Ukrainian Cossack ones. Moreover, in 1623 the Budjak Tatars (Başer, 2010, p. 11–75; Khalymonenko, 2010, p. 57), headed by Mirza Kantemur, after the said war became as strong as ever, which turned out for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a threat not the least, that the threat from the Crimean-Tatar Army. Considering the principal problem of our study, it is important to note that the unsuccessful Khotyn military march, headed personally by Sultan Osman II Gendj, resulted in a destabilisation of the internal political situation in the Ottoman Empire, which became be manifested in uprisings that started to occur in different regions of that country, including its capital – the city of Istanbul. Besides, the situation in the country got aggravated by the fact, that it was the time, that the Irani-Turkish war began (Öztürk, 2004, p. 367). This internal political factor also contributed to an extension of the rebellion movement towards the Turkish possessed areas in Northern Black-Sea Area, particularly onto the territory of the Crimean Khanate.

**The analysis of sources and recent studies.** The problem of an academic study about the military cooperation between the Zaporozhian Host and Crimean Khanate was in the centre of fundamental studies made by a serious of national and foreign scholars: Yu. Mytskyk «From a source about the history of the Ottoman Empire and Crimean Khanate between the 16th and the first half of the 18th centuries» (2010), V. Brekhunenko «Cossacks on the Steppe Border of Europe: a typology of the Cossacks communities between the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries» (2011), F. Turanly «The Cossack period in Ukraine’s history in Turkish Ottoman written sources (the second half of the 16th century – the first quarter of the 18th century)», (2016), Y. Öztürk «Relations Between the Turkish Empire, Zaporozhian Cossacks and Crimean Khanate in the first half of the 17th century» (2018) and others.

**The publication purpose.** Analysis of the data available in the Turkish-Ottoman chronicles we have studied about the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine in the first half of the 17th century and about its relations with the Ottoman Empire, as well as identification of the circumstances under which there was rising of the military and political cooperation between the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine and Crimean Khanate.

**Statement of the basic material.** Under the conditions having set up the government of the Sublime Porte was not able to help the Crimean Yurt in suppressing the protesting movement of the population of that one, which was a real threat for the government of the said state formation in terms of possible losing its control over the Crimea. This fact compelled the ruling circles of the Crimean Khanate to look for a political union with the powerful at that time military force – the Zaporozhian Host. One should also take into account the point, that one of the most forcing reasons for massive uprisings of the Crimean Tatars was the execution of

the Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray II following an order of the Turkish Sultan, and even the high status of the khan did not save him. In response to that execution the sons of the dead khan, Saadet and Murad, organised a rebellion of the population in the Crimean Khanate as a protest against the actions of the Sublime Porte. But the attempts of the khan's descendants turned out to fail, and they, having been defeated, started to maintain their own relationships with the Ukrainian Cossacks, as well as with the Nogay Tatars<sup>1</sup>, that were under the subordination to the Muscovia Tsar Mikhail Fiodorovich Romanov (ruling: 1613 – 1645). These Nogay Tatars together with the Don Cossacks were to provide support of the Caucasian policy of the Muscovian Czarism (Homan, 2002, pp. 12–14; Khalymonenko, 2010, pp. 56–58; Turanly, 2016, p. 215–216; İvanics, 2015, pp. 53–73; Bozkurt, 2002, pp. 579–580). In such a way the sons of the executed khan tried, aspiring an alliance with the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks, to snatch the initiative from the government of the Crimean Khanate in relation of the above said reorientation of the foreign policy of that state formation. The Ukrainian Cossacks – Crimean Tatars Union established under those conditions got stronger later during the ruling of the grandson of Mehmed Giray II – the Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray III (ruling: 1622/1623 to 1628).

The historical written sources, which we have studied, manifested that the Crimean Khanate during the ruling of Sultan Ahmed I took an active part in the war of the Sublime Porte with Austria and Iran. For the heroism having been demonstrated in the said war Khan Gazi Giray II (2nd ruling: 1596 to 1607) was awarded by Turkish Sultan with the title «the Sword Master» (Turanly, 2016, p. 216), while his generations, respectively received certain privileges, particularly the personal immunity. When the said Crimean Khan died, representatives of his kin (shirins, mansurs, sudjivites) proclaimed his son Toktamysch Giray (ruling: 1607/1608 to 1609) to be the Governor of the Crimean Yurt. But another decision was made in the Sultan's palace, and namely: the brother of Gazi Giray – Selamet Giray I was appointed the Khan (ruling: 1608 to 1610), and the descendants of Gazi Giray II, that is Mehmed Giray III and Shahin Giray – got respectively the *kalgay*<sup>2</sup> (Öztürk, 2015, pp. 150–151) and *nuraddin*<sup>3</sup> (Öztürk, 2004, p. 368–369) titles. This fact happened to be also an internal political cause that became an imposing motive for activating the formation process of the Ukrainian Cossacks – Crimean Tatars Union (Turanly, 2016, pp. 214–233).

A new phase in the development of the military cooperation and political union of the Crimean Khanate with the Zaporozhian Host was between 1623 and 1624. The proof of the efficiency of the pro-Ukrainian foreign policy of the Crimean Khanate is the fact, that at the end of the said historical period the military and political cooperation between the Zaporozhian Host and the Crimean Khanate reached its highest point (Öztürk, 2018, pp. 26–34). Particularly, the large importance of that cooperation for strengthening of the position of the Ukrainian Cossacks statehood formation was proved by the following factors: the attack on 14 June 1623 of the Zaporozhian Host on the territory of the Ottoman Empire located on the southern coast of the Black Sea, and the invasion, on 28 June the same year, of the military forces of the Zaporozhian Sich into the occupation of the Sublime Porte located in the Northern Black-Sea Area. In the beginning of July 1623 Zaporozhian Cossacks made a regular sea-march to the Turkish city of Trabzon and ruined it, after which they approached very closely the capital of the Sublime Porte – the

<sup>1</sup> The Nogays is the name of a Turkic-language speaking people, whose nomination originated from an authoritative governor of the Golden Horde times – Khan Nogay (1270 – 1299).

<sup>2</sup> Each Crimean Khan appointed a *Kalgay*, that is his Substitute.

<sup>3</sup> Nureddin – a descendant by blood who presides in local courts, as well heads small corps during military marches.

city of Istanbul. Then in 1624 the new governors of the Crimea, those were Mehmed and Shahin the Girays, being supported by Zaporozhian Cossacks, defeated the Turkish Ottoman military forces, whose aim was to punish the said governors for their insubmission. Understanding by the governing circles of the Zaporozhian Sich and the Crimean Khanate of a mutual usefulness of the military and political union is the fact, so, after resisting the attack of the Ottoman army, Shahin Giray and the heads of the Zaporozhian Host reached an agreement on defending each other against attacks and on providing joint military actions (Öztürk, 2004, p. 376–377; Ostapchuk, 1989, pp. 49–91). We note that Yuriy Mytsyk, a Ukrainian historian, qualified this historic event in the following way, after analysing some Polish archival documents as a coup d'état, which resulted in getting the power in the Crimean Khanate by supporters of the Ukrainian Cossacks – Crimean Tatars Union: «In May 1623 a coup d'état occurred in the Crimea, and the power was taken by Khan Salamat Giray's son Magomet Giray III (ruling: 1610, 1623 – 1627), while his right hand was his brother – a famous Kalgay-Sultan Shahin Giray, who supported the Ukrainian-Crimean Union» (Mytsyk, 1996, p. 205–214). Such a re-orientation in the foreign policy of the Crimean Khanate was proved by an analysis of the contents of the written agreement signed between the Zaporozhian Host and the Crimean Khanate in December 1624, that officially set up a military and political union between the said state formations during 1624 – 1629. Particularly, this historical document includes the independence of the Zaporozhian Host representatives to recognise de jure the independence of the Ukrainian Cossacks as that of a subject of international relations (Brekhunenko, 2014, pp. 147–156). The information about the military and political union between the Ukrainian Cossacks and Crimean Tatars, that we obtained from Ottoman written sources and from the Turkish Historiography, was proved by evidence of Ukrainian historians (Mytsyk, 2010, p. 330; Brekhunenko, 2011, pp. 424–444; Scherbak, 2006, p. 233, 241).

The mentioned event resulted in activating invasions of Budjak and Nogay Tatars in the Western territories of Ukraine (Mytsyk, 1996, pp. 20–206). The reason for those invasions was the fact, that at the time, when the contradiction between the Crimean Khanate and the Sublime Porte got shaper, there became more active the military and political activities of the said governor of the Nogay Tatars – Kantemur – in the interests of the Ottoman Empire. The results of such activities were as follows: 1) a significant decrease in the number of attacks of Zaporozhian Cossacks onto the territory of the Bogdan Country; 2) as an alternative force against the charismatic leaders of the Crimean Khanate, there were manifested the activities of Mehmed Giray III and Shahid Giray, who were not satisfied with the position of the Sublime Porte in relation of the appointment of the governors of the Crimean Khanate; 3) as Kantemur, for his heroic deeds in the Khotyn War, was appointed by Sultan Osman II Gendj, the Defender of «Özi<sup>4</sup>», the Norgay Horde depended on the foreign policy of the Sublime Porte. Therefore, the described events were obviously against the interests of the Ukrainian Cossacks – Crimean Tatars Union. That should be added with the point, that the battle, which had taken place between the troops of Shahin Giray and Kantemur's one on the banks of the Danube, was lost by the inheritor of the khan's throne. Despite this failure, Shahin Giray kept making his military attacks. For example, his military forces attacked Kafa, while Kantemur was in that city. However, this attack was not a success. We may suppose that in these military actions the Zaporozhian Host Cossacks participated too.

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<sup>4</sup> «Özi, Özi, Özi») – this word was used to mean the River of Dnipro («Özi Nehri»), Fortress of Ochakiv («Özi Kalesi»), the Dnipro Cossacks («Özi Kazakları»). In the Turkish Ottoman written documents we have studied this term is used in two semantic meanings: 1) the hydronymic (the River of Dnipro); 2) the toponimic (the Fortress of Ochakiv – the main administrative centre of the Dnipro Area) (Sâmi, p. 1068 – 1069).

The data, available in Turkish Ottoman written documents relating to the respective historical period, show that the formation process of the military and political union between the Zaporozhian Host and the Crimean Khanate accounted for strengthening the intensity of the military and sea-marches of the Ukrainian Cossacks against the Ottoman Empire. For instance, in 1623 Istanbul was again attacked by a Cossack Fleet, and in June 1624 Zaporozhian Cossacks on 150 sea-gull boats attacked the Turkish land occupation, after which they mastered some of that land occupation, located on the southern coast of the Black Sea, actually on the shore of the Bosphorus Strait. During this attack a lot of trading facilities were ruined and burnt. The next march of a 5,000-military and political detachment of Zaporozhian Cossacks headed by Olexiy Safran on 300 sea-gull boats was made in 1625. The attackers devastated the northern shore of the Peninsula of Asia Minor from the city of Trabzon to the city of Sinop. After a fierce fighting with the Turkish Fleet the Cossack military and naval forces were defeated and returned to their motherland. During the counter-attack of the Turkish military and naval forces in 1625 under the head of Rejep Pasha the Cossack Fleet was defeated. However, in spite of this defeat, the Cossack Fleet did not stop making sea marches during a few following years either. That made the Ottoman government delegate the «Özü» Defender – Murtaza Pasha – and the Turkish Fleet Commander – Hasan Pasha – so as to strengthen the defence and search for new allies (Öztürk, 2004, pp. 384–409).

Hence, in 1625 the activity of the Zaporozhian Cossacks invasions onto the Black-Sea occupied lands of the Sublime Porte reached a level unheard at that time, and there even occurred cases, when Cossacks commanders had agreed in those invasions with the intentions of the Crimean Tatars. But after oppressing the Ukrainian Cossacks by the Poles, which happened during 1625 – 1626, the activity of the military actions of the Zaporozhian Host against the Turks got down noticeably. Though the ruling circles of the Ottoman Empire comprehended, that the said phenomenon was temporary. That is why the government got the advantage of the situation having set up for performing measures aimed at an improvement of the defensive potential of the frontiers of Turkey's occupied land in the Lower-Dnieper Area. For example, a decision was made to construct in the mentioned regions two fortresses. The importance of such a construction with the aim of preventing in future invasions of armed detachments of Ukrainian Cossacks can be proved by the following fact. To overcome the problems with the material provisions and supplies for the implementation of that project, the government of the Sublime Porte re-distributed the taxes coming to the governmental treasury from the lands in the Lower-Dnieper Area, so as to use the collected funds for the construction of fortified structures, which were to protect the northern frontiers of the Empire (Ostapchuk, 1989, p. 92–125). By strengthening the borderline of its occupied lands in the Northern Black-Sea Area, the Ottoman government during 1627 and 1628 made a few military marches against the Ukrainian Cossacks, as well as completed the erection of fortified structures in the area of the Fortress of Ochakiv.

We may also characterise the historical period, we have studied, as a period of a military rise in the force of the Crimean Tatars, Nogay and Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks on the Northern border of the Black Sea. In this relation the Turkish historian Ö. Öztürk states: «The Polish-Cossack and Ottoman-Cossack wars in the first quarter of the 17th century did remain their consequences. At the same time there was intensified an uprising in the Crimea against the Ottoman Empire. This event to a certain extent happened to become a cause for a joint counteraction of the [Ukrainian] Cossack and [Crimean] Tatar communities» (Öztürk, 2015, pp. 23–24). This historian underlines then that «At that time Muscovia, as if being neutral,

tried first of all in indirect ways to protect the Cossacks, aiming at setting those under its control. Because of the Cossacks attacks at the near-the-border territories of the Ottoman Empire, the Army under the commandment of Osman II started the Khotyn Military March (1621), which was a failure, as the Crimean Tatars were in rebellion against the Ottoman ruling and did not help that seriously» (Öztürk, 2015, pp. 23–24). Developing his idea, Ö. Öztürk made the conclusion: «The ally relations between the Ukrainian Cossacks and Crimean Tatars against the Ottoman control reached its significant level after the Khotyn Military March, and that lasted till 1627 poky. At that time the Ottoman authorities had almost lost their influence in the Crimea, which had been occupied by the brothers Mehmed and Shagin Girays, who left their personal trace in the policy of that time. In addition, these brothers actively cooperated with the Zaporozhian Cossacks» (Öztürk, 2015, p. 24). Hence, the said facts enable us making the conclusion in terms of the reasons for a rise in the allied relations between the Ukrainian Cossacks and Crimean Tatars, as well as in regard of the unsuccessful Khotyn Military March headed personally by the Turkish Sultan.

The textological analysis of the contents of texts in some official documents of the Ottoman government, which we have made, showed that the establishment of the military and political union between the Zaporozhian Host and Crimean Khanate was supposed by the ruling circles of the Ottoman Empire to contradict not only to the foreign interests of the state, but also to the legal norms of the Crimean Khanate status having been set up yet under the ruling of Sultan Mehmed II Fatih. So the Ottoman government tried to settle the problem by dismissing Mehmed III Giray (Shahin Giray's brother) from the khan's throne and appointing Janibek Firay to the khan's throne. After that both brothers, aiming at rising the resistance to the said measures of the Ottoman government, activated their searching to identify opportunities for setting up a political union between the Crimean Tatars and Ukrainian Cossacks. Minding the point that the new appointed governor of the Crimean Khanate failed to oppose the pressure from Shahin Giray, increased by a support from the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Ottoman government had to recognise the power of Mehmed III Giray, who openly announced his support of the above said union, which lasted till 1628. After the allies managed to set up a joint control over the Crimean Khanate, in particular after the Ukrainian Cossacks again captured the city of Kafa, in the Crimean Khanate, a so called «Cossack tax» was introduced, which became a heavy burden for the population of this state formation (Öztürk, 2004, pp. 380–383). The name of the tax itself may imply, that a large share of the collected funds was got by the Ukrainian Cossacks.

About an essential source-related importance for a complete conceiving the problems associated with the political union between the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Crimean Tatars, that was accompanied by the complications rising in the relations between Bakhchisarai and Istanbul, long-lasting naval marches and wars against the Sublime Porte during 1614 – 1628, as well as by the construction of defensive facilities by the Sublime Porte in the Lower-Dnieper occupied lands of the said state, are some other documents kept in the Ottoman Archive. For example, it is «The Order to the Judges of Silistra<sup>5</sup>, Nigbolu<sup>6</sup>, Vienne<sup>7</sup>» written on 6 June 1627, that informs of the construction of the Fortress of Tiagin (Doğan Geçidi) in the area of the Dnipro (Yıldırım, Atik, Cebecioğlu..., 2001, 2 [3], p. 4)<sup>8</sup>. To provide assistance in this

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<sup>5</sup> There are meant the lands belonging to the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans.

<sup>6</sup> There are meant the lands belonging to the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans – the modern city of Nikopol on the territory of Bulgaria, that is located on the southern bank of the Danube.

<sup>7</sup> The capital of the state of the Austrian Habsburgs.

<sup>8</sup> The modern village of Tiaginka.

construction, there were sent an army and officials from the regions of Silistra, Nigbolu and Vienna. Their Judges received respective orders – to provide an organised redislocation of the army in the place of its destination. Another document – «An Order to the Judge of Ackerman» (the date of the writing of this document was 6 June 1627) (Yıldırım, Atik, Cebecioğlu..., 2001, 4 [5], p. 4) states, that the Commander-in-Chief of the Dnipro Region<sup>9</sup> prepared quite a lot of construction materials of wood for the construction of a fortress in the area of the city of Tatarbunary<sup>10</sup> (Uzunçarşılı, 1995, Cilt III, 1. Kısım, p. 129). However, he was dismissed from the position, and the materials were sent to the Fortress of Ackerman. When it got known about that, an order was received from the Centre<sup>11</sup> for the Judge of Ackerman and for the official, responsible for the delivery, to resend the said materials to the river of Dnipro for repairing the Fortress «Öz»<sup>12</sup>. It is worth of paying attention to the data fixed in the document under the title «An Order to the Beglerbeg of Ochakiv («Özi») Ibrahim (May His Happy Life Last Long!), who was the authorised governor of Silistra Sandjak» (Yıldırım, Atik, Cebecioğlu..., 2001, 64 [79], pp. 45–47; Yıldırım, Atik, Cebecioğlu..., 2001, 65 [80] p. 47; Yıldırım, Atik, Cebecioğlu..., 2001, 105 [123], pp. 73–74). The text of this document ran the Ottoman government had undertake urgent measures aimed at making a military march against the Union. The text of this document also informs about the preparation and implementation of repair works in the Fortress of Ochakiv, which was considered then to be one of the most important measures. Ibrahim Pasha was given the order, that it was he himself, who was to be in the state of constant readiness and, when Vizier Hasan Pasha came with his fleet, to unite with that one. As the theme of the study we have made was relating to a source-study, we believe it is necessary to provide below an adapted text of the considered historical chronicle document in English.

«An Order to the Beglerbeg of Ochakiv («Özi») Ibrahim (May His Happy Life Last Long!), who was the appointed governor of Silistra Sandjak, on the following: according a will of our Lord, this happy year, so as to make stronger the Fortress of Ochakiv, it is necessary to complete the repairing works and overcome the available defects and failures. To provide in this area order without drawbacks due to my great wish. An important work shall be mobilisation of a lot of combatants. Together with me at the high level there shall be those ones, who started on the march (except for the part-timers), and the ones, who is already on a deserved rest – from the older people and Military Commanders (sipags, officials, chavushes (commanders having ranks of officers, 15 combatants), Secretaries of my Divan and from the Executive Office [evidently, the one dealing with the land-relating issues], officials, chavushes, record-keepers [evidently, an officer in the army, who performed duties of the record clerk], apprentice-assistants of the secretaries, alabei-officials, and generally all the mentioned landlords and officials) – these ones shall be under your subordination. All the said people shall be mobilised in due time near yourself; the Chief Marchall-Commander of my respected Navy Fleet shall be officially appointed Commander-in-Chief of the military community which is to draw duties, while the seraskirs (army commanders), appointed by the latter ones, as well as the serdars (top commanders), shall be effective. When the World's order from the Defender comes – my Vizier Hasan Pasha (May His strength supported by the Almighty Lord not stop!), be ready with your armed people in Ochakiv. The order I have issued personally,

<sup>9</sup> There is meant Mehmed Pasha. In 1620s Iskender Pasha was taking the said office.

<sup>10</sup> A town in Odesa Oblast, Ukraine.

<sup>11</sup> There is meant the Topcapı Palace located in Istanbul.

<sup>12</sup> There is meant the Fortress of Ochakiv (In the Turkish-Ottoman it is spelt as «Özi», or «Özü»).

which is a source of happiness, shall be valid. I order that ...» (Turanly, 2016, pp. 221–225). The information obtained from «An Order (Yıldırım, Atik, Cebecioğlu..., 2001, p. 69–70) to the judges of the cities of Kafa, Sudak<sup>13</sup>, Taman<sup>14</sup>» dated from 30 June 1628, which tells us that «despite their official discharge from the then occupied posts, Mehmed and Shirin the Girays<sup>15</sup>, two brothers, did not recognise that decision<sup>16</sup>, so they decided to struggle against the Ottoman State, which had approved as its final decision the actions directed at a complete getting rid of the said brothers-rebels (Yıldırım, Atik, Cebecioğlu..., 2001, 101 [119] pp. 69–70). For reaching that aim a naval fleet was sent under the command of Hasan Pasha. At the same time from the Central Ottoman Control Headquarters orders were issued to the respective regional representatives, hereunder those ones were obliged to ensure observation by the people of the Crimea of the political course of the Sublime Porte» (Archive of the Topkapy Palace Museum (TSMA), 1642 – 1643, E. 0793; Aktan, 1995, p. 261). As it is seen from a written source we have studied (Kołodziejczyk, 2000, pp. 135–136), on 9 September 1630 an agreement consisting of seven articles was concluded between the Ottoman State and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Its main aim was settling «the Cossack problem», that is the maintenance of control over the most important facilities and headquarters of the Zaporozhian Cossacks in the area of the Dnipro and, particularly, on the islands of this river, including here also Khortytsia Island. There was provided appointment of the Hetman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks by the Polish party. Under this agreement Kalgay Islam Giray III was to be freed from the Polish capture, while attacks on Poland by the Crimean and Nogay Tatars were to be stopped (Öztürk, 2004, pp. 396–397).

Our analysis of the said data obtained from written sources concerning the Ukrainian Cossacks – Crimean Tatars Military Union enables us to come to the conclusion, that, despite a certain fragmentary character of the written documents we have studied, on one hand, those ones bring us to the conclusion of a rise in the military and political impact of the Zaporozhian Host on the southern lands of Ukraine and on the Black-Sea shore, and on the other hand, there is obvious the fact, that the Sublime Porte had to take in consideration the presence of Ukrainian Cossacks in the said region. Establishment of the Ukrainian Cossacks – Crimean Tatars political Union was also promoted by the struggle for the throne, and in particular, by disputes and contradictions between the governments of the Khanate and the head of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a joint control of the Crimean Khanate and the introduction of «the Cossack tax», searching by the government of the Ottoman Empire ways for settling the problem connected with the said attacks of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, as well as the Nogay-Tatar factor in the settlement of the said problem prove the fact of a non-stop growing of the Ukrainian Cossacks significance within the ration of the military and political forces available in the Northern Black-Sea Area in the first half of the 17th century (Turanly, 2012, pp. 370–380).

Our sources-study processing of certain Turkish Ottoman written documents referred to the above said historical period revealed the fact, that these documents include a larger bulk of the data proving a growth of the military and political significance of the Zaporozhian Host at the time before the electing Bohdan Khmelnytsky the Hetman. A whole set of the documents we have studied is related to the history of the relations between the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Crimean Tatars, Don Cossacks and the Nogays during the period 1637 – 1646,

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<sup>13</sup> A town-fortress in the Crimea.

<sup>14</sup> A town-fortress on Taman Peninsula (the water area in Kerch Strait).

<sup>15</sup> They were inheritors of the Khan's throne dissatisfied with the position of the Sublime Porte in relation of the appointment of governors for the Crimean Khanate.

<sup>16</sup> The decision of the Sublime Porte.

and also about the Sultan's and the Muscovia Tsar's negotiations on a political settlement of these relations. Beginning from 1634, the Zaporozhian Cossacks intended, jointly with the Don Cossacks, to conquer the Turkish fortress of Azov, which they managed to implement in 1637. The Ukrainian Cossacks played almost the key role in the said military campaign; they set the task to turn the Fortress of Azov into a Cossack stronghold or a citadel (Brekhunenko, 1998, pp. 210–211). Preparation to the capture of the Fortress of Azov by Cossacks is associated in the Turkish historiography (Uzunçarşılı, 1995, Cilt III, 2. Kısım, p. 154) with the events that took place during the governing of Khan Inayet Giray (ruling: 1635 – 1638), when his brother, Kalgay Güsameddin Giray, under the pretext of making a joint military march, managed to co-opt with him the army of the Nogay Tatars, who controlled all the area adjoining to the Fortress of Azov, and then he started towards the Fortress of Ackerman. Under such conditions the Zaporozhian Cossacks jointly with the Don Cossacks in 1637 made one more march to Azov. This military action resulted in capture of the Fortress of Azov, while its population went through a lot of suffering. At that time Ukrainian Cossacks detained Foma Kankauzen – an envoy from the Turkish Sultan – who was on his way to the Muscovian Tsar.

It should be noted, that activation of the Zaporozhian Cossacks in capturing and keeping hold of Azov under their control became possible to a large extent, as the Cossacks felt winners in their historically long-lasting and endless struggle against the Poles. Particularly, in 1635 Hetman Ivan Sulyma (ruling: 1628 – 1629; 2nd ruling: 1630 – 1635) captured the Polish fortress of Kodak (Krypyakevych, 1990, p. 168, 345), while between 1637 and 1638, that is during the Polish-Ukrainian war, an uprising of Cossacks spread all over the whole Ukraine. Hence, the political impact of the Cossacks began to rise yet in the beginning of the military campaign in the autumn of 1632, which was connected with the conflict between the Moscow State and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Moscow Tsar expected that Muscovia would get under its control all the eastern Slavs' lands, including also the territory of Ukraine. In January 1633 Patriarch Filaret informed the ambassador of the Sublime Porte, that «all the Zaporozhian Circassians relentlessly determined that they want to live and to be under the high state hand, while from the Lithuanian people they got detached» (Florya, 1996, pp. 443–450). This information proves Muscovian Czarism was practicing, among others, the religious factor too, so as to catch hold of the above said lands.

As for the further development of events near Azov is concerned, the analysis of texts in Turkish-Ottoman chronicles made by the German scholar Bugra Atsyz, revealed that the capture of the Fortress of Azov by the Zaporozhian Cossacks Host quite unexpectedly provoked a corresponding response from the government of the Sublime Porte, which sent against the Ukrainian Cossacks its Turkish Black-Sea Fleet and ordered the Crimean Sultan and the Governor of the city of Kafa that after coming of the Fleet to Azov in the spring of 1638 and capturing Kafa, they should get the fortress free. Fulfilling this order, the army of the Crimean Khan Bagadyr Giray began to keep Azov in seizure. However, the Zaporozhian Cossacks provided guarding this fortress from the sea-side using 53 seagull-boats. This fact made the Crimean Khan, between at about the end of December and the beginning of January 1639, to move his army from Azov onto Taman Peninsula. Arrival of the Turkish Fleet to the Fortress of Kerch forced Zaporozhian Cossacks to leave the Tuzla Island they had occupied (Kerch Strait) and move back from Azov. Regardless the victory of the united Turkish-Tatar Army over the Ukrainian Cossacks in a two-day battle and an unsuccessful try of the Zaporozhians in the summer of 1639, they broke through to the Black Sea, the Fortress of Azov remained



under their control. The seizure of this fortress by the Turkish Fleet lasted after that three months more yet and ended in failure.

The considered events resulted in the transformation of the «Cossack factor» into the most important aspect of the negotiations between the government of the Sublime Porte and envoys from the Moscow Tsar Mikhail, the former ones in 1640 arrived in Istanbul to greet the new Sultan Ibrahim I (ruling: 1640 – 1648). During the negotiations an agreement was achieved, according to which, in case the Tatar marches to be stopped to the Muscovia lands, the Fortress of Azov was to be returned to the Ottoman Empire. However, the Tatars did not stop their tries to return Azov to their power. The regular try of the Crimean Khan to capture Azov happened to be again not successful, and the same year Sultan-zade Mehmed Pasha was appointed in 1641 the head of a military operation aimed at returning Azov. Tsar Mikhail in April 1642 communicated to Hetman of the Don Cossacks his decision to transfer the said fortress to the Ottoman Empire. The Cossacks, being dissatisfied by that decision of the Tsar, set the fortress to fire and left it. Therefore, Azov again turned out in the hands of its former masters, and its Defender appointed by the Kafa governor became Islam Pasha. He captured the Fortress of Cherkes Kerman, where the headquarters of the Don Cossacks was located. The results of this military action was liberating 5,000 prisoned Moslems, and the Cossacks available there in the locality got imprisoned (Atsyz, 1977, p. 1–15).

The Turkish traveller and chronicles-writer Evliya Chelebi wrote the following about the mentioned events: «After ruling of the Turkish Sultan IV (ruling: 1623 – 1640) the Ruses, who have been called before «the Muscovites», and were representatives of the yellow race, «raised their heads like a seven-headed dragon, and commenced to ruin the Crimean and Azov lands violating the quietness of the Ottoman governors. The Crimean Khan [Ahmed Giray] (ruling: 1641 – 1644) informed about that the Sultan Ibrahim [I], and after a brief discussion the Sadry-Azam [Kemankesh] Kara Mustafa Pasha was ordered to get down to the settlement of that problem, while the Sadry-Azam expressed his wish to carry out another military march». Then the chronicler informs, that «the Rus Cossacks [the Zaporozhian ones]» in the amount of 80,000 persons, that were subordinated to Muscovia, surrounded the Fortress of Azov. «They, the kuffar, will be burning in the hell after their death, after defeating the army of the Vizier and the Crimean Khan captured the Fortress of Azov. Then 80,000 of the kuffar were got billeted on the area of the fortress having taken in their possession all the material riches». Evliya Chelebi tells us also, that «the same year [1641] a Cossacks Fleet of 150 seagul-boats set off to the Black Sea and seized trading ships and traders from the seashore-located towns. At the same time, they ruined the fortress, settlements and towns» (Çelebi, 1896, pp. 113–114; Çelebi, 2007, pp. 17–30). The facts obtained from «The Book of Travellings» prove a large scale of the Muscovia State's military actions against the Ottoman Empire, in which a great number of Zaporozhian Cossacks took part, including here the Cossacks Fleet. So, the Muscovia Czarism, after conquering Azov, improved its positions in the Black-Sea direction only owing to the Zaporozhian Host's support of the military actions of its military forces.

Another chronicle-writer of the 17th century, and namely Gasan Vedjhi, informed of lasting sea-battles, which were going on between the Cossack and Turkish Fleets. It should be noted, that all the chronicle-writers we mentioned described very thoroughly the armies deployment place and the chronology of the military campaigns, in particular, that of the battle near Azov, as well as the consequences of that battle. The facts we have identified enable us to define this military conflict as a massive «Azov War». Besides, it should be outstressed,

that the Cossack armed forces participated in that war on the side of Muscovia, and it was they, who were a lion's share of the united army, which was fighting against the Ottoman Empire, and kept under its control the Fortress of Azov for four years (Vedjhi, 17th, pp. 28–30, p. 36; Başer, 2010, p. 229). These facts are proved by the information we have obtained from another written source: «At once Sultan Ibrahim [I] began to think, how to make the Black Sea safe from Cossack attackers, and so as to ensure a normal traffic of ships going to Istanbul. But the Fortress of Azov, located in the estuary of the river of Don, was in the hands of Cossacks, because its liberation required making a lot of strong efforts» (Kantemir, 1998, p. 301). Therefore, according to that piece of news, it was the Zaporozhian Host, that was the basic armed force that defended the Fortress of Azov. Concerning the problems we have studied, in particular the issue of the military and political activities of the Zaporozhian Cossackdom, the Ottoman archival document titled «Sultan Ibrahim's [I] Message to the Great Vizier» (Turanly, 2016, p. 228–231; Pritsak, 1993, p. 183–184; Uzunçarşılı, 1995, Cilt III, 1. Kısım, p. 223–239; Pakalın, 1993, Cilt II, p. 257–258) read, that, when a monetary reform was to be carried out, besides the money unit «akche» (Sâmi, 1989, p. 44) there were to be left in the circulation the old money units (Pakalın, 1993, Cilt II, p. 126). This document had no date fixed of its writing, however the facts included in that give grounds to consider that the date of writing that document should be during 1642 – 1643, that is after the final returning by Turkey under its control the lost lands. The source also includes data of the financial character, and particularly about the introduction of the monetary reform after the victory of the Ottoman Army over the Cossack-Muscovian army, however it also includes some information about certain social and political issues. Particularly, there was written about the situation in which the Cossacks happened to get: «...I, [Sultan Ibrahim I] received a good piece of news, which fills my soul with joy, because the ill-natured [Zaporozhian] Cossacks got in a serious situation, just the one they have deserved for» (Turanly, 2004, p. 477–481). These data support the fact of the serious social and economic situation of the Ukrainian Cossacks, in which those happened to get, after they, together with the Muscovian warriors, were defeated in the said war, and quite a lot of Cossacks having been taken prisoners.

An important point in the said document is a piece of information about holding in the Ottoman Empire a monetary reform: «...despite the introduction of the new money units, the old ones shall be used further too». The studied documents show the important situation of the Cossacks (the Zaporozhian ones and the Don ones), which those got in after in 1643 the Turkish army headed by the Vizier set up control over their formerly possessed lands and liberated Azov and other fortresses-castles in the said region: – «Cherkes Kerman» (*Çerkes Kerman*) and «Metadje» (*Metace*) (TSMA, E. 0793). After the liberation and restoration of the Fortress of Azov the above said Kafa governor was appointed its Defender. There were also defeated other strongholds of the Don Cossacks, from which about 5,000 Moslem prisoners were freed, while the Cossacks who were in that locality happened to be got prisoners themselves (TSMA, E. 0793). The said written document also fixed proofs of the fact, that in 1645 a Muscovian envoy repeatedly arrived in Istanbul with a letter from the Muscovian Tsar, which ran about the announcement by the new tsar Alexei. In that letter the Muscovia Tsar also complained about the attacks of Tatars and Turks from Kafa onto his possessed lands. In his turn, Sultan Ibrahim I, after greeting the newly-announced tsar, in his reply wrote, that as soon as the attacks of Cossacks stopped on the shore of the Black Sea, and the Muscovians began to pay the Crimean Khan the tribute, only then there would be observed everything, that the Muscovian governor desired in his letter to get from the Sultan. Mutual

claims between the two governors lasted for some other following years too. Finally, to continue the friendly relations, the Turkish Sultan began to require from the Muscovian Tsar, that the Don Cossacks should free the Ukrainian city of Cherkasy that had been captured, and he also insisted, that the Muscovian people should not called themselves Cossacks (Turanly, 2010, p. 146–147). It should be noted, that those political events were taking place on the eve of concluding in 1648 a Union between the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine and the Crimean Khanate, particularly with the Ottoman Porte, and in the beginning of the National Liberating Revolution under the head of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, which was lasting during the second part of the 17th century.

Summing up the consideration of the data obtained from the Turkish-Ottoman written documents we have studied in terms of strengthening the impact of the Zaporozhian Host, it should be noted, that we have identified some additional information about the capture in 1637 by the Zaporozhian Host, jointly with the forces of the Muscovian Czarism, of the city-fortress of Azov, which was for the Sublime Porte an important strategic point. It was for that reason, that the Turkish Army, which wanted very much to restore its control over the former possessed lands, and so it was in this direction, that it concentrated its main forces. After making a series of military actions during 1641 – 1643, Azov and some other fortresses were returned under the control of the Ottoman Empire, while the Cossack armed forces turned out to get in a serious economic and social situation. We should note, that after studying the said problematic issue it becomes clear, that the Cossack factor was getting more and more important in the political relations between the Zaporozhian Host, the Muscovian Czarism, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman State. The arguments we have found permit us to state, that during the first half of the 17th century «the Cossack problem» was the point of special attention within the northern policy of the Ottoman government, which is supported by a rise in the military and political significance of the Zaporozhian Host in the international relations of that time. After consideration of archival and other proofs concerning the Ukrainian Cossacks – Crimean Tatars Union, we may state the fact of growth of the importance of the military actions of the Ukrainian Cossack Army in defending the southern frontiers of Ukraine. The central power of the Ottoman State had to take into account the forces of the Ukrainian Cossacks, and a set of respective decisions were made by the government of the Ottoman Empire directed at ensuring protection of its own interests. From the undertaken measures we can single out the following ones: 1) mobilisation and radiolocation of the Turkish Army Component from the Balkan countries to its new place of destination in the north of the Black-Sea area; 2) sending to the Dnipro additional navy military forces 3) building new defensive structures. In this context an important geopolitical role was played by the formation of a political union between the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Crimean Tatars, which was oriented politically against the Ottoman Empire.

**Conclusions.** The sources-based study we have carried out of contents of the Turkish Ottoman written documents, where there are available data about the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine in the first half of the 17th century and about its relationships with the Ottoman Empire, gives us grounds to make the following conclusions: 1) the Khotyn Military Campaign became a historical event, which noticeably changed the correlation between the military and political forces in Eastern Europe and in the Northern Black-Sea Area, while the consequences of that campaign were as follows: a) destabilisation of the domestic situation in the Ottoman Empire, hence – a further decrease in the capabilities of that state to keep holding its military and political positions in the above said regions; b) emergence of tendencies

to making actions in the foreign policy of the Crimean Khanate against the central power; c) a further rise of the military power of the Zaporozhian Sich and transformation of the «Cossack factor» into an important component of the international relations in Eastern Europe and in the Northern Black-Sea Area; 2) a crisis in the domestic situation, which was one of the most negative consequences for the Ottoman Empire after the defeats of its military forces in the Khotyn Military campaign, resulted in incapability of this state to provide help to the Crimean Khanate in suppressing by that the protesting movement of the population, and that made the ruling circles of the Crimean Khanate search a political union with the Zaporozhian Sich, that in the second quarter of the 17th century turned into one of the most powerful at that time military force, which both the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had to think of and take in considerations in their activities. It was this fact that became a pre-condition for strengthening the military and political cooperation between the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine and the Crimean Ulus. However, such a scenario of the events made it possible a development of the cultural relations between these countries which requires making further studies.

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**ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY OF PROTOHEGUMENS  
OF SVYATOPOKROVSKA PROVINCE (1743 – 1780):  
HISTORICAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research* – is to determine the main directions of the administrative authority of the protohegumens. *The methodology of the research* is based on the analytical and synthetic criticism of the documentation, which was made by the protohegumens at the Provincial office of Pochayiv Lavra and during the field meetings of the provincial consulate. The comparison of the copies of the encyclical letters, which were included into the entrance books documentation of the local monastic chanceries, has been made in order to establish the impartiality of the presented information on the condition of the original document absence. *The scientific novelty* of the work is the use in the scientific circulation of the entire non-applied corps of the monastic documentation: the visits protocols, the reform decrees, the disciplinary affairs of the monasticism, the encyclical letters of the protohegumen of Svyatopokrovska Province of the Order of Saint Basil the Great. **Conclusions.**



*The historical circumstances of the monastic administrative unit formation – Svyatopokrovska Province of the Order of Saint Basil the Great has been revealed. The evolution of the monastic legislation of the united Rus Order of Saint Basil the Great has been traced. The main provisions of the Constitution of the Order of Saint Basil the Great concerning the definition of the administrative work of the protohegumen's institution have been analyzed. The main directions of the protohegumen's activity of the province have been defined: the visitation of the monasteries, the monastic discipline, the appointment of the priests, the convocation of the provincial consuls, creating the provincial archives, writing the messages, making the warnings, the orders, the reformation decrees.*

**Key words:** *hegumen, protohegumen, capitol, order, encyclical letter, decree.*

### **АДМІНІСТРАТИВНЕ УПРАВЛІННЯ ПРОТОІГУМЕНІВ СВЯТОПОКРОВСЬКОЇ ПРОВІНЦІЇ (1743 – 1780 рр.): ІСТОРИКО-ПРАВОВІ АСПЕКТИ**

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – визначити основні напрями адміністративного управління протоігуменів. **Методологія дослідження** опирається на аналітичну та синтетичну критику документації, яка продукувалася протоігуменами у провінційній канцелярії Почаївської Лаври та під час проведення виїзних засідань провінційних консулт. Для встановлення об'єктивності подання інформації, за умов відсутності оригіналу документації місцевих монастирських канцелярій. **Наукова новизна** дослідження вбачається у використанні досі не запровадженого до наукового обігу цілого корпусу монастирської документації: протоколів візитацій, реформаційних декретів, дисциплінарних справ чернецтва, листів-обіжників протоігуменів Святопокровської провінції ЧСВВ. **Висновки.** *Розкрито історичні обставини утворення чернечої адміністративної одиниці – Святопокровської провінції ЧСВВ. Простежено еволюцію монастирського законодавства об'єднаного Руського Чину Святого Василя Великого. Проаналізовано основні положення Конституції Чину щодо окреслення адміністративної праці інституту протоігуменату. Визначено основні напрями діяльності протоігуменів провінції: візитування монастирів, дисциплінування чернецтва, призначення настоятелів, скликання провінційних консулт, укладення провінційного архіву, написання повідомлень, застережень, розпоряджень, реформаційних декретів.*

**Ключові слова:** *ігумен, протоігумен, капітула, управа, лист-обіжник, декрет.*

**Problem statement.** It becomes a necessity to turn to the historical experience of managing monastic communities under modern conditions of building of Basilian monasteries network. The system of the administrative authority of the Christian ascetic centers has undergone a certain evolution from the complete autonomy (each monastery had its own charter and was independent of each other) to the gradual legal submission first to the local bishops, and subsequently, there was a re-subordination to the newly formed institution of protohegumen. The introduction of this governing institution in the Ruthenian Uniate Church (Latin: Ecclesia Ruthena unita; Polish: Ruski Kościół Unicki) stimulated the creation of the autonomous system of an administrative control of the Basilian monasticism, which wasn't subordinate to either the local rulers or the Metropolitan of Kyiv, but instead it was subjected to the Papal Law. According to the Papal law (Canon Law), the monastic community of all the provinces of the Basilian Order was subordinate to the Pope. The considered authority system was borrowed from the administrative organization of the Roman Catholic monasteries for a more effective manner of the uniate monastic communities. There is an urgent need to examine the historical and legal aspects of the introduction of governance institutions that continue to operate in the modern Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, in accordance with our times, when there is the authority system reformation, due to the development of church institutions and the development of society, reflected in the regular updating of the Constitutions of the Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM).

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The main source for the study of the administrative authority of the protohegumen of Svyatopokrovska Province of OSBM is the official correspondence: encyclical letters addressed to the monastic communities. The encyclical letters of protohegumen, both printed and handwritten have remained preserved until our times. The copies of these letters are included in the registration books of the incoming documentation of the monastery chanceries. Due to the fact that the researchers had the possibility to collect and publish the correspondence of the Basilian institutions with the Holy (See: Latin Sancta Sedes, Apostolica Sedes) in a special archaeological publications, the protohegumen's encyclical letters of Svyatopokrovska Province of OSBM still remain unexplored, there is no special catalogue for this type of correspondence, the epistolary material remains scattered and requires the proper systematization (Welykyj, Pidrutchnyj, 1979; Catalogus, 1949).

The author of this article established the main source of the encyclical letters publications of the protohegumen Onufry Bratkowski (1772 – 1775) and Josaphat Morhulets (1777). The epistolary heritage of other prominent administrators of Svyatopokrovska Province of OSBM: Ipatiy Bilinskyi, Sylvester Koblianskyi, Sylvester Malskyi, Atanasiy Sheptytskyi (Atanazy Andrzej Szeptycki), Josaphat Siedlecki needs a further research (Stetsyk, 2016).

According to a number of the researchers, the general information on the administrative work of the protohegumen can be found in general works on the history of the Order, the Basilian law, the monastic authorities and biographical intelligence (Giżycki, 1904; Gil, 2005; Kołbuk, 1998; Lorens, 2014; Narys, 1992; Pidrutchnyi, 2018; Wereda, 2012; Wojnar, 1949; Wojnar, 1954; Wojnar, 1958). However, there are no special generalizations that would thoroughly and exhaustively cover the administrative work of the mentioned protohegumen in the church historiography. Hence, we consider it necessary to study the suggested topic.

**The publication** is to reveal the main directions of the protohegumen's administrative authority on the basis of the processed encyclical letters of the protohegumen of Svyatopokrovska Province.

**Statement of the basic material.** In 1743 the protohegumen institution emerged in the Ruthenian Uniate Church (Latin: *Ecclesia Ruthena unita*; Polish: *Ruski Kościół Unicki*) due to the fact of the unification with the two monastic Congregation of the Holy Trinity (the Lithuanian Province) and the Protection of the Blessed Virgin (Rus Province) into one Ruthenian Order of St. Basil the Great (*Ordo Sancti Basili Magni Ruthenorum*). In accordance with the decisions of Dubno General Capitol (May 26 – June 12, 1743), the Pope Benedict XIV issued the decree «*Inter plures*» (Between numerous, May 2, 1744), which approved the unification of the Rus and Lithuanian Uniate monasteries into one Order (Pidrutchnyi, 2018, p. 218).

At the same meeting, the «*General Constitutions*» were adopted, which defined the responsibilities of the newly-elected Order. In particular, it was determined that each monastic province had the right to establish its own council, which consisted of a protohegumen, four counselors and one secretary. These authoritative positions were elective. The elections of the provincial councils were held at provincial capitols (provincial monastic meetings) every four years. The Provincial Capitulum was convened and chaired by the Proto-Archimandrite, who was at the head of the entire Order and all the provincial protohegumen subordinated to him, or by his delegate. The main duty of the protohegumen was to supervise and keep an eye on the monastic discipline in the monasteries. The protohegumen was obliged to visit the provincial monasteries annually, to write reports on the results of its conduct and send

them to the Proto-Archimandrite. During the general capitols, the protohegumen submitted a general report on canonical visits.

In addition, the protohegumen appointed the superiors for the small monasteries with the help of the written consent of the provincial counselors, and for the large monasteries the protohegumen nominated the candidate for the approval to the Proto-Archimandrite (Pidruchnyi, 2018, p. 219).

Let's consider the main directions of the administrative authority of the proto-hegumen of Svyatoprovskya Province.

*Visitation of the monasteries.* The practice of visiting parishes and monasteries for the newly-joined dioceses (Przemyśl, Lviv-Kamyanets, Lutsk-Ostroh) was introduced by the Zamoisk Synod (1720) and relied on the local bishops. With the formation of a separate monastic administrative unit – Svyatopokrovska Province (1739), which included unicameral monasteries of Przemyśl, Lviv-Kamyanets, Lutsk-Ostroh and a part of the monasteries of the Kholm, Volodymyrsko-Brest, Kyiv dioceses, which moved from the jurisdiction of the local bishops to the subjugation of proto-archimandrite. During the transitional period (1739 – 1743) the monastic provinces (Rus and Lithuanian) were led by two proto-archimandrites that were independent of each other. And only since 1743 the institute of proto-igumenat was instituted for each province, which was subordinated to one common proto-archimandrite (Narys, 1992, p. 204). (Narys, 1992, p. 204).

The records of the descriptions of the monasteries visitations, compiled by the provincials (proto-hegumen), were originally stored in the archives of the Provisional Board of Svyatopokrovska Province of OSBM, which during the period was in Pochayiv Lavra, and their copies were in the offices of the monasteries under study and were actively used for the administrative management of the monastic residences. In particular, during the step-by-step visitation to the monasteries, the commission paid attention to the presence in the monastery archive of the visitation acts for the past years. After all, visitors compared the inventory description for the previous years with the real estate status of the monastery. Particular vigilance was focused on the implementation of the reform decrees, which pointed out the main shortcomings in the management of the monastery and monastic brotherhood.

The visitation agents conducted not only a description of the property status of the monasteries, but also questioned the monks of the monastic brethren to collect the information on the characteristics of the priest and the monks of the monastery. After the division of Rzeczy Pospolita, under the new socio-political conditions, this documentation received a practical application outside the Provincial Executive, becoming a subject of a public law in the Austrian monarchy. In particular, the excerpts from the visitations were used by the prosecutors (those responsible for the conduct of the court cases) of the monasteries during the judicial disputes. However, during the first half of the XIXth century. But the visitation materials came out of use gradually.

The structure of the visitation description corresponded to the requirements of Zamoisk Cathedral in 1720, covering, conventionally, three main sections:

1. The establishment of the jurisdiction and the canonical status of the monastery.
2. The inventory of a movable and immovable property of the monastery.
3. The investigation of the behaviour and the spiritual practices of the monks.

The sections proposed by us cover the small structural parts of the document form: the preamble (the title of the document, the name of the monastery, the organizer and the date of the visitation conclusion), a historical reference and the monastery location, the descriptions

of the monastery's building, the utensils (bowls, disco, spoons, etc.), priestly skirts, plumes, capes, the items of a liturgical use (crosses, banners, bells), the liturgical and library books, the description residence of the monks (cells, kitchen, refectory), the manor (subjects, servants, farmyard, tools, brewery, barns, stables, shpyhlyr, shops, stables), the register financial gains of the monastery (Stetsyk, 2016, p. 14).

However, it should be noted that the reference descriptions of the repression decrees and the characteristics of the activity of monasticism, which, in the context of the analyzed issue, were included into the separate books (APPD, XVIII), were not included in the visitation descriptions. However, during the study we could not find the correspondence of the records for 1763 – 1766, instead, we encounter such type of the documentation from the earliest time (1739 – 1740) (SATR, f. 258, d. 3, c. 1194, p. 1–30).

In the process of the visitation descriptions comparing of the monasteries inhabitants (1743–1780) and the acts of the investigations (1747) it was established that the earlier documents provide rather general and fragmentary messages. Instead, in the later «investigations», as one of the constituent acts of the visitation documentation, the extensive pieces of information provided, which are not limited to the biographical data, but also the descriptions of the behaviour of each monk and abess of the monastery were provided (APPD, XVIII).

The visitations allow to determine the legal status of the monasteries. Among the analyzed monastic cells, it is possible to single out the complete monasteries and their residences (stanytsi). According to its jurisdiction, all the monasteries were subordinate to protohegumen of Svyatopolska Province of OSBM.

*Discipline among the monks.* Apart from the mentioned protocols, the acts of of the life investigation, the behaviour and the spiritual practices of the monks were the separate group of sources among the visitation documentation of the monasteries. After all, the visitation commission, into which the protohegumen was also included, the provincial advisers and the prosecutor relied not only on the audit but also on the judicial functions. During the protohegumen visitations, the disciplinary cases of monks were considered. The investigative acts contain the ground information for the reconstruction of the monks' biographies (APPD, XVIII).

In order to streamline the monks' life, the numerous orders were issued by the protohegumen Onufriy Bratkovskiy about the observance of the sacrament, the duties by the monks and the punishment for the discipline violation in the monasteries. It was forbidden to waste money and time.

The obituaries of the protohegumen from 1773 to 1774 are mainly devoted to the decisions of the provincial capitulates. First of all, the attention was paid to the implementation of the Charter of the Beresteiska capitulum (1772) and the Hoscha Congress (1766). The attention was also paid to reminding of the need for the hegumens to adhere to the dispositions, concerning the urgent deportation of the monks to other monasteries. Obviously, in order to avoid arbitrariness in wandering by monks from the monastery to the monastery, hegumens are required to give written certificates to the monks indicating the route and the time of their journey. According to the orders of the protohegumen, the monasteries introduced the every Saturday regular readings of the rules and the Constitutions of the Order to inform the monks of these rules. The monks had to conform to the rules and the Constitutions of the Order. The provincial authority also paid attention to the correct interpretation of the rules of the monks' life by local hegumen, strictly prohibiting any changes and additions. At the same time, the problem was raised on the issue of preserving the Eastern rite of liturgies for the elimination

of borrowings from Latin rite. In each of the encyclical letter of the protohegumen Onufry Bratkowski, the greatest attention was paid to the knowledge and keeping to the monks' duties and responsibilities (Stetsyk, 2016, p. 16).

It was vital for the superiors of the monasteries to hand out the so-called letter-routes for the monks, who were travelling, in accordance with the instructions of the provincial council, from one monastery to another in order to fulfill the new duties. It was a virtue out of necessity implemented to strengthen the monasticism discipline. In the second half of the XVIII-th century it was often practiced to change the personnel of the monastery's inhabitants so that they would not get used to a permanent place of residence, but felt themselves as the temporal inhabitants on the Earth and rushed to fulfill their spiritual mission. Due to the monasticism mobility, the excessive attachment to the material things disappeared and the monks were engaged in various activities: pastoral activities, missionary activities, recollection activities, catechetical activities and educational activities. The superiors were supposed to meet the following protohegumen's requirement: to make and send references about the monks to the provincial chancery in order to create a catalogue of monks who were living in Svyatopokrovska Province. The establishment of such kind of annual catalogues, which was launched by Onufry Bratkowski reign, gave the provincial administration the opportunity to trace the dynamics of the monk's movement from one monastery to another. The establishment of catalogues was aimed at controlling the migration processes of monasticism (Stetsyk, 2016, p. 17).

The protohegumen in his letters reminded the monks countless times about the necessity to keep to the monastic vows (chastity, poverty, obedience and living in community). The willful behavior and the «intoxicating drinks» consuming were forbidden. Hence, in the monasteries lives such demeanor should have been eradicated. In case of breaking the rule, at least one of them, Onufry Bratkowski strongly recommended the superiors of the monasteries to impose the penance (punishment) on the monk offenders. The monasteries hegumens were responsible for the eradication of bad habits, especially, to root out the negative behavioral patterns which were brought in by the socialite after entering into monasticism. In particular, the emphasis was put on the paragraphs of reform decrees implementation that were made during the visitation of the monasteries. The monks should have performed the penance as the punishment for the violations of the monastic statutes until they improved their behaviour. Each time when the monk broke the rule, the penance became more severe.

*Superior's appointment.* The protohegumen had the right to appoint a candidate for the hegumen position, as the protohegumen was in charge of the monks moving. The special delegate was send by the protohegumen in order to nominate the candidate and announce the order for the monastic community, as a result, the appointed priest was introduced to the administrative post (installation procedure).

Before being nominated to the hegumen, the monk occupied various positions and performed various obedience in various monasteries of Svyatopokrovska province. In the biographical notes there were mainly recorded the duties, which the monks received after the completion of the studies and the priest ordinations. Most of them were initially confessors, preachers, procurators, and subsequently were appointed the hegumen of the monasteries and were elected at the provincial capitulum for the position of counselors of a provincial council. In addition to the church duties and the administrative governments, the hieromonks conducted the educational studios, holding the post of novices masters, the vice rector and the prefect of the school, the professor.

It is obvious that the term of the hegumen governance was not clearly regulated, since this position was not elective. Sometimes the hegumen could change every month, or they could not be governed for four years, but several cadences in succession, when it was necessary to bring the matter of the monastery to completion (for example, the construction of a church or a monastery, or the restoration of existing premises, etc.). The tasks and functions of the rector were limited to two main areas of activity: the organization and the coordination of the activities of the monastic community and the spiritual guidance of the monks (Stetsyk, 2015, p. 8).

*Convocation of Provincial Consulates (Meetings).* The protohegumen did not take individual decisions, but constantly consulted with his counselors and hegumen of the monasteries. He summoned advisory meetings, which were called the consulate, since they were based on the elected consulates (advisers) of the province, who at the same time appointed as the superiors of the monastery, and therefore could not live alongside with the protohegumen and the secretary in a provincial house (at that time it was in Pochayiv Lavra). Proceeding from these circumstances, the protohegumen constantly travelled to various provincial monasteries, conducting their visitation surveys, and upon its completion, summoned a counsel to discuss the revealed drawbacks in the style of an ascetic life.

During one year, several consultation visitations could be held at different monasteries. At these meetings, the current issues of the provincial management were considered: the distribution of foundations and the obligations between the monasteries, the organization of monastic studios, the consideration of the disciplinary cases. Both the orders of the capitula and the instruction of the consul were included in the encyclical letters of the protohegumen of Svyatopokrovska Province (Lorens, 2014, p. 102).

*Compilation of the Provincial archive.* During the reign of Onufry Bratkowski the compilation of the Provincial archive was carried on in Pochaiv. That's why, the encyclical letters informed about the necessity to continue the compilation of the inventory descriptions accompanied with the historical references about every single monastery of Svyatopokrovska Province. Moreover, the protohegumen required to compile a detailed register of the real estate finance documentation, in particular, bonds that were used by the administration of the monasteries. This is because this information should have been generalized and sent to Rome, as the Basilian Order was under the Pope's jurisdiction. Furthermore, a detailed description of the monastic landholdings and the privileges, confirmed by the relevant documents, was an urgent requirement of time, since the change of the secular power and the implementation of a religious reform required some protection of rights and freedoms (Stetsyk, 2016c, p. 18).

*Issue of Reform Decrees, Notices, Admonitions, Orders.* A critical sample was the encyclical letter of Josaphat Morhulets, the protohegumen (Почаїв, 07.02.1777 р.). According to the thematic structure, this letter consists of the preamble and the conclusions and three equivalent parts: a message, an admonition, an order. The first part of the abstract, titled as the «message», the main emphasis is put on the acquaintance of the protohegumen of the monasteries and their inhabitants with the narratives in the monastic statutes approved at the provincial capitol in Univ (1776). The second part of the letter is called the «admonition» section, which provides an overview of the disciplinary issues (the corrector). Various examples of the violations of the monastic statute (rules and constitutions) and the application of different punishment (penance) are given. The third part of the encyclical letter submits the protohegumen's «order», which regulates the most neglected aspects of the ascetic life of the Basilian monasticism. In particular, the emphasis was focused on the restoration of the

practice of a communal reading of the Holy Bible, the rules of St. Basil the Great, life of the saints before the beginning of the monastic meal. Also, the special attention was paid not only to the study, but also to regular, repeated readings for the entire monastic community of the last constitutions of the Order. Obviously, the main emphasis was highlighting the knowledge and the implementation of the revised norms of the Basilian legislation. The attention was paid not only to the violation of the behaviour of the monks, but also to the implementation of the certain spiritual practices (recollections, meditations).

It was required from the monasteries visitors to review the handwritten texts of the preaches and the educational tracts in order to check the professors, missionaries, preachers intellectual abilities. The audit of the students of Basilian schools was also the subject to revision. For this, the chapel chose the examining board, which had to attend provincial educational institutions at the end of each school year to test the knowledge. The commission submitted its work results in reports to the protohegumen. In order to raise the social discipline of monasticism, Pochayiv counsel suggested that monks-offenders should be sent to other monasteries for a spiritual renewal, where there was a more severe way of an ascetic life.

The protohegumen, conducting regular visitations of the monasteries, emphasized the necessity of inventory of movable and immovable property of the monasteries. After all, in the 70-ies of the XVIII-th century in the monastery records there was formed a whole body of the inventory documentation: a book of profits and expenditures; a book of input and output documentation; a register of monasticism; metric books; directory of the library; a register of hired workers. All these registration books were the subject to revision during the visitation of the monastery (Stetsyk, 2017, p. 135).

On the basis of a detailed revision of the monastery, the commission concluded a visitation visit, which was filed for familiarization with the protohegumen of the province. The latter, together with the provincial council (protoconsults, a secretary, an economist), took a collegial decision to eliminate the deficiencies, found in the life of the monastic community. The adopted document was made in the form of a reformation decree, signed by the protohegumen, it was addressed to a specific monastic community.

With the receiving of a decree letter by the monastery office, the local scribe drew it to a special book of the incoming documentation and, with its content, introduced the monks to the monastery who were obliged to obey the promise of obedience (Stetsyk, 2016a, p. 12). In particular, in the Book of Entrance and Output Documents of the Uman Basilian Monastery from 1765 to 1828 (manuscript), the record of 30.06.1781 on the conduct of the visitation examinations of the Uman monastery by the proto-governor of Svyatopokrovska province, Kaniv archimandrite Innokentiy Matkovsky and the secretary of the Provincial Council, Father Orest Nakhimovsky. Unfortunately, the visitation protocol was not included into the book and we could not find it in the well-known source corps. Instead, only the final act of visitation dated back to 02.07.1781, which included the recommendations for improving the organization of the monastic community, was preserved (Stetsyk, 2016 b, p. 24). The informative representativeness of the source is seen primarily in the possibility of the monasticism inner way of life studying: the daily and weekly liturgical cycles, the duties, the behavior during meals, the clausura obedience, the financial and the construction issues. The detailed content of this reformation decree is considered in a separate study

**Conclusions.** In order to elevate the spiritual level of the Basilian monasticism, the protohegumen established the practice of the encyclical letters writing that were addressed to the superiors of the monasteries of Svyatopokrovska Province. In examined letters, which

were structured according to the points, the main ways of the monk's spiritual improvement and the preservation of the monasteries material maintenance were clearly determined under the conditions of the constant threat of their liquidation and shutdown, both from the side of the Papal and secular authorities. It could be easily noticed that the protohegumen cared about the preservation of the ascetic foundations of the way of life of the monks, judging by the contents of the letters, and, consequently, the protohegumen encouraged the monastery superiors not to be indifferent concerning the abovementioned question.

Among the main areas of the administrative management of the protohegumen of Svyatoprovskia Province, we can distinguish the visitation of the monasteries, the monasticism discipline, the appointment of the superiors of the monasteries, the convening of provincial consuls, the compulsion of the provincial archives, the issue of the messages, the admonitions, the orders, the reorganization decrees.

The protohegumen offered the superiors of the monasteries to send their proposals to the provincial council concerning the issues of the amendments to the Constitution of the Order on the eve of the convening of general capituls. The following fact is the vivid example of the collegiality and democracy in the management of monasteries.

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**NAPOLEON RUSSIAN FORGED ASSIGNATIONS  
IN NADDNIPRIANSHCHYNA (OVER DNIPRO LAND)**

**Summary.** *The aim of article is generalization of the most completed and authentic facts about French financial diversion in 1812, specification of mistakes and inaccuracy of the previous researches, enlargement of Ukrainian archive depository and museum information; formation of generalized information about existing and forged assignations in legends as well as extension of concepts displaying about the methodology of finding those assignations in the collections and museums as well as in private ownerships. Methodological basics of the research are general scientific and special methods, method of historical periodization, historically comparative, topographic, the method of analysis variety, research of physical and chemical characteristics of paper and ink. Scientific novelty consists*

in introduction of earlier not published materials from the state archives and museums into scientific circulation which is seen in aggressive activity of original ink. **Conclusions.** The most full picture of the preparation process for the finance diversion during the war time of 1812 by French people was done and it was extended with evidences from the state archive of Ukraine. A trustworthy peculiarity while discovering French forgery of Russian assignations was established and it fundamentally completes the methodology of discovering of forgeries of this kind in museum and private collections.

**Key words:** Russian French War of 1812, Napoleon the First, assignation forgery, financial diversion, methodology of forgery discovery, archive materials.

## НАПОЛЕОНІВСЬКІ ПІДРОБКИ РОСІЙСЬКИХ АСИГНАЦІЙ В НАДДНІПРЯНЩИНІ

**Анотація.** Метою статті є узагальнення найбільш повних та достовірних відомостей про французьку фінансову диверсію 1812 р., уточнивши помилки та неточності в попередніх дослідженнях, доповнивши ці відомостей матеріалами з фондів історичних архівів та музеїв України; формування узагальнених відомостей про наявні на підроблених асигнаціях помилки в написах, а також розширення уявлення про методіку виявлення таких асигнацій у колекціях музеїв та приватних осіб. **Методологічну основу** дослідження становлять загальнонаукові та спеціальні методи, використано метод історичної періодизації, історико-порівняльний, топографічний, метод аналізу різновидів, дослідження фізичних та хімічних властивостей паперу і чорнила. **Наукова новизна** полягає у введенні до наукового обігу раніше неопублікованих матеріалів державних історичних архівів, а також вагової ознаки для виявлення подібних підробок у колекціях музеїв – що полягає у агресивній дії оригінального чорнила. **Висновки.** Створено та узагальнено найбільш повну картину процесу підготовки французів до фінансової диверсії під час війни 1812 р., що доповнено достовірними свідченнями із фондів державних історичних архівів України. Встановлено ще одну достовірну ознаку для виявлення французьких підробок російських асигнацій, що суттєво доповнює методіку виявлення таких підробок у музейних та приватних зібраннях.

**Ключові слова:** російсько-французька війна 1812 р., Наполеон I, підробка асигнацій, фінансова диверсія, методіка визначення підробок, архівні матеріали.

**Problem statement.** The history of wars is connected with the money forgery by the opponents' counties (Orlyk, Boiko-Gagarin, 2017, pp. 143–164). With the invasion of the French army to the Russian Empire, including Ukrainian and Belorussian lands in 1812, Emperor Napoleon the First resorted to finance diversion giving an order to produce secretly forged Russian assignations. Those forged assignations were added into the cash flow by occupying army and by private people either for covering French army costs or for harming the economy of the Russian Empire. The study of the forged money assignations at different time and in different historical periods we determine as an actual direction of contemporary scientific research in Ukraine (Kotsur, 2013, p. 8). Some known evidences about variants and varieties of forgeries need generalization as well as mistakes in the texts and signatures done by French. The necessity to improve and widen the methodology of exposing of those forgeries is very important for the development of researches in botany and history of money turnover that will help us to study and enter to the scientific circulation such assignations from museum collections.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Most of the previous scientific researches in the field of the given problematic have a range of inaccuracies and a general picture of the French finance diversion in 1812 is often missing, so the scientists almost do not use archival sources. Certain historical aspects of war with Napoleon were studied by V. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2011a, pp. 96–97; Orlyk, 2011b, pp. 59–64; Orlyk, 2012, p. 34; Orlyk, 2013, pp. 129–133), by V. Adadurov (Adadurov, 2006, pp. 20–36; Adadurov, 2007, pp. 167) and by O. Mashkin (Mashkin, 2012, pp. 29–30). One of the first attempts to research Napoleon forgeries in complex is an article written by the Hermitage employee – M. Marshak (Marshak, 1968),

further she in cooperation with A. Mykolaitchuk conducted researches of technical and technological peculiarities of those forgeries (Marshak, Mykolaitchuk, 2001, pp. 172–173). Separate question about Russian assignations forgery with Napoleon the First initiative was studied by O. Alekhov (Alekhov, 2003, pp. 27–34), O. Baiura (Baiura, 2012, pp. 62–65), L. Kvytskyavytchus (Kvytskyavytchus, 2008, pp. 188–192) and O. Khytalskyi (Khytalskyi, 2002, pp. 10–11). Some suggestions about French forgeries are present in scientific and popular works of V. Riabtsevytch (Riabtsevytch, 1968), R. Tchorzhevskyi (Tchorzhevskyi, 1988; Tchorzhevskyi, 1999), O. Orlova (Orlov, 2000, pp. 35–37) and A. Kryvenka (Kryvenko, 2003, p. 40). Varieties of famous Napoleon forged Russian assignations are highlighted in the catalogues for collectors by A. Denysov (Denysov, 2002) and a catalogue like research with appendix by A. Malyshev (Malyshev, 1991).

**The publication's purpose** is to generalize and clarify information about French finance diversity during the war in 1812, to widen knowledge about varieties and variants in the texts and assignation signatures and improvement of methodology of exposing of those forgeries in museum or private collections.

**Statement of the basic material.** At the beginning of the XIX th century some trade representative office started to be created on the Ukrainian land by French merchants, who saw Russian Emperor as efficient sales market (Adadurov, 2006, pp. 20–36). Before the war in 1812 started France did not have enough understanding of economical state in Livoberezhniia (Left bank of the Dnipro land) that is why the Empire Napoleon the First ordered Statistic department of the War Ministry «to make according to the true facts «statistic descriptions of Little Russian governorate»» (Adadurov, 2007, p. 167), which became during the military companion in 1812 in combination with information from the Secret Service one of the main sources of informational imagination formation of the French officership to the Russian Empire.

On June 11<sup>th</sup> 1812 Napoleon troops made crossing across the river Neman and invade town Kovno, with rapid attack they occupied Vilno, Grodno, Polots'k and Minsk, as well as part of Tchernihiv and Volyn' Governorate (Mashkin, 2012, pp. 29–30).

As professor V. Orlyk suggested, at the beginning of the XIX th century state finances of the Russian Empire were in unsatisfactory state because of significant budget deficit and needed essential reformation (Orlyk, 2011a, pp. 96–97). However, financing part of war in 1812 wasn't highlighted enough and stayed out of scientists' attention (Orlyk, 2012, p. 34). Before the start of Russian and French war there had been some changes in financing economy of the Russian Empire. According to the signed order from June 20<sup>th</sup> 1810 the main monetary unit became silver ruble according to which rates of others currency notes have been fixed. Besides the coins some paper assignations were in circulation which rate according to the silver ruble because of constant emission was shrinking. To stabilize monetary system according to M. Speranskyi's project some amount of assignations on account of taxes and customs tariffs increasing, after that gradually to stabilize the rate of assignations.

However, due to the expenses on the preparations for the war with France and Count M. Speranskyi's resignation, pre-arranged events had not been realized completely, a new Minister of Finance D. Huriev abandoned the assignations confiscation and, in accordance with imperial manifesto of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1812, all assignations were considered legal payment means (Vasiukov, 1993, pp. 8–9). During 1812–1815 Russian government made a new assignation emission to fund the war. Furthermore, Russian government was interested in the circulation area expansion for the money they produced on the territory where Russian troops were present, which was declared in the order of the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1813 given to General Field-Marshal and Prince Hohenishchev-Kutuzov-Smolenskyi (Demmeni, 1887, pp. 319–321).

The use of financial sabotage was fairly characteristic of Napoleon's foreign policy. Thus, during the war with Austria in 1806 – 1809, on Emperor's initiative, Prussian change and

Austrian bancozettel notes were forged, as in 1810s – English bank-bills (Malyshev, 1991, p. 178). The Russian assignments forgery on Napoleon's initiative is a well-known fact (Riabtsevych, 1968, pp. 69–70). Nowadays it is difficult to imagine a popular edition on money circulation history without a reference to the events of the 1812 financial sabotage, though most of the authors just mention this episode in money circulation without analyzing the sources or trying to put new data into use (Kryvenko, Kryvenko, 2003, p. 40; Orlov, 2000, pp. 36–37) or stating that French command's actions are one of the reasons for paper money debase compared with precious metal coins in Russia.

Ukrainian bonist R. Tkhorzhovskyi gave a classification of paper money where «interventionists' and invaders' money, military money» and «forged money and money substitutes forgery» are among state-made banknotes (Tkhorzhovskyi, 1988, pp. 10–11). However, we believe that assignments forgery, initiated by Napoleon, should be classified as money imitation for the purposes of financial sabotage.

As early as the beginning of 1810 French government entrusted the army central military leaders' engraver Lal with the production of copper clichés for Russian paper assignments forgery. As a preliminary verification of engraver's mastery, he was secretly entrusted with the imitation of an English official document and the production of its falsification. When this task was successfully completed, he was required to proceed to more strategic task for the Emperor, which was Russian assignments forgery for future war needs (Malyshev, 1991, p. 178).

To prepare the financial sabotage realization, a special printing house run by Napoleon's personal secretary's brother A.-J.-F. de Fain was founded in Paris on Boulevard du Montparnasse. The prototypes for the forgery were state standard 25-, 50- and 100-rubles assignments. In the clandestine printing house for forgery production, the separate room was created, where the produced copies were artificially made old by being covered with dust (Malyshev, 1991, p. 178). The real purpose of the clandestine printing house functioning was kept a secret, to achieve this no separate work team had specific information about the final product (Marshak, 1986, p. 51). In numismatic literature there is also an unfounded by credible sources assumption about establishing forgery printing in Moscow while French troops were in the city (Khytalskyi, 2002, pp. 10–11).

We agree with M. Marshak that the genuine purpose of bringing 25-, 50- and 100-rubles forged assignments into circulation by French Emperor on the territory of the Russian Empire was an attempt to support occupation army with this money, even when the author herself states that these copies role on Russian money-market was insignificant (Marshak, 1986, p. 62). Similarly, A. Malyshev undoubtedly correctly pointed at the main reason for the forged money emergence to deceive people, which was longing for enrichment, but he did not fail to remember possible political, social and economic background of this aspect as well (Malyshev, 1991, p. 175). Indeed, 25-rubles assignments, even despite a noticeably lower rate when measured against silver coins, had considerable purchasing power, which is demonstrated by the prices published in the newspapers before the war. Thus, a popular periodical «Moskovskie Vedomosti» reports the products prices in Moscow: refined sugar 75 rubles per pood (16 kg), Nizhyn cucumbers and cherries 8 rubles per tub, bread 30 kopecks per loaf (Moskovskie Vedomosti. № 2. Saturday, January, 6. Moscow, 1812. p. 44); and the information on fish prices: pickled trout, white-fish and Petersburg smelt 8 rubles per tub (Moskovskie Vedomosti. № 12. Saturday, February, 10. Moscow, 1812. p. 326). Taking into account the fact that the prices given in the periodical can be considered rather high because of the advertisement on main and well-known Moscow markets, the purchasing power of the forged Russian assignments was rather favourable for the troops financing as well as sabotage activities and scouting financing in the places where they were distributed.

M. Marshak, relying on the existing forged assignments in the Hermitage Museum, investigated primary sources pointing at the main officials whom Napoleon involved in the forgery process,

and to define the character of forged assignations, gave some information on the main processes concerning assignations production in the Russian Empire. First of all, we refer to the production of a special kind of paper with protective watermarks, putting embossing images on it and then printing with a single cliché in typographic mode, after this the numerator filled in the note number, only then the process finished in signing the assignations manually by the young Assignment Bank officials. They were busy with signing nearly all their work hours, being named the bank managers, advisers or directors just for demonstration or nominally (Marshak, 1986, p. 52). In addition, the author carried out technical and technological research on the assignation available in the Hermitage in the department of Scientific and Technological examination. This enabled the researcher to determine that there is no silk in «Napoleon» copies and they were made of hemp by pounding the paper masses more intensively, to imitate the paper quality cotton and wool fibres were applied on its surface and secured by starch glue (Marshak, Mykolaichuk, 2001, p. 172).

Unfortunately, the researchers do not specify the name and model of the used equipment, which imposes some limitations on the use of these results in future studies. The main difference between assignations produced in Russia and France lies in the technological process of forged assignations emission. The signatures on the first ones were made manually by a pen, while invaders used facsimile cliché with an engraved signature. As a vivid example of these differences, the researcher gives a combined illustration of the signatures implementation comparison on authentic and forged money (Fig. 1.).

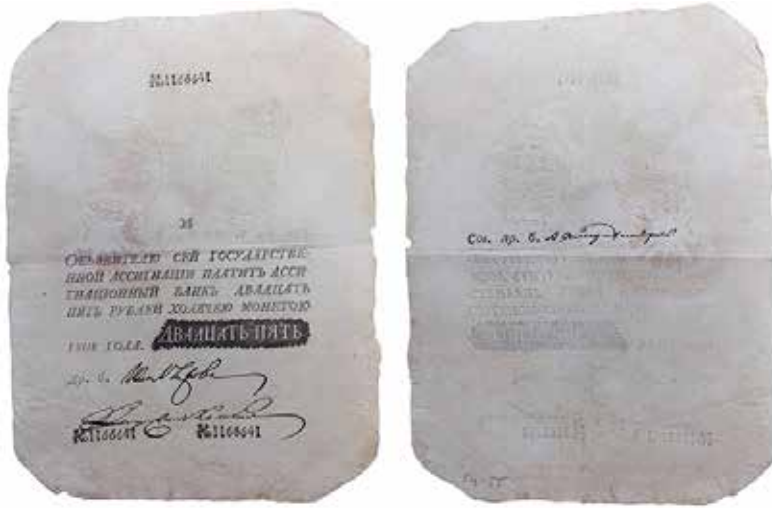


**Fig. 1. Assignment Bank officials' signatures on authentic and forged «Napoleon» assignations (Marshak, 1968, p. 53)**

There is a very popular thesis among researchers and collectors that Napoleon's forgeries are mainly made with grammatical mistakes on currency notes. According to M. Marshak, this notion does not correspond to reality, since most forged assignations are produced at a high level and the mistake is possible only within one word (Marshak, 1968, p. 54). However, today it is known that there are copies with several mistakes simultaneously; we will talk about one of them hereafter (Internet Forum «Fox Notes»).

The most common mistake is spelling of the word «ХОЛЯЧЕЮ» instead of «ХОДЯЧЕЮ» (Fig. 2). It is also known that there are other mistakes on the 25-rubles assignations, in particular: «ЛЮБОВКОТЕЧЕСТВУ, ДЕЙСТВПОЛЬЗЕОНАГО, ГДРСТВЕННАЯ КАЗНА, ДВАТЦАТЬ ПЯТЬ РУБ КЕ», as well as on the 50-rubles assignations: «ДЕЙСТВУЕТ К ПОЛЗЛОНАГО, ГДРСТВЕННАЯ КАЗНА та ПЯТЕСЯТ РУБ Н».

(The catalogue of banknotes from the Russian Empire to the Russian Federation, 2016, p. 12).



**Fig. 2. 25-rubles assignation of 1808 forged in France with a mistake in the word «ХОДЯЧЕЮ». Collection of the National Museum of Ukrainian History. Inv. No. ПГ3-55**



**Fig. 3. Embossing impression on the forged assignation (at the top) and the state assignation (at the bottom). Collection of the National Museum of Ukrainian History. Inv. No. ПГ3-55, ПГ3-56**

The researchers' attention was also attracted by the differences in the paper manufacturing, which in our time differs in a shade. On the forged assignations paper, there is a tone of blue and green shades, but authentic money is made of higher-quality paper, making them whiter, only «slightly yellowed with age» (Marshak, 1968, p. 63). The assignations made by the French also have a better and more detailed depiction of the eagle (Marshak, 1968, p. 57).

Here are the distinctive features of «Napoleon» forgeries (Marshak, 1968, p. 63):

There are printed signatures instead of handwritten ones on the front side, while on the reverse there are signatures made by using the typographic mode and the manually made signatures.

Light blue shade of the paper with a clear reflection of the oval coats of arms embossing. (Fig. 3.).

The printed text has more even lines, separate lines are deeper and thinner, cut into the bottom of the paper.

The capital letter «O» has a gap in the upper right side and merges with the line of the letter itself with a wave at the bottom left, while the true font never breaks.

Differences in certain letters «а», «т» and «д» reproduction.

Misprints and mistakes in spelling «ХОЛЯЧЕЮ» and «ГОСУЛАРСТВЕННОЙ» instead of «ХОДЯЧЕЮ» and correspondingly «ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ».

The samples of the counterfeit assignation with the mistakes in the signature of the Director of the Assignance Bank – «ПАВЕВ» instead of «ПАВЕЛ» on the 25-ruble assignation in 1809 are also known (Baiura, 2012, p. 64). Agreeing with the high estimation of the information potential of the WEB-resources in the modern numismatic researches (Orlyk, 2013, pp. 129–133), we used the Internet-forum «Fox-Notes» that is popular among the researchers of bonistics. The catalog of the indicated resource contains the 25-ruble assignation that is a sample of 1810 with an error in the inscription «ГОСУЛАРСТВЕННОЙ» and «ХОЛЯЧЕЮ». This assignation was falsified by the French and wasn't previously published in the printed editions (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Counterfeit of 25-ruble 1810 year № 1311246 with an error print «ГОСУЛАРСТВЕННОЙ» та «ХОЛЯЧЕЮ». Materials of the Internet-portal «Fox-Notes»



An important distinguishing feature of the assignations' imitations is the signature technique, or a paleographic mark, which is a part of the methodology of studying the paper money according to the classification R. Tkhorzhevskiy (Tkhorzhevskiy 1988, p. 28). The sphragistic feature (Tkhorzhevskiy, 1988, pp. 33–34) described by the scientist is not recorded by us at the current stage of the study, because it is unknown about the counterfeits of the assignations with the available stamps or perforations (Kukhareenko, 2001, p. 13) that testify about their repayment after the removal.

Having examined the samples of the French forgeries, we also drew attention to one more distinguishing feature that previous researchers had ignored. The difference in a signing technology was evident even during the time of the existence of the real assignations and their French counterfeits. However, today, one can observe the «burning» of the money sign by the inks to the core on the preserved assignations of the Russian production. Such a phenomenon does not happen with «Napoleon» counterfeits, where the signature was filed with a facsimile. This feature, in addition to those described by the previous researchers, can be effectively used in the researches in the field of bonistics showing French counterfeits.

The forged assignations done on the initiative of Napoleon are also popular among the collectors, thus they are included in a popular catalog for the collectors (Catalog of the banknotes from the Russian Empire to the Russian Federation, 2016, p. 12), where the counterfeits 25-ruble 1803, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810 та 1811 y. are defined, instead, counterfeits 50-ruble are known only by the prototype 1805 – 1808 y. The remembrance of the «Napoleon» counterfeits is also available in the world-famous and popular among the bonistics catalog of the compiler A. Pick (Pick, 1975, p. 19).

The questions of the use of the unpublished archival sources are discussed in the researches devoted to the history of money circulation, as well as in the researches on the problems of economic history in general (Orlyk, 2011b, p. 61). Thus, data about the detection of the counterfeit assignations and the prosecution of their distributors is contained in the funds of the State Archives of Chernihiv region, in particular, in the Chernihiv Civilian Governor's Fund (State Archives of Chernihiv region – SACHR, fund 128).

These documents expand our understanding of the counterfeit assignations' circulation on the territory of Naddniprianshtchyna (Over Dnipro Land), substantially completing the scientific results obtained by the predecessors of the scientific historiography. So, in particular, on April 2, 1812 a counterfeit 25-ruble assignation 1811 y. № 129468 was found in Zahorodnii Volodymyr, the resident of the village Babycheve, Hlukhiv district, and immediately sent to the Hlukhiv district court (SACHR, f. 128, d. 1, c. 13835, p. 1). On 17 April 1812 p. a counterfeit 25-ruble assignation 1811 y. № 387476 was detected among the paid fees for the peasants in a console Vasyl Herasymenko, whose landowner was Petro Borzdna, village Medvedov, Starodubskiy district. At the request of the court, the clerk informed that he had received money from his landowner, on which Petro Borzdna provided the detailed explanations and assured the court of his own ignorance about the falseness of the transferred money, since he could not notice and distinguish between counterfeiting of the assignation and the number of other banknotes, including 50-ruble (SACHR, f. 128, d. 1, c. 13836, p. 2). On 27 January 1819 y. Chernihiv Governor-General Ivan Vasylovych Frensdorf is informed from the Board of the State Assignment Bank about the detection of the counterfeit 25-ruble assignation with a serial number № 120468 that was found in Cossack Zahorodnii Volodymyr (SACHR, f. 128, d. 1, c. 13870, pp. 1–1 v.).

In the correspondence to this case, in a letter from the Governor-General of the Mohyliv to the Governor-General of Chernihiv, the beginning of the investigation about the searching

for the guilty of the counterfeit money is reported, emphasizing that a counterfeit of «new sample» has been found (SACHR, f. 128, d. 1, c. 13870, pp. 1–1 v.). Having analyzed the data of the State Archives of the Chernihiv region, we came to the conclusion that the main way of detecting the counterfeit assignation was their paying the taxes by the representatives of the tax levels – peasants, burghers and Cossacks (SACHR, f. 239, d. 2, c. 3926, p. 1). This was reported by the authorities to the tax collectors (SACHR, f. 239, d. 2, c. 3670, pp. 1–71).

Thus, in particular, counterfeit assignations were found among the money paid by the Cossack of village Slouta (SACHR, f. 128, d. 2-6, c. 9, p. 1.), as well as a burgher Sheremetiev in Hlukhiv (SACHR, f. 239, d. 2, c. 3675, pp. 1–110.). This fact is not surprising, because in the first half of the XIX-th century the direct taxes was the main method of mobilizing the finance into the state treasury of the Russian Empire and, along with the indirect taxes, formed the main form of the state income (Orlyk, 2011, p. 99).

It is noteworthy that archival documents do not list any features identified by modern researchers. This proves the possibility of simultaneous private counterfeit circulation. It confirms the possibility that the Russian Empire's monetary circulation at the time of the war with Napoleon had counterfeits made by individuals on the territory of the empire (Alekhov, 2003, p. 27–34). The fact proving the simultaneous circulation of counterfeits produced before 1812 is found in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (CSHAUK). In 1810 the resident of Skvirskyi region was caught with counterfeit banknotes with a nominal value of 25 rubles (SACHR, f. 533, d. 1, c. 1135, p. 50). Counterfeit 25 rubles was also found in merchant Krychevtsev in 1810 in Rylsk (SACHR, f. 239, d. 2, c. 2836, p. 3).

The life cycle of Napoleon forgeries can be described as follows: 1812 – sabotage importation of counterfeits in the frontline zone, in 1813 – the spread of the Duchy of Warsaw and Austria (the largest number was distributed in Warsaw and Brody), from 1813 to 1818 – identifying and destroying counterfeits by representatives of Russian authorities. There is an evidence that Napoleon ordered to pay soldiers their salary with counterfeit Russian banknotes twice as much as they had to get paid which resulted in the double reduction of the funds paid, because their value was a quarter of the nominal price (Marshak, 1968, p. 58). However, we were not able to find any proves to confirm these facts in Ukrainian archives, General Archive of Ancient Acts in Warsaw and the State Archives in Warsaw. We consider further research, particularly in other archives to be of great relevance.

There is some evidence that the state treasury had counterfeit banknotes in the period after the war with France. For instance, among the funds that Surazkyi Treasury raised after collecting taxes on June 19, 1815, particularly from merchant capital, capitation and rent taxes, there were counterfeit banknotes with the nominal of hundred rubles of 1806 with the number 699 276 and 50 rubles of 1807 with the number 1485110 (SACHR, f. 128, d. 1, c. 13848, p. 1).

After the war with Napoleonic France, a large number of Russian counterfeit paper money made imperial government decide to do a partial monetary reform. During this period there were practically no imitations of Russian 25 ruble banknotes in circulation, but there still occurred counterfeit banknotes of other nominals in the money market. For example, counterfeit banknotes with a nominal of 5 rubles of 1794 with the number 269 161 and 10 rubles of 1810 with the number of 821686 was found on 30th of November, 1818 in Ivan Brenner who supervised Dobrodiivska economy of Count Serhii Petrovych Rumiantsev (SACHR, f. 128, d. 1, c. 13869, pp. 1–3). These counterfeit banknotes with nominals of 5 and 10 rubles extremely are of great interest because for a long time there were only

assumptions about the availability of counterfeit money produced by the order of Napoleon. This assumption was based on the known total amounts of counterfeits of 363640 rubles, 141995 rubles and 474270 rubles found in different locations, which is impossible without counterfeit with nominals of 10 or 5 rubles (Marshak, 1968, p. 57). We also can not exclude the possibility that some these counterfeits with nominals of 5 and 10 rubles were made by individuals in the Russian Empire. Private counterfeits could be classified as «Napoleonian» by mistake as well as all illegally made money could be taken into account. We believe that now it is impossible to examine what counterfeits were found because the processed archival files do not contain any samples of counterfeits as evidence.

On 1st of May and 20th of October, 1819 the Russian Empire's government put into circulation banknotes of a new model with nominals of 5, 10, 25, 50, 100 and 200 rubles of 1819 and 25 and 50 rubles of 1818 with some alterations in the design and signature technique use which combined a facsimile and handwritten signatures.

In modern science, there is a belief that very few counterfeit banknotes made by the order of Napoleon were spread in the Russian empire due to governmental importation ban and it was the Duchy of Warsaw that was the main area of their circulation (Denisov, 2002, p. 93). However, the existence of these counterfeits in other regions of the Romanov Empire, particularly in the Vilenska province is proved by archival data (Kvyzykiavychus, 2008, pp. 188–192). The archival materials from funds State Archives of Chernihiv region we have investigated allow researchers to expand the idea of counterfeit circulation area. Moreover, the way counterfeit banknotes were spread through sending mail in envelopes, described by L. Kvyzykiavychus, we found in Chernihiv archives, particularly a counterfeit banknote of 1814 in the letter of insurance (SACHR, f. 239, d. 2, c. 1195, p. 4).

Forged by order of Napoleon Russian banknotes have survived in the collections of museums in Ukraine. For instance, the National Museum of History of Ukraine have 2 banknotes. One counterfeit assignation of 25 rubles of 1811 with an obvious error in the inscriptions is stored (currently on display) in Dnipropetrovsk D.I. Yavornytskyi National Historical Museum (Dnipropetrovsk D.I. Yavornytskyi National Historical Museum, 1965, p. 117). Kharkiv Historical Museum stores a banknote of 25 rubles of 1811 without reference to is as counterfeit (Zverzhkova, 2006, p. 96).

**Conclusions.** Thus, as a result of the study, we found out a number of methodological approaches to the problem of Russian counterfeit banknotes by Napoleonian France, which allows us to consider an issue of putting counterfeit banknotes into circulation by French troops. Through the method of comparative analysis we have found out an important sign of French forgery of Russian banknotes, including «paper burning» caused by the use of special aggressive inks on the original Russian banknotes as a result of continuous ink impact, which is not found in «Napoleonian» counterfeits. Also we have supplemented currently known types of counterfeits containing errors in the inscriptions by providing their most complete list. This significantly develops the method of counterfeit detection in museums and private collections. We have defined and outlined further research topics of French counterfeits of Russian banknotes circulation in Ukraine.

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## GERMAN COLONIES IN POLTAVA REGION

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the preconditions and the circumstances of the settlement of the German colonists in Poltava region; to reveal the role of the ethnic Germans in the political, socio-economic and spiritual development of the region. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systemicity, scientism, verification, the author's objectivity, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic, historical and chronological) methods. The scientific novelty – on the basis of the published sources and the scientific works, the reasons, the preconditions for the emergence of the German settlers in Poltava region have been determined; their role in the political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual life of the region has been highlighted; the contribution of the people of German nationality to the Russian army and health care in the first half of the XIXth century has been researched. Conclusions.* *The revealed documents and the literary sources, despite their scarcity, still allow us to analyze the life*

and the activities of the German colonies in Poltava region. The settlement of Poltava region by the German settlers took place in the context of the general-imperial resettlement policy of the Russian government in the late XVIIIth – the early XIXth century with the corresponding imperial tendencies. The Germans-settlers, who arrived in Poltava region on the invitation of the duke Olexiy Kurakin, made a lot for the development of the region. Thanks to them, the sheep breeding developed at a very high pace, because the Russian army and the fleet, and the construction industry were provided with a good quality cloth. The Germans-settlers began the development of the landed feudal factories, taught and prepared many masters for them. With the genesis of the bourgeois relations in the Russian Empire, the construction of the large factories with the significant capital and machines for the manufacture of cloths, a hand-made production of the German weaving settlers was not on time. They worked hard, but this work did not bring the desired profits and did not allow them to have a good life. That fact explains the reduction of such «home factories» of the German settlers, and hence the reduction of the masters-workers. The reduction subsequently led to the elimination of these small enterprises. The German settlers in Poltava region had their own special socio-economic characteristics: a significant potential and the propensity to entrepreneurship, wealth, responsibility, honesty in business. The economic development of the colonies depended on the raw materials, the skills of the settlers, and the relations with the local authorities.

**Key words:** German colonies, Poltava region, Ukraine, Russian Empire, duke Olexiy Kurakin, village of Khreschatyk.

## НІМЕЦЬКІ КОЛОНІЇ НА ПОЛТАВЩИНІ

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження проаналізувати передумови та обставини поселення німців-колоністів на Полтавщині; розкрити роль етнічних німців у політичному, соціально-економічному і духовному розвитку краю. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний, історико-хронологічний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі опублікованих джерел й наукових праць з'ясовано причини і передумови появи німецьких поселенців на території Полтавщини; з'ясовано їх роль у політичному, економічному, соціальному, культурному та духовному житті краю; досліджено внесок людей німецької національності у забезпечення російської армії у першій половині XIX ст. та охороні здоров'я. **Висновки.** Виявлені документальні та літературні джерела, незважаючи на їх нечисленність, все ж дають змогу проаналізувати життя і діяльність німецьких колоній на Полтавщині. Заселення полтавського краю німецькими поселенцями відбулося у контексті загальноімперської переселенської політики уряду Росії наприкінці XVIII – на початку XIX ст. з відповідними імперськими тенденціями. Німці-поселенці, які прибули на Полтавщину за запрошенням князя Олексія Куракіна, багато зробили для розвитку краю. Завдяки їм особливо високими темпами розвивалося вівчарство, адже якісною тканиною забезпечувалися російська армія і флот, будівельна галузь. Німці-колоністи поклали початок розвитку поміщицьких кріпосних фабрик, навчили і підготували багато майстрів для них тощо. Із генезою буржуазних відносин у Російській імперії, будівництвом великих фабрик зі значними капіталами та машинами для виготовлення сукон домашнє ручне виробництво німецьких ткачів-поселенців уже було не на часі. Вони тяжко працювали, але ця робота вже не приносила бажаних прибутків і не давала можливості добре жити. Таким фактом і можна пояснити скорочення таких «домашніх фабрик» німецьких поселенців, а відтак і майстрів у них, що згодом призвело до ліквідації цих невеликих підприємств. Німецькі поселенці на Полтавщині мали свої особливі соціально-економічні характеристики: значний потенціал і схильність до підприємницької діяльності, заможність, відповідальність, чесність у справах. Економічний розвиток колоній залежав від сировини, навичок поселенців, взаємовідносин із місцевою владою.

**Ключові слова:** німецькі колонії, Полтавщина, Україна, Російська імперія, князь Олексій Куракін, селище Хрещатик.

**Problem statement.** The proclamation of Ukraine's independence in 1991 led to its development as a legal, democratic, sovereign and social state. Much attention was paid to ensuring the freedoms and rights of all citizens, regardless of the nationality, the religion,

the culture, the race, etc. One of the important problems of Ukrainian state formation is to ensure a decent development of the national minorities, which in Ukraine are more than 100. Historically, many people of different nationalities lived and live in Ukraine, who, while not being ethnically Ukrainian, feel themselves the Ukrainians, although they preserve their own language, culture, traditions, religion.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The history of the Germans-settlers in Poltava region was the subject of the scientific interest of the scientists. The basic scientific investigations were devoted to this issue by I. Pavlovskiy, V. Zhuk, A. Lushakova, O. Kovalenko, O. Kanienberh-Sandul, O. Ivanenko, J. Malitska, I. Shvaika, V. Volovyk and V. Yatsyuk, O. Zgurskyi, S. Meizus (Pavlovskiy, 1906, 1914 a, 1914 b; Zhuk, 2006; Lushakova, 2006; Kovalenko, 2013; Kanienberh-Sandul, 2018; Ivanenko, 2014; Malitska, 2017; Shvayka, 2016, 2018; Volovyk & Yatsyuk, 2017; Zgurskyi, 2011; Meizus, 2019), etc. The researchers analyzed the reasons for the settlement of people of the German nationality in Poltava region, the conditions for their living and work, concluded the valuable contribution of the settlers to the development of Poltava region.

**The publication's purpose** is to analyze the reasons and features of the appearance of people of the German nationality in Poltava region; to reveal the role of the ethnic Germans in the political, socio-economic and spiritual development of the region.

**Statement of the basic material.** The first German colonies on the territory of the Left Bank of Ukraine appeared in the 60-ies of the XVIIIth century, during the reign of Catherine II in Russian Empire. In 1756 – 1766, the Germans-colonists, the farmers, the natives of Frankfurt am Main, were settled in the village of Khreschatyk, which then belonged to Lubny regiment (from 1872 – to Romny district of Chernihiv province, and from 1796 to Malorossiyska huberniya. Now Khreschatyk is located on the territory of Vedmezhevsk village council of Romny district, Sumy region) (Zhuk, 2006, p. 11).

It is unknown how many German peasants arrived then in the Ukrainian lands, and, in particular, in Khreschatyk. There is the evidence that they were endowed with the land by the state and paid a land tax, that is, they belonged to the category of the state peasants. At the time of the 10th All-Russian Census of the Population in 1859, there were about 550 Germans-colonists of both sexes in Khreshchatyk (Bodianskyi, 1865, p. 245).

The Germans-artisans, military personnel, and other specialists are known in Kremenchuk from the second half of the XVIIIth century. The native inhabitants of the Dnieper town have long been engaged in various handicrafts. There were hoopers, wheel-makers, carriage-makers, saddlers (craftsmen of the production of finely tuned leather things, horse harnesses, belts, cases, gloves, etc.), blacksmiths, carpenters, boot-makers and the others. Since 1747 in the town there was a rope factory, as well as a brick, which produced more than 100 thousand bricks a year. In 1790 and 1794 two more tin plants were opened. From the ancient times, granite was used for the construction works, which was a lot in Kremenchuk area. At the beginning of the XIXth century the arrived German colonists made a significant contribution to the development of industry, especially the light one, in Poltava region, including Kremenchuk.

The first Germans-artisans in Poltava region appeared after Poltava became the center of Poltava province and Malorossiysky Governor-General. He was entrusted with the decree of Olexander I of February 27, 1802 «On the establishment of Malorossiyski provinces of Chernihiv and Poltava» (Pavlovskiy, 1914 b, p. 2; Poltava Governorate). Thus, Malorossiyska huberniya became Malorossiyska huberniya ruled by the governor-general with the



provinces of Poltava and Chernihiv (Shandra, 2001, p. 64). These cardinal transformations envisaged a number of the significant planning and building changes. The main impact to it was the formation of a new administrative center and a massive administrative and housing construction.

Olexiy Kurakin, the Russian and Ukrainian statesman, the Governor-General of Malorossiya, the Duke, the member of the State Council, and Interior Minister of the Russian Empire, was actually called a manager in the system of the economic and military development, education, a social sphere, and the others. In order to provide the large-scale construction projects, the Governor-General of Malorossiya O. B. Kurakin invited some Germans-colonists, the specialists in brick-making, from Saratov province and he issued the order by which the landowners of the province were to send their serfs to Poltava for studying of brick-making. Until then, in Poltava there were not enough permanent brick-making factories. At the end of the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth century there were only two of them: one belonged to the «Poltava order of public indulgence» (Bilyi, 1974, p. 39), the second – to the Resurrection Church (Pavlovskiy, 1906, p. 72). Traditionally, if necessary, the temporary brick-making works were created, but those works could not provide the provincial construction projects with bricks because one master produced made about 500 bricks a day (Kovalenko, 2013, p. 211).

At the beginning of the XIXth century the Russian Empire, as well as various parts of the German lands, were threatened by the war with the French Emperor Napoleon. Therefore, there was a need to prepare for the war. The coal-metallurgical industry in the country expanded, and the light industry was dragging behind in its development, that is, there were not enough fabrics (cloth) in order to make a uniform for the Russian army soldiers. Previously, the cloth was purchased in the UK, but from the beginning of the XIXth century the trade and economic ties were broken because of the continental blockade of France. Such circumstances forced the development of its own textile industry. The Duke Olexiy Kurakin, having been for almost six years as the Governor-General of Malorossiya, studied the economy of the former Hetmanschyna well. He knew that there was a well-developed branch such as sheep-breeding in the region, the population produced a lot of a high-quality wool to make cloth (cloth). In order to organize the production of cloth at the state level, Olexiy Kurakin decided to invite professional cloth weavers from Germany (Pavlovskiy, 1914 b, p. 8).

According to the decree of Emperor Olexander I of June 20, 1808, the craftsmen from Bohemia, Moravia, Alsace, Saxonia and other western European lands were invited to accelerate the development of cloth-making in Russia. The Duke Olexiy Kurakin proposed to settle them in Poltava, Kremenchuk and Kostyantynohrad, at that time former Poltava huberniya province (German Colonies; About GP-PR).

He compiled a set of rights, duties and conditions of stay of the colonists in the province. The German settlers had privileges: they were guaranteed freedom of religion; they were free from duties and paying taxes for ten years, during the next ten years they had to pay a loan of 15 – 20 kopicks for one tenth of the earth (1 doz. = 1,09 hec.); in the rest duties the settlers were equated with the rest of the population; the exemption from a compulsory military service (the colonists were allowed to enter the civil service on condition of paying the debt to the treasury); the Germans could leave the colony or the state freely on condition of the debt repayment to the state and a three-year tax amount. The German settlers had the right to sell their products throughout the country freely. The state assisted them, giving the money

on the road expenses and financed them during the settlement process (the so-called «fodder money») – 12 kopicks per person per day (Pavlovskiy, 1914, p. 201).

In fact, when moving from the border, the settlers from Bohemia, Moravia, Alsace, Saxonia and other German principalities were given a financial help – 10 kopicks a day for an adult and for 6 kopecks for every child a day. On the place of their arrival they received from 5 to 10 kopicks per person (Zhuk, 2006, p. 25).

To accommodate these artisans – the so-called «cloth manufacturers» – it was decided to build the houses in Poltava, Kremenchuk and Kostyantynohrad (now the city of Krasnohrad, Kharkiv region). According to the well-known Poltava historian of pre-revolutionary times I. F. Pavlovskiy, in November 1808 six families of first colonists, cloth and wool weavers came to Poltava. For their accommodation on the outskirts of the city, on the way to Yakivtsi, the provincial council redeemed 12 acres of land for 5287 rubles 96 kopicks by assignments and built about 50 houses. So there appeared a German settlement or colony. It was located in the area of the streets Fabrykantska (now – Balakina street) and Kolonistska (now – Skovoroda street) and the adjacent lanes (Germans from Russia Settlement Locations).

The first large party of colonists reached Poltava in August 1809 – 130 people (with their families). They were accommodated in 16 houses. In some period of time, several more groups arrived. Thus, 54 families of the German colonists (249 people) settled in Poltava, 41 families (218 people) settled in Kostyantynohrad, 2 families (10 people) – in Kremenchuk. The administration often abuse its authority. Instead of 60 houses, planned for the colonists, only 53 were built before their arrival, and they were not completely ready (Pavlovskiy, 1914 a, p. 214).

The quality of these dwellings was, to say the least, low. Volodymyrkyi Governor, the Duke I. M. Dolhoruky, who visited Poltava in 1810 and became acquainted with the colony's condition, left in his memoirs a record that it had made a very depressing impression on him. It is believed that the construction of this settlement and two more similar in Kremenchuk and Kostyantynohrad cost the treasury 400 thousand rubles. However, the houses were built from wood; in Poltava these «card houses» became real prisons for people. There were looms there, the whole family lived there too, and adults worked there as well, with the help of teenage children. The walls of the houses were «transparent», like a sieve, and during the work of the loom, they shook because they kept on the corners pillars. One family had to produce about 800 arshyns of cloth per year, using its own loom. For each arshyn, 82 kopicks were paid to the weavers, including the cost of raw materials; other expenses were not taken into account (Zhuk, 2006, p. 41). The severe working conditions, a poor nutrition often led to the disease of the colonists and their children. The medicines, like fuel, were given in debt. Ivan Saar, the head physician, treated for his patients exceptionally honest and selflessly.

In 1812, four colonists asked to let them go (that is, to quit) so that they could live and work in other cities (Kabuzan, 1976, p. 88). In 1816, The Duke Mykola Repnin was appointed a new Governor-General in Poltava and Chernihiv huberniya. According to his contemporaries he was a highly humane man and a good administrator, he loved the land where he worked, took care of the benefit of the entire population, defended the interests of people of serfdom, defended the still-surviving rights of the Cossacks. These factors are the main reason for the suspicion of separatism (Pamiatnaia knizhka, 1890, p. 16). M. Repnin was elected an honorary member of Kharkiv University, which was a rarity at that time for the administrators. So it is quite clear that the German colony immediately drew the attention of the Governor-General. He was thoroughly familiar with the working conditions and the

material situation of its inhabitants, was convinced of the too difficult conditions of their lives and submitted a petition to the government.

In response to this petition, Olexander I ordered the Minister of the Interior Affairs to take such measures: to cancel all the debts of the colonists of the treasury; the state-owned houses in which they lived, to become their property with plots of land and hayfields; to give each family 100 rubles loans for 3 years; the state-owned tools to be owned by colonists; to allow the colonists to remain on the place or the Lutherans had the right to move to Poltava, and the Catholics – to Kostiantynohrad, without requiring the money for help; the communities were allowed to set up the courts on the analogy with other foreign colonies; to give each person the opportunity to do his own desired craft, regardless of the will of the chief. In pursuance of this decree, on May 13, 1820, the Governor-General issued a special instruction according to which the orders, the administrative-judicial authorities of the central government, were made for the management in the German settlements. They consisted of the headmistress (Schulz– in German) and two assessors (baisitzers), chosen by the community for a term of 3 years, and the clerk (Pysarevskiy, 1909, p. 45).

Such orders, the administrative-judicial authorities, were made in Poltava and Kostiantynohrad. All had to obey the headmistress (Shultz) and the assessors (baisitzers) unconditionally. The life in the colonies was carried out according to the rules developed on the initiative of the inhabitants themselves in 1815. The apprentices once a month gathered at the meeting, where they considered and discussed all their affairs. The weavers had their elders, who were chosen annually by all masters. 15 kopicks were taken from each at the meetings. For non-attendance at the meeting, the apprentices were fined: the first time for 10 kopicks, the second – for 20 kopicks, for non-payment they were excluded from the community. It was strictly forbidden to quarrel and offend each other, for the violation of these rules there was also a fine from 10 to 20 kopicks. The fine was also taken for appearance in a drunk or inappropriate form. The person, guilty of the fight, paid 50 kopicks, and if he could not pay, the apprentices informed the authorities and asked to punish the violator of the order (Pavlovskiy, 1914 a, p. 210). The members of the colony, who did not participate in the church liturgies all the year round (without distinction in religion) and did not join the performance of the sacred acts, were also severely punished. The criminal cases were heard in court.

The colonists were completely dependent on the administration. Without permission, nobody had the right to leave the settlement, to leave for a different city, even to marry. The administration also interfered in family affairs. A charity community took care of widows and orphans. The order tried to find a colonist to marry a widow in order to secure her and her children materially and not let the loom stop. Orphans were given to maintenance and upbringing.

Such rules seem, perhaps, quite strict, but it should be said that the German cloth-makers were noted for discipline, hard work, respectability in family relationships. The administration took care of their religious education (the Lutherans lived in Poltava mostly, the Catholics – in Kostiantynohrad). The law of 1818 changed the situation of the settlers; they became free craftsmen, could make the goods that they considered necessary to sell at affordable prices. Previously, they produced only cloth and supplied it to the treasury. Then the administration, through its commissioners, strictly observed that the colonists signed contracts with Kremenchuk Commissariat and other institutions, without making a cash deposit (Zhuk, 2006, p. 55). Now they could not get any order anywhere, they gave a deposit,

and the made cloth and the other goods they sold themselves at fairs in Poltava, Romny or other cities, often with a loss to themselves.

At first, four factories appeared in Kremenchuk, where people of German origin were working. In 1809 the German colonist Helitzer, having received from the state 10 thousand rubles of a ten-year subsidy, founded a factory for making fabrics (cloth). We can assume that the factory of an enterprising and energetic German made significant profits (Pavlovskiy, 1914 a, p. 3). Helitzer returned a government loan quickly, and in 1817 he had a desire to buy two houses for his compatriots. However, he got the refusal, because the law forbade the sale of houses that were allocated to the Germans-colonists with the country planes, even to their compatriots. On the map of Kremenchuk the cloth factory of Helitzer dates back to 1816 – 1832. In 1812 another German manufacturer, Rureht, received 10 thousand rubles from the state aid to create a factory for the production of leather goods. So, both the Germans, Helitzer and Rureht, were given land for the foundation of their enterprises. Rureht promised to produce more than 2 thousand skins in the first year of the factory work, and subsequently to increase the production to 10 thousand per year (Kabuzan, 1976, p. 37).

Thus, in Kremenchuk, thanks to the German masters, since the beginning of the XIXth century there were several small industrial enterprises that laid the foundations for the production of cloth, other fabrics, stockings, socks, high-quality leather and footwear. The colonists laid the foundation for educational institutions, in particular, the school for vocational education of youth was founded – Kremenchuk school factory.

Over the years, these enterprises have been developing, and the Ukrainianized descendants of the former Germans settlers worked with the Ukrainians and the representatives of other nationalities, for whom Kremenchuk became a home town. The colonists also contributed to the development of the machine-building industry.

In 1880, below the flow of the Dnieper River creek Kryvav Ruda, Orenstein, the Austrian, established his own leather factory (now a leather and fur factory) with almost the same number of workers. In 1888, in the city's outskirts Cherednychky the machine-building and the cast-iron plants of the Gebgold brothers appeared. There were employed more than 60 workers. There was also a small leather factory with a total of 5 employees (Lushakova, 2001, p. 194).

So representatives of the German nationality continued to develop industry in Kremenchuk. Already in the first half of the nineteenth century in the colonies, there were primary schools where children of weavers studied the Law of God, reading and writing. It is not exactly known about the time of the opening of a school in the German colony of Poltava, but in historical sources it is mentioned that when the settlers built the first church in 1832, then the German Florian exchanged a house for school and repaired it.

In 1831, at Kremenchuk Church the Lutheran School was founded (Ivanenko, 2014, p. 112). The funds for its maintenance were allocated constantly during its existence until the revolution of 1917.

Among the Germans, a fairly well-off stratum was allocated. The richest of them, Julian Leszek, produced up to 7,000 arshyns of cloth made from wool sheep greezed by him. For many years he headed the order of Poltava colonists. He died in 1853 and left some wealth. He made the testament and gave his children 15 thousand rubles only in the Odessa commercial bank. His wife, Anna Leshka, leased a cloth factory of the Khorol landowner Ivan Rodzianka. In Kostiantynohrad colony, Karl Treshau was considered to be the most prosperous (Zhuk, 2006, p. 41). From the mills of his factory, 300 arshyns of gray cloth,

2000 arshyns of flannel, 500 arches of fables and 100 blankets were produced annually. His brother Gottfried Treshau produced much less goods. In general, the material condition of the ordinary Kostiantynohrad colonists was worse than in Poltava. At the time of the 10th All-Russian Census of the population in 1859 in Poltava, in the suburbs of the German colony, there were only 64 households with 1,098 inhabitants, of which 670 – men, 428 – women. The total sum of the representatives of the German nationality was 354 persons of both sexes (of the total population of the colony), 180 of them were engaged in the manufacture of the cloth. In Poltava district there lived 15 Germans (Nykolaichyk, 1891, p. 101).

By the beginning of the 1960 ies, as it has been mentioned above, from time to time, including during the past 10 years, the colonists were exempt from the tax by the Ministry of Finance, but in 1862 the Minister of Finance raised the issue of paying the taxes. The German masters' request for the exemption from payment to the treasury was rejected. On the one hand, their financial position at that time significantly improved. On the other hand, in connection with the reforms carried out in the country, the government planned to approve the provisions on the abolition of the special situation of the colonists in order to equate them with the rights of all citizens of the empire – the bourgeois, the merchants, the peasants. In accordance with the provisions of the Committee of Ministers, approved by the Tsar on July 29 (August 10), 1866, all the «manufacturers» had to be registered, during the same year, not later than January 1 (13), 1867, in the urban or rural communities, without any new privileges in paying taxes and duties (Zhuk, 2006, p. 41). They were also allowed to leave the Russian Empire if they wished to. In this regard, Poltava community of colonists turned to the government with the houses and the land issue, signed by the landowners: whether they remain in their possession, as many Germans rebuilt their homes or built rather good new ones instead of the former old huts. In November 1866, the Germans concluded the second public «issue».

Having the opportunity to buy the land for cultivation on the outskirts of Poltava, they expressed their desire to be attached to the city community and to form their own special community, on the condition that the land in the colony be distributed equally between them. However, they asked to release them from recruitment until January 1 (13), 1867. On May 30 (June 11) 1867, the law came into force, which established the following: for clerical workers invited from abroad and the settled ones in Poltava hubernia to secure the right of the unlimited ownership of the property granted to them from the treasury in accordance with the royal decree of December 27, 1818; the supervision of the correct distribution of this property was given to the the committee, created to improve the position of the cloth manufacturers, settled in Poltava and Kostiantynohrad. At the time of the liquidation of the German colonies in Poltava hubernia, in Poltava city there lived 66 adult men, with women and children – 236 people (Pavlovskiy, 1914 a, p. 210).

By the order of Poltava Governor, Mykhailo Martynov, of December 31, 1867 (January 12, 1868), the German colonies were closed. Over the years, the former German colony was built up with new buildings and changed its appearance.

It was too hard for the Germans to settle down in a foreign country under the new conditions, especially because of the negligence and dishonesty of many officials responsible for a colonial settlement, although the German weavers (called «cloth manufacturers») had some privileges. They formed separate groups of settlements that did not obey, as other strata, the national institutions, but had their own institutions: at first the inspection (until 1820), then the order and, finally (from the 40-ies of the XIXth century), the committee to which

orders were subjected. But the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire did not care to create the human conditions of residence and work for the settlers, did not care to find an honest and skilled specialist who would be a specialist in this sphere and could control the work, would monitor the sale of products, so that the colonists were not fooled by the officials, the brokers-directors of raw materials and the purchasers of the manufactured goods.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the revealed documentary and literary sources, despite their scarcity, still allow us to analyze the life and the activities of the German colonies in Poltava region. The settlement of Poltava region by the German settlers took place in the context of the general-imperial resettlement policy of the Russian government in the late XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth century with the corresponding imperial tendencies.

The Germans-settlers, who arrived in Poltava region on the invitation of The Duke Olexiy Kurakin, made a lot for the development of the region. Thanks to them, sheep breeding developed at a very high pace, because the Russian army and fleet, and the construction industry provided a good quality cloth. The Germans, the colonists, began the development of the landed feudal factories, taught and prepared many masters for them, and others like that. With the genesis of bourgeois relations in the Russian Empire, the construction of large factories with a significant capital and machines for the manufacture of cloths home, manual production of German weaving settlers was not on time. They worked hard, but this work did not bring the desired profits and did not allow them to have a good life. That fact can be explained by the reduction of such «home factories» of the German settlers, and hence of their masters, which subsequently led to the elimination of these small enterprises. The German settlers in Poltava region had their own special socio-economic characteristics: a significant potential and propensity to entrepreneurship, wealth, responsibility, honesty in business. The economic development of the colonies depended on raw materials, the skills of settlers, and the relations with local authorities. On the basis of the analyzed data one can note a rather significant contribution of the representatives of the German nationality to the development of the material and spiritual culture of Poltava region, first of all, industry, construction, agriculture, medicine.

Perspectives of further research on this topic may be broadening of the source of the study, which will allow a thorough study of the contribution of well-known people of the German nationality to the development of Poltava region and Ukraine.

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**UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION TO LATIN AMERICA COUNTRIES:  
HISTORIOSOPHY ASPECT**

**Annotation.** *The goal of the work is to investigate reasons, character and periodization of Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries as well as to define the ontological status of each emigration wave and to reveal common features of Ukrainian foreign communities in Latin America as a peculiar socio-cultural phenomenon. The methodological foundation of the work is based on interdisciplinary approach. The leading research principles are objectivity, historicism, special historical, general scientific and philosophical approaches. The work foregrounds methods of philosophical reflexion, systemic and critical analysis of historiographical facts and comparative-historical one. The scientific novelty of the work is in comprehending Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries in context of being rootedness of man and social-philosophical understanding of emigration. Conclusions.* While the most attractive for Ukrainian emigrants were Argentina and Brazil, other countries as Bolivia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Chile were opted for only during certain periods. Ukrainian big diasporas were rather compact in Argentina and Brazil, whereas small diasporas in other countries were rather disperse. Open-mindedness, tolerance, devotion to national traditions, their preservation and enrichment, establishing of connection between emigrants of different generations, interaction between

diasporas as well as intensive participation in process of culture-making both in recipient country and in Homeland – were the common features of Ukrainians in diasporas. Each emigration wave has certain ontological status: first wave emigrants tried to take roots at new place both locally and existentially; second wave emigrants treated emigration as a temporarily situation; the third wave had immanent-ontological character; the fourth wave sought for freedom; the fifth wave representatives tried to take roots and integrate themselves in the society.

**Key words:** Ukrainian emigration, countries of Latin America, waves of emigration, ontological status, being rootedness of man.

## УКРАЇНЬСЬКА ЕМІГРАЦІЯ ДО КРАЇН ЛАТИНСЬКОЇ АМЕРИКИ: ІСТОРИСОФСЬКИЙ АСПЕКТ

**Анотація.** *Мета роботи* полягає у дослідженні причин, характеру, періодизації української еміграції до країн Латинської Америки, визначенні онтологічного статусу кожної з її хвиль, виявленні загальних рис латиноамериканських осередків закордонного українства як особливого соціально-культурного феномену. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить комплексний міждисциплінарний підхід. Провідними у дослідженні є принципи об'єктивності та історизму, конкретно-історичний підхід, загальнонаукові та загальнофілософські методи. Особливий акцент зроблено на методі філософської рефлексії, системному й критичному аналізі історіографічних фактів, порівняльно-історичному методі. **Наукова новизна** полягає у спробі осягнення української еміграції до країн Латинської Америки в контексті концепції буттєвого вкорінення людини та соціально-філософського розуміння еміграції. **Висновки.** Найбільш привабливими країнами для українських емігрантів у Латинській Америці є Аргентина та Бразилія, інші країни – Болівія, Венесуела Парагвай, Перу, Уругвай, Чилі – обиралися для в'їзду лише у певні періоди. Особливістю поселення українців у країнах Латинської Америки – у компактності великих діаспор (Аргентина, Бразилія) і дисперсності розселення невеликих діаспор в інших країнах. Загальними соціокультурними рисами закордонного українства в країнах Латинської Америки є відкритість, толерантність, відданість національним традиціям, їх збереження та збагачення, встановлення зв'язку між емігрантами різних поколінь, взаємодія між діаспорами, а також посильна участь у процесах культуротворення у країні-реципієнті та на батьківщині. Кожна хвиля української еміграції до країн Латинської Америки має певний онтологічний статус: емігранти першої хвилі прагнули вкоренитися на новому ґрунті як локально, так і у буттєвому вимірі, представники другої хвилі сприймали еміграцію як тимчасову ситуацію, для третьої хвилі притаманний іманентно-онтологічний характер, смисл четвертої – втеча до свободи, і намагання вкоренитися у представників п'ятої хвилі.

**Ключові слова:** українська еміграція, країни Латинської Америки, хвилі еміграції, онтологічний статус, буттєве вкорінення людини.

**Problem statement.** Nowadays the migration problem deserves to be in the centre of researchers' attention as globalization processes contribute to spatial movement of population, border and state erosion. Each country meets its own consequences because of migration: some countries suffer from excessive influx of refugees, immigrants and social issues they trigger; other countries, including Ukraine, suffer from emigration and loss of indigenous population. Ethnical Ukrainians are virtually divided in half: almost half of them (from 16 to 20 mln.) live outside native ethnical region (Troshchinskyi, 1999, p. 6). The biggest Ukrainian diasporas are formed in Canada, the USA, Russia and Western Europe countries. Ukrainian diasporas in Latin America countries are also quite populous, however, they have not been studied thoroughly enough as well as this very vector of emigration in general. The study of the latter will contribute to the establishment of closer connections between metropole and diaspora Ukrainians, and to the popularization of Ukrainian culture in the world.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The issue of emigration and Ukrainians in diaspora was virtually forbidden during the Soviet period, thus, the majority of works in

the field were written after 1991. Comparing to other aspects of the problem, it is the history of Ukrainian emigration that was studied the most, in particular, by V. Kliuchevsky, I. Franko, M. Hrushevskyi in XIX – XX centuries. The present research works on Ukrainian emigration are based on ethnographical, linguistic, oral and written sources, as well as on history artefacts of Ukrainian diaspora. A separate group includes law-making documents, statistical data, narrative memorials and biographies. The researchers focus on the immigration: arranging a new place for a living, peculiarities of adaptation, culture-making work of Ukrainian diaspora, etc. One of the most prominent works in the domain is «Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian studies» (Енциклопедія українознавства, 1993), a handbook «Ukrainians abroad» (Зарубіжні українці, 1991), works of P. Kardash (Kardash, 1995), S. Narizhnyi (Narizhnyi, 1942), M. Marunchak (Marunchak, 1974), F. Zastavnyi (Zastavnyi, 1992). Starting from 1991 foreign Ukrainians have been publishing journals and several institutes of diaspora research have been founded. Ternopil authors investigated the emigration and its historical aspect in «Ukrainian emigration: from past to the present days» (Lanovyk, 1999). However, the number of scientific works on emigration of Ukrainians to Latin America is scanty and the topic range is also limited. S. Tsipko (Tsipko 2013), V. Pohromskyi (Pohromskyi, 2011), M. Danylyshyn (Danylyshyn, 1979) studied the life of Ukrainians in Argentina, A. Strilko (Strilko, 1972) and V. Borys (Borys, 1970) – in Brazil, and V. Kosmyna (Kosmyna, 2015) carried out a historiographical research on the first wave of emigration.

**The publication's purpose** is to analyse the reasons, character, periodization of Ukrainian emigration to Latin America (to Brazil and Argentina first of all, as the biggest Ukrainian diasporas live there); to distinguish common features of Latin America Ukrainian groups and to define ontological status of each wave of Ukrainian emigration. The scientific novelty of the research work is in comprehending Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries in context of being rootedness of manprocess (Tsymbal, 2005) and social-philosophical understanding of emigration (Tsymbal, 2012).

**Statement of the basic material.** Ukrainian emigration is a complex phenomenon starting from the definition of the process: we may define it as Ukrainians leaving Ukraine as a state or Ukrainians leaving Ukrainian lands regardless their state belonging in the past. The second approach is a priority.

Traditionally, four waves of Ukrainian emigration are distinguished, each has specific reasons, forms, quantity, consequences and social cultural meaning: the first – from the end of XIX century – to the beginning of XX century, the second – after revolution, the third – after the end of the World War II, the fourth – the modern one, after the proclaiming of the Independence of Ukraine. In our opinion, the period of so-called «Thaw» (the end of 60-ies – the beginning of 70-ies of XX centuries) should be the fourth instead. This wave was significant not by its numbers, but by the context of political events and its influence on the international image of Ukraine. Thus, the modern wave of emigration is the fifth one.

The first wave of emigration was caused by the range of reasons: the complete destruction of Ukrainian statehood at the end of XVIII century in the result of which the Right Bank Ukraine was appropriated by Russian Empire and Galicia with Bukovina – by Austria (these territories had certain cultural and economic freedoms); drastic social and economic changes in Europe in XIX century caused by abolition of serfdom (in 1848 in Austria and in 1861 in Russia), industrialization, urbanization and modernization. At the same time in Ukraine the quantity of population increased by 72% which made it the most populated country in Europe (Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian Studies, 1993, p. 179).

While this meant improvement of the standard of living, it also caused an unemployment problem. In 90-ies of XIX century there were 10,7 million of working-age population, but only 3,4 million were involved in industry, trade or agriculture, while 7,3 were unemployed or temporarily employed (Subtelnyi, 1992). Such a situation led to a sudden deterioration of standard of living of the majority of Ukrainians. Apart from this, during 90-ies of the XIX century and the beginning XX century Ukraine suffered from crop failure. The unemployed peasants suffered the most: deprived from the right and ability to work at their native land, being hard-working and willing to find the space for productive activity. The lack of costs for existence, poverty and unemployment caused massive emigration of Ukrainian peasants to the East of Russian empire (Caucasus, Middle Asia and Far East) at first and then – across the ocean. Transportation companies also stimulated leaving of the country, as they promoted new places of living and promised decent conditions of work.

Common tendencies of the first emigration wave concern those Ukrainians who were moving to Latin America countries, mostly to Argentina and Brazil. Years 1895 – 1897, 1901 – 1903 were the time of the most active emigration activity, when Brazilian emperor Pedro II granted permanent place of living to Ukrainians of Austria-Hungarian empire and Galicia in order to engage a comparatively cheaper work labour.

The first mentioning of Ukrainian emigrants in Brazil is dated back to 1872. The biggest influx of Ukrainian emigrants to Brazil happened in 1895 when the government signed an agreement with steamship companies about transferring thousands of migrants after the abolition of slavery in 1888 led to the lack of labour force. Moreover, the situation deteriorated to such an extent, that the government even paid for the trip to Brazil, provided with clothes and food, and lent land areas for 10 years. However, there were some problems too: the long journey, tropical diseases, not knowing the language, dispelling of myths about the fairytale life abroad. Transformation of Brazil from empire to republic turned Ukrainians into unwanted guests. After 1890 the situation changed due to the construction of the railway and the new influx of migrants from Ukraine. Thus, before World War I there were 47 thousand Ukrainians in the country (Borys, 1970, p. 69).

First Ukrainians in Argentina arrived in 1897 and before World War I there were 14 thousand Ukrainians there (Tsipko, 2013, p. 204). Every Ukrainian in Argentina had the right to buy 50 hectares of land and organise their own farm. However, some Ukrainians who couldn't afford it worked in sea ports, industry or construction. Sometimes they took up seasonal work on a coffee plantation, a farm or worked as domestic workers for rich families.

Both Brazil and Argentina turned out to be an unfriendly place, as Ukrainians found themselves in prairies, deserts, forests, that is why, some of them returned to the homeland. However, the majority of Ukrainians managed to cope with all the difficulties, organise the agricultural household, build churches, that later became the centres of diaspora. The first Ukrainian settlers got the status of colonists and their settlements (farms, parts of towns, any locations) were called colonies. The notion of «diaspora» was not used at those times.

The first wave of Ukrainian emigration was mostly aimed at earning money. However, the emigration was not limited to economic aspect only. The revolution of 1905 at the beginning of XX century pushed Ukrainians to flee from persecutions of Tsar authorities and join those of their compatriots who sought for earning money and stay abroad forever. Thus, the first wave essentially tried to existentially take roots at a new place.

These condwave of Ukrainian emigration – the so-called «white» emigration – took place after the revolution. Despite the fact that it started from the World War I, it became the

most intensive during the October Coup and the Civil War. Regardless national belonging, voluntarily or forcefully, nearly 23 millions of Ukrainians left the territory of Russian empire (Azrael, 1992). Those were the representatives of all classes and strata, but first of all the representatives of elite: officers, artists, writers, scientific intelligentsia. After those events the Western Europe became the place of exile for those who created Russian and Ukrainian culture.

Apart from Europe and Northern America, Ukrainian emigrants of the second wave arrived in Latin America as well. That time they settled not only in Brazil and Argentina, but in Uruguay and Paraguay too. The second wave did not involve as many people as the first one, and migrants did not want to stay abroad forever, instead, they hoped to wait until the victory of the counter-revolution. The second wave of emigration refilled Ukrainian diaspora on 50 – 60 thousand in Argentina and on a bit less amount in Brazil. This wave was represented by a wider class spectrum, including intelligentsia, former militarists, intellectuals that supported Ukrainian Peoples Republic (Pohromskyi). Emigrants actively participated in civil life: they took part in social-political life, published magazines and journals, gave classes in universities, acquainted the locals with their culture. Thus, the second wave tried to preserve values and traditions destroyed in homeland, and to some extent isolate themselves and children from other part of society. Their intention caused an ambivalent situation: on the one hand, the emigrants did not lose connection with their native culture, on the other hand, the second wave emigrants did not integrate themselves in the society. Those who wanted to get the citizenship were considered to be lost for the common cause of preserving the Ukrainian culture.

The leaders of Ukrainian emigration, civil and cultural activities came from this second wave of emigration. Due to the activity of the second wave the very name «Ukrainian emigration» was later applied to other Ukrainian migrants.

Another remarkable activity was the foundation in 20 – 30-ies of numerous cooperatives and private enterprises in Brazil and Argentina that emphasized on their Ukrainian roots: The Union of Ukrainian engineers (Argentina, 1931), Ukrainian Union (Brazil, 1934) (later renamed as «Educational agricultural foundation») that became the centre of the cultural life of Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil, cooperative «Renaissance» in Argentina united more than 5 thousand members, The Union of Ukrainian merchants, entrepreneurs and qualified specialists included the most educated and rich emigrants (Pohromskyi, 2011)

The second wave of emigration is characterized by systemic character and the feeling of unity with the homeland: by calling themselves emigrants the representatives of that wave tried to highlight the temporality of their staying abroad and their faith in return. Thus, these emigrants were not integrated neither locally, nor ontologically. The emigration of this period has circumstantial character.

The third wave of Ukrainian emigration (after-war) is the least studied. In our opinion, the reason is its political and ideological colouring. The wave started from interwar period, before the World War II from 1939, when the territories of Western Ukraine and Baltic regions were annexed by the USSR. At that time, the overall amount of people that joined the Soviet Union was 23 million people. The great part of these people did not want to live under totalitarian rule, and leaving their motherland, they returned under legislation of their own citizenship. It should be mentioned that the Soviet authorities allowed and even encouraged that process of re-emigration. From 1939 until 50-ies 5,5 million people left the annexed territories (Troshchynskyi, 1999).

The ending of the World War II launches a new period in the history of emigration. Those who were persecuted by fascists in Europe and held in captivity returned to motherland, not everyone though, they were afraid of repressions and persecutions. More than 1,5 million of the so-called «transferred people» joined the new wave of emigration (Troshchynskyi, 1999, p. 34–35). Among them were Soviet citizens, captives of war, criminals of war and collaborationists. After the end of the war, captivity and forced labour they could not return to the homeland because of investigations and years of forced-labour camps waiting for them.

During after war period the International organization of refugees' affairs resettled nearly 200 thousand Ukrainians (Troshchynskyi, 1999, p. 34–35). Moreover, the refugee status was attributed those who suffered from fascism and victims of Stalin regime. They received a special help and support. The precise number of Ukrainian emigrants appeared after 1945 when in afterwar Germany there was founded the Central representation of Ukrainian emigrants. According to their data there were 177 thousand of Ukrainians in Western Germany in 1946. Gradually, Ukrainians tried to resettle to the USA, Canada, Latin America and in January 1949 in Western Germany there were only 85 thousand of Ukrainians left (Troshchynskyi, 1999, 34–35).

Captives of war, political refugees and Ostarbeiters that were arriving to countries of Latin America had problems with adaptation, which later stimulated re-emigration to Canada and the USA. The establishment of dictatorship in Brazil pushed the emigrants to return even to the USSR. During 1946 – 1950 six thousand of Ukrainians arrived in Argentina. In 1952 after the economic crisis in Brazil and Argentina and establishing of dictatorship the influx of Ukrainians almost stopped. 1955 was the beginning of re-emigration to the United States. In general, the third wave of Ukrainian emigration embraces bigger range of Latin America countries: besides Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay those were Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru and Chile. However, this process took place mainly after war, only small groups and single emigrants were arriving later. With time the quantity of Ukrainians in Argentina and Brazil was balanced at the expense of Uruguay and Paraguay Ukrainians.

After ware migration, Justas the after-revolution wave, had a distinct political character, the emigrants themselves were refugees. In terms of its philosophical meaning, the afterwar wave had absolutely different status – an ontological, not circumstantial one. The emigration became the way of existence, and after all – life.

The fourth wave of emigration took place in 60–70-ies after Khrushchev Thaw and it pushed Ukrainian Jews and dissidents to move to Europe, Israel and the USA. Another type of emigration emerged too – the one for marriage. Young girls were getting married with international students or young specialists in order to leave the country later. Obviously, such marriages often ended up with divorce, followed by re-emigration, because of drastic differences in culture and the way of living

After the famous case of pilots trying to highjack the plane and escape to Israel, the USSR had to join the Helsinki agreement that provided the right of a person to leave the country. Some people understood that they were no longer the property of the country and they tried to apply for leaving the country, which for a long time was considered as a brave effort. There were *nevozvrashchentsy* (nonreturnees) though, they stayed in Western countries after business trips, tours, etc. Despite the arrests after unsuccessful efforts, the number of people trying to escape increased.

Thus, after signing the agreement of Helsinki and the fall of the USSR, nearly 700 thousand families left the country (most often they left for their homeland to unite with their families)

(Troshchynskyi, 1999, p. 36). Between 1987 and the gain of Ukrainian independence nearly million people left. The number of students leaving for studying abroad in Europe increased by 30%. Unfortunately, the data about Ukrainian emigration to Latin America during that period remains unknown. In historiosophical aspect, the fourth wave may be characterised as an escape for freedom or ethnical emigration.

Modern Ukrainian emigration wave is one of the most populous in the entire history of our nation, influencing gene pool in the most adverse way ever. Presumably, there is no other country in the world that exported so many educated people abroad as Ukraine. This process began with the gain of Independence and even earlier – from perestroika. From 1986 to 1991 the quantity of trips linked with personal affairs increased in 54 times (from 43 to 2327 thousand). Mass emigration started from adoption by Supreme Rada of the law «On the order of leaving and entering Ukraine for Ukrainian citizens» in 1994. In overall, from 1994 to 2000 nearly 600 thousand people left the country. Moreover, the emigration in majority of cases is irreversible (Shybko, 2006, p. 18).

After proclamation of Independence Argentina was the among first countries in Latin America to recognize Ukraine on international arena. Ukrainians' positive image and the status of diaspora in Argentina influenced this decision. In 1993 in National Congress of Argentina there was founded the Group of friends of Ukraine as well as the Embassy of Ukraine; in 2011 the visa regime between two countries was suspended and they signed the agreement on recognition of the documents on obtaining higher education. In order to legalize the time-being in Argentina, one has to enter the university or get married (civil marriage is acceptable too). Today, there are 300 thousand of Ukrainians (almost 100 thousand live in Buenos Aires).

Starting from 20-ies, Ukrainian communities have been taking part in social life and activities, publishing journals and magazines, supporting the activity of «Prosvita», «Ukrainian national club», «Renaissance», etc. Argentinian-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce started its activity from 1992 (Tsipko, 2013).

Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil that consists of 500 thousand people is one of the oldest Ukrainian communities abroad and it includes mostly the descendants of the first emigrants. Ukrainians live close to each other in Southern-Eastern part of the country, which is called «Brazilian Ukraine» (80% of all Ukrainians). For example, in schools of Parana, where the biggest quantity of Ukrainians live, Ukrainian language is among the languages of instruction, thanks to the corresponding constitutional law, adopted on initiative of Ukrainian diaspora. In this state there are more than 35 Ukrainian churches and Brazilian authorities included the ones made from wood to the Register of common property in order to protect from destruction. Ukrainian organizations in Brazil are also rather active, among them: Ploughmen-educational union in Parana, Ukrainian-Brazilian centre of Ukrainian Studies, etc. Ukrainian community in Brazil created the conditions for learning the native language and culture not only in extra school institutions and Sunday schools, but in state schools too (Hrymych, 2015).

In other countries of Latin America the number of Ukrainians is not that significant: in Uruguay – nearly 8 thousand, in Paraguay – 10 thousand, in Venezuela – nearly 11 thousand. Nevertheless, all Latin America countries remain attractive for Ukrainian emigrants, first of all, due to favourable conditions for business development, rather high standard of living, favourable conditions and terms of receiving documents for residence permit and beautiful nature. Apart from countries named above, Ukrainians choose Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

Among Ukrainians of Latin America there are quite a lot of intellectuals, engineers and programmers. Some Ukrainians made significant contribution into the development of Brazilian and Argentinian universities (V. Burka, Yu. Polyanskyi, S. Onatskyi, B. Galaichuk and others), art (I. Hrytsenko, O. Klymko, Yu. Shumlynskyi) and female activism (O. Borushchenko, O. Kolodiy) (Hrymych, 2015).

The ontological status of the modern wave of Ukrainian emigration is close to the one of the first wave: the attempt to take root in the country.

**Conclusions.** The carried-out research demonstrated that the most attractive countries in Latin America for Ukrainians were Argentina and (a bit less) Brazil, other countries (Bolivia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Chile) were chosen rather occasionally. The peculiar features of Ukrainian communities in Latin America are compactness of great diasporas (Argentina and Brazil) and dispersion of smaller communities in other countries.

Among common socio-cultural features of Ukrainians abroad there are tolerance, open-mindedness, devotion to national traditions, their preservation and enrichment, establishing the connection between emigrants of different generations, interaction between diasporas in different countries and active participation in the processes of culture-making in the homeland. Every wave of Ukrainian emigration to Latin America countries has certain ontological status: emigrants of the first wave tried to take roots in the new «soil» both locally and existentially, the second wave treated the emigration as a temporary condition, the third wave had immanent-ontological character, the fourth saw emigration as an escape (ethnic emigration) and the fifth tried to take roots.

Today, when Eurasian «historical crossroad» is disturbed again, and Ukraine, while resisting the Eastern aggressor, became the fort post of Europe again, Ukrainians from metropole should understand that Ukrainian emigration are representatives of Ukraine in the world and they make image of their country in social-economic and cultural aspects. That is why, Ukrainians need to make themselves more aware of their economic and cultural-anthropological potential.

In general, the issue of Ukrainian emigration is distinguished by the plurality of senses and reveals opportunities of its further comprehension in poly-disciplinary scientific discourse. The research may contribute not only to the thorough study of processes of Ukrainian emigration, but to the further plan-making for corresponding state institutions to help them slow down the pace of emigration and establishing of closer connection between Ukrainians of metropole and diaspora. The latter may prevent Ukraine from further loss of labour, cultural, intellectual resources and human capital.

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**CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE SOUTH UKRAINIAN  
COOPERATIVES AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY**

**Summary.** *The aim of the research is to analyze the cultural-educational activity of the cooperative societies of the South of Ukraine in the beginning of the 20th century. Its significance in the life of the region is determined. The research methodology is based on a complex of general scientific methods of logical analysis, synthesis, comparison, classification and problem-chronological, historical-typological, statistical-analytical methods of knowledge of historical sciences. In the study, the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity and systemicity were respected. The scientific novelty includes actualization of this problem at the regional level; comprehensive study of cultural-educational activities of the southern Ukrainian cooperatives at the beginning of the 20th century; isolating and systematizing the directions of cultural and educational activities of societies. Conclusions.* Under the normative and legal documents regulating the activities of cooperatives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, societies, at the level of financial operations, could conduct cultural and educational activities. Activation of this activity of the Southern Ukrainian cooperatives was observed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among all types of cooperatives, agricultural and consumer companies were the most active in cultural and educational work. The cultural and educational activities of cooperatives included such steps as opening the libraries, reading rooms, lectures, exhibitions, excursions and exhibitory fields. Societies of the region also organized drama groups, amateur theaters, brass bands, cinematographers. Cultural, educational and artistic activities of cooperatives contributed to the cultural enrichment of the population, the dissemination of new leisure activities among the wide circles of the population in the South of Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century.

**Key words:** cooperative societies, cultural and educational activities, libraries, courses, lectures, musical-drama circles.

**КУЛЬТУРНО-ПРОСВІТНИЦЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ  
ПІВДЕННОУКРАЇНСЬКИХ КООПЕРАТИВІВ НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.**

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* полягає в аналізі культурно-просвітницької діяльності кооперативних товариств Півдня України на початку ХХ ст., визначенні її значення у житті населення регіону. *Методологія дослідження* ґрунтується на комплексі загальнонаукових

методів логічного аналізу, синтезу, порівняння, класифікації та проблемно-хронологічному, історико-типологічному, статистико-аналітичному методах пізнання історичних наук. При дослідженні було дотримано принципів історизму, наукової об'єктивності та системності. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в актуалізації означеної проблеми на регіональному рівні; комплексному дослідженні культурно-просвітницької діяльності південноукраїнських кооперативів на початку XX ст.; виокремленні та систематизації напрямів культурно-просвітницької діяльності товариств. **Висновки.** За нормативно-правовими документами, що регламентували діяльність кооперативів наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст., товариства, на рівні з фінансовими операціями, могли проводити культурно-просвітницькі заходи. Активізація цього напрямку діяльності південноукраїнських кооперативів спостерігалася на початку XX ст. З-поміж усіх видів кооперативів, найбільш дієвими в культурно-просвітницькій роботі були сільськогосподарські та споживчі товариства. До культурно-просвітницької діяльності кооперативів належали такі заходи, як відкриття бібліотек, читалень, проведення лекцій, організація виставок, екскурсій та показових полів. Товариства регіону також організовували театральні-драматичні гуртки, аматорські театри, духові оркестри, кінематографи. Культурно-просвітницький напрям діяльності кооперативів сприяв культурному збагаченню населення, поширенню нових форм проведення дозвілля серед широких кіл населення Півдня України на початку XX ст. **Ключові слова:** кооперативні товариства, культурно-просвітницька діяльність, бібліотеки, курси, лекції, музично-драматичні гуртки.

**Problem statement.** At the present stage, Ukraine is on the way of important socio-economic changes. Using the experience of cooperative cooperation at the beginning of the 20th century can become a sufficiently effective means of attracting people into entrepreneurial activity, promote the development of the agrarian sector, small business and culture.

The cooperatives originated in the countries of Western Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century. Its principles of self-help, equality were supported by the Ukrainian intelligentsia (Milka, 1915, p. 19). Thanks to their efforts since the 1960's the first cooperative societies began to open in Ukraine. The cooperative forms of management expanded at the beginning of the 20th century. Cooperatives were not limited to economic activity; they conducted active cultural and educational work. It positively influenced the development of the cultural sphere of the South of Ukraine, and is an example of a successful interaction between the economic and spiritual spheres of life. However, this aspect of the activities of cooperative societies remains the least scrutinized at the regional as well as the national levels.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** With gaining independence of Ukraine there was a keen interest in the history of the cooperative movement of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries among scientists. In the works of I. I. Butenko (Butenko, 1994), V. I. Marochko (Marochko, 1995), M. V. Aliman (Aliman, 1996), V. M. Polovets (Polovets, 2002), H. V. Tsybulenko (Tsybulenko, 2008), both at the national and regional levels, the causes of occurrence, stages of development, activity of cooperatives were analyzed. At the same time, the authors focused on the economic activities of cooperatives. Cultural and educational activities of agricultural cooperatives were analyzed in the works of I. A. Farenii (Farenii, 2001), A. A. Panteleimonenko (Panteleimonenko, 2008). These scholars singled out the directions of the cultural and educational work of the societies. They paid attention to its importance in the process of socio-cultural development of the Ukrainian peasantry at the beginning of the 20th century. However, the above-mentioned works are devoted to the development of the cooperative movement on the territory of Ukraine in general, the research provides only some facts from the history of the South-Ukrainian cooperatives, which do not give a complete picture of the cultural and educational activities and their significance in the life of the region's population.

Taking into account the given above, historical sources, namely legislative and regulatory documents, clerical documentation, documents of local authorities and self-government and periodicals gave grounds to this scientific research. The first group of sources includes «Normal statutes» of societies of different fields of activity (Central State Historical archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, CSHAUK, f. 228, d. 1, c. 480, 39 p.; Normal Statute for Locals (Normalnyi ustav dlia mestnykh), 1910), «Regulations on institutions for small loans» («Poloshennia pro zaklady milkoho kredytu») of June 7, 1904 (Regulations on institutions (Polozhenie ob uchrezhdeniiah), 1904), which make it possible to find out the degree of freedom of cooperative societies in cultural and educational activities. The business documentation is presented by the annual reports of the companies, in particular, Mykolayiv cooperative «Trudova Kopiika» (Otchet kooperativnogo obshchestva, 1912). They described the cultural and educational activities carried out by cooperatives.

Informative are documents of local authorities and self-government. These include reports from governorate, zemstvo governors, their agronomic, economic departments. In particular, in the «Report of the Economic Department of Verkhnedneprovsk Zemska Administration in 1913», descriptions of various areas of cultural and educational activities of cooperatives and their impact on improving the productivity of agricultural land of the region are presented (Kancher, 1914). Current events of cultural and educational work, analytical articles contain periodicals «Southern Cooperator», «Cooperative Life» and others. A separate group of sources involved in the study comprise archival materials from the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, the city of Kyiv, the State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk, Mykolaiv, Odesa regions and the Institute of Manuscripts of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.

**The purpose of the publication** is to highlight the cultural-educational activities of the southern Ukrainian cooperatives at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to the comprehensive analysis of various sources and literature. It's necessary to solve the following tasks for achieving the current objective: to analyze the legal foundations of the indicated directions of cooperatives' activity; to characterize the types of cultural-educational activities of societies; to determine their significance and influence on the cultural aspect of life of the regional population.

**Statement of the basic material.** The main focus of the work is on the cultural and educational activities of agricultural, consumer and credit societies. These societies were the most involved in cultural and educational work. For agricultural cooperatives, the cultural-educational direction was a priority. One of the main tasks of these organizations was the dissemination of new agricultural knowledge among the peasantry, through theoretical and practical acquaintance with them. At the legislative level, the activities of agricultural cooperatives were regulated by «Normal statute of agricultural societies» adopted by the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property in 1898 (Normalnyi ustav dlia mestnykh, 1910, p. 8). Under this document, societies were allowed to organize public lectures, their own colleges, libraries, exhibitions, demonstrative and experimental fields, farms, gardens, to publish both individual works and periodicals of agricultural character.

For consumer societies the main activity was trade operations. Cultural and educational measures were complementary, therefore the right to conduct them in the «Normal statute», approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1897, was determined sufficiently schematically: «In the case of societies, it is possible to have, with the permission and with observance of the existing resolutions, organized institutions aimed at improving the moral conditions of life of the members» by various means (CSHAUK, F. 228, d. 1, c. 480, 39 p.).

Cultural and educational activities of consumer societies were determined by their location and social composition of members. Rural cooperatives engaged in the dissemination of leading agricultural knowledge, through the organization of courses, lectures and consultations. Unlike agricultural cooperatives, they usually did not organize exhibitions, display fields. Although they provided financial support for these activities. Instead, urban, labour consumer cooperatives paid more attention during the course of organization to the theoretical issues of the cooperative movement, tried to familiarize their members with the principles of clerical work. In addition, they were characterized by a leisure organization for their members, by engaging them in circle, theatrical activities.

Unlike agricultural and consumer cooperatives, in the legislative documents regulating the activity of credit societies in general, the issue was not about the possibility of conducting cultural and educational activities (Polozhenie ob uchrezhdeniiah, 1904). The question of creating a library at any cooperative was considered each time in the Central Committee for Small-Scale Loans. If credit societies were allowed to create libraries, they had to deal with the publications of cooperative and agricultural issues, limiting their cultural and educational opportunities.

In addition, since 1910, there was a special circular of the Ministry of Education that prohibited teachers from participating in the activities of credit cooperatives, as it allegedly damaged the performance of their immediate responsibilities (Heysin, 1915, p. 20). Thus, cooperatives lost people potentially able to develop the cultural and educational work direction.

It should be noted that agricultural and consumer cooperatives were not completely independent in carrying out cultural and educational activities. In order to open a library-reading room, hold courses, lectures, organize exhibitions, etc., they had to obtain permission from the governor or the head of local police in advance. Archival documents show that the local authorities closely followed the cultural and educational activities of cooperative societies, as feared that a revolutionary activity could be conducted under the pretext of cooperative activities. Therefore, checks of members of the societies were a typical phenomenon of that time (CSHAUK, F. 313, d. 2, c. 2486, p. 536; CSHAUK, F. 313, d. 2, c. 2189, p. 254; State Archive of Odessa Region, SAOR, F. 2, d. 7, c. 215, p. 12).

The intensification of the cultural and educational activities of cooperative societies was observed since 1905. This was facilitated by the adoption of the «Regulations on institutions for small loans» of 1904 (Polozhenie ob uchrezhdeniiah, 1904), the deployment of revolutionary events and the relative liberalization of public life. From that time there was an increase in the number of cooperatives in the region, the accumulation of significant capital, which made it possible to conduct cultural and educational activities.

In view of this, the main focus in the work is on the cultural and educational activities of the cooperative societies of the South of Ukraine in 1905 – 1917. The upper chronological limit is determined by the revolutionary events of February 1917, which formed completely different from the previous conditions of the cultural and educational activities of the societies.

To open a library was the most widespread form of cultural and educational work among the southern Ukrainian societies. At the beginning of the 20th century there was a low level of population maintenance literature, especially in rural areas (Luchka, 2018, p. 85). Therefore, the task of cooperative libraries was to expand the access of the general population to educational, popular science and fiction literature. In this respect the library of the Baikal Agricultural Society of Kherson governorate was a typical venue with only 225 books (Otchet ob okazanii, 1915, p. 11). More sources could be found in workers' cooperatives, e.g. 1387

books belonged to the library of the consumers' society of the Northern field in Katerynoslav region. That society had a separate library on cooperation, for which a number of specialized periodicals were subscribed (*Iz praktiki*, 1916, p. 13–14).

Cooperative libraries could turn into reading rooms or 'tea houses' sometimes. Private companies, in particular Krasnopolska Consumer Cooperative, opened «Prosvita» (CSHAUK, F. 111, d. 1, c. 31, p. 262–265). These institutions allowed members of the cooperatives to gather, and visitors read the latest newspapers, interesting books, shared opinions about the covered materials, discussed. Their activities contributed to the cultural enrichment of the population and its practical significance. The correspondent of «The Southern Cooperator» reported on the activities of Anatoliiv's Small Agricultural Society: «Thanks to reading, many members improved the care of domestic animals, arranged field work, which achieved better results» (*Pisnoy*, 1914, p. 411–415).

Individual cooperatives in the region were engaged in selling literature in their stores, distributing literature on co-operative subjects for free. In particular, this practice took place in the consumer societies of the Slaviansoserbskyi district of Katerynoslav governorate (CSHAUK, F. 111, d. 1, c. 32, p. 262).

Subscription to newspapers and magazines was a common practice of societies. Cooperative organizations were not limited to one edition. This way, Mykolaiv Union of Credit Societies in 1916 subscribed to 12 periodicals (State Archive of Mykolayiv Region, SAMR, F. 54, d. 1. c. 10, p. 45). They were issued not only for the complete set of libraries, but also for distribution among the population. The vast majority of periodicals were connected with the cooperative realm, for instance: «Vestnik kooperatsii» (Eng. «The Bulletin of the Cooperative»), «Kooperativnaia zhyzn» (Eng. «Cooperative Life»), «Muraveinik-Komashnia» (Eng. «Anthill-Formicary»), «Soiuz potrebitelei» (Eng. «The Union of Consumers»), «Splotchyna» (Eng. «The Welding Coalition»), «Nasha kooperaciya» (Eng. «Our Cooperation»), «Khutorianyn» (Eng. «The Farmer»).

Having been published in Odesa since 1912 and edited by S. L. Avaliani, a historian, teacher and public figure, the two-week journal «Southern Cooperator» was widely popular among regional cooperatives (Institute of Manuscript of Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, IM VNLU, F.X.№ 4752, p. 2). The issue casts light upon the events in the cooperative life of both national and regional significance.

The creation of separate cooperative publishing house in Yelisavetgrad by M. V. Levitskyi can be considered a crucial achievement of the South-Ukrainian cooperative movement within the cultural aspect (Mikhnovskyi, 1928, p. 90). However, his activities were not long. The publishing house published 4 editions of the statute of agricultural artels and memoirs of one of the artillery chiefs of Goncharenko. In general, in other publishing houses of Southern Ukraine during the research period 19 books on co-operative subjects were printed (Mikhnovskyi, 1928, p. 90).

The South Ukrainian cooperatives arranged educational institutions, courses to prepare cooperative workers, promote cooperative ideas, increase literacy, disseminate new progressive technologies in agriculture. Educational establishments were mentioned only a few times. Thus, one of the issues of «Vestnik kooperatsii» mentioned the functioning of the cooperative gymnasium in Kamenske village of Katerynoslav governorate in 1913, that one year the gymnasium had two preparatory and three usual classes. 159 students attended it, among them 67 were children of local workers (Fromett, 1913, p. 34).

The majority of cooperative societies provided courses for adults with elementary education and lasted from two to three weeks. Most courses in the region were conducted by agri-

cultural cooperatives and devoted to the latest technologies of soil cultivation, horticulture, viticulture, the theory and history of the cooperative movement. Cooperatives with zemstvos invited specialists, holding courses: district agronomists, veterinarians, gardening instructors, cooperatives, foresters. Similar courses were conducted in Katerynoslav, Luhansk (O kooperativnykh kursakh, 1913, p. 16), Kherson (Otchet o deiatelnosti, 1914, p. 52–53), Odessa (Kooperativnaia khronika, 1913, p. 114), Izmail (Totomiants, 1912, p. 335) and other cities.

The cooperatives arranged separate lectures on various topics of agriculture and cooperative movement. Agricultural cooperatives of Verkhnedneprovsky district of Katerynoslavshchyna succeeded in some aspects: they managed to organize 98 readings, attended by 5, 959 participants during 1913 (Kancher, 1914, p. 14).

Representatives of the societies realized the need for the population not only to deepen knowledge of the cooperative movement, but also the general dissemination of knowledge, spiritual enrichment, familiarization with the history of their land. For this purpose, Yenakiiievo Consumers' Society of Katerynoslavshchyna invited the prominent Ukrainian historian, ethnographer D. Yavornytskyi to read a course of lectures for its members (Khronika, 1914, p. 25).

Some cooperatives had their own museums, namely Saksahansk Agricultural Society in Katerynoslavshchyna. Exhibits of this museum were tables, samples of different crops placed in the office of the secretary of the cooperative P. M. Korniienko (Kancher, 1914, p. 21–23).

The Southern Ukrainian cooperatives organized some excursions for their members. This trend of cultural and educational work was more characteristic of agricultural societies. Excursions were held on experimental fields of other farms, in gardens, farms, exhibitions, museums, outstanding cities. Members of six agricultural societies of Katerynoslavshchyna visited the Kyiv Agricultural Exhibition in 1913. The peasants were so impressed from the things they had seen that at home, according to their drawings, they tried to reproduce samples of equipment and agricultural implements presented on the exhibition (Kancher, 1914, p. 21). Consumer cooperatives also organized excursions. However, their trips were mostly entertaining and cognitive, rather than practical nature. For instance, an informative excursion to Odessa was conducted for 102 members of the consumers' society «Trudova kopiika» (Eng. «Labour's Kopeck») in August 1911 (Otchet kooperativnoho obshchestva, 1912, p. 42).

The organization of agricultural exhibitions, provision of consultations, arrangement of exhibitory fields, orchards, vineyards, and apiaries were also included in the special forms of cultural and educational work of agricultural cooperatives that were characteristic only of this direction of the cooperative movement.

Most often they occurred at the end of summer or in autumn after harvest, on a day of fair or holidays. The peasants exhibited their products; samples of agricultural machines and implements were presented there as well. Cooperative exhibitions were a real event of local importance, attracting a large number of visitors. For example, agricultural cooperatives of Verkhnodniprovskyi district of Katerynoslav region organized seven exhibitions, and about 15,700 people visited them in 1913, that demonstrated the interest and importance of the exhibitions for the population (Kancher, 1914, p. 18). After all, they gave peasants an opportunity to learn about the achievements of other farms, with new crops, agricultural machinery and technologies, to exchange experience.

The exhibitory or experimental fields of the company were organized in order to demonstrate in practice a positive result and profitability of introducing new technologies of soil cultivation, fertilizer use, agricultural machinery, introduction of new crops. One of the larg-

est in the region was the exhibitory field of Poltava Cooperative in Kherson region, which leased 362 tithes for this. Most of the cooperative exhibitory fields were much smaller, and did not exceed 10 acres (Otchet ob okazanii, 1915, p. 112–113). Under the influence of the activity of agricultural cooperatives, individual members in their own fields introduced experimental sites. In Katerynoslav governorate, members of 29 cooperatives had 117 plots (Panteleimonenko, 2008, p. 144).

In general, exhibitory fields and areas contributed to the introduction of new tillage technologies and the dissemination of new crops to the region. So, according to the polling agronomist, the peasants massively began to inject steam, cleanse the seeds before sowing, use agricultural machines, and expanded the area of beet sowing within the range of the Ivaniv cooperative in Kherson region (Otchet ob okazanii, 1915, p. 27).

Agricultural cooperatives were also engaged in encouraging people to grow orchards, vineyards and gardens. At agricultural cooperatives in Verkhniodniprovsky, Katerynoslavskyi, Oleksandriiyskyi counties, the specialists-agronomists gave advice on the issues of gardening, horticulture and viticulture (Panteleymonenko, 2008, p. 148).

This direction of cooperative activity has given its positive results. Sources give the evidence of the expansion of gardens, orchards, vineyards and the improvement of care for them. Thus, the activities of Ivaniv cooperative operating in Kherson region facilitated the appearance of small orchards on the local peasant farms (Otchet ob okazanii, 1915, p. 27).

Separate agricultural cooperatives in the region, as we have already mentioned, were engaged in beekeeping. This ancient activity of the Ukrainians in the second half of the 20th century was not so popular as before. Agricultural cooperatives tried to restore the peasants' interest in this branch of the economy. They organized exhibitory apiaries. In particular, in the city of Oleksandrivka, Katerynoslav governorate, Zaporizhzhia Beekeeping Society, which specialized only in this field, has worked since 1911 (State Archive of Dnipropetrovsk Region, SADR, F. 11, d. 1, c. 1363, p. 9).

South Ukrainian cooperatives tried to diversify the leisure of their members, by involving them in the activities of musical drama groups, amateur theaters and musical groups. This area of activity was characteristic of consumer associations in the region. One of such circles functioned in the cooperative of the Northern field at Mykytiv coal mines in Katerynoslav. The Society equipped a theatre for its members and the local population, where four amateur performances were put on, as well as 13 performances of the guest troupes during 1914. The cooperative organized the New Year's celebration for preschool children of their members annually, distributing sweets and showing children's films. The observer mentioned: "Watching the impression that children receive from the traditional holiday, we can say that the expenses are worth 100 rubles, but their joy is worth a million" (Iz praktiki, 1916, p. 14–15). The cooperative also had a sports club, as well as a cinema club, the latter was very popular among the population. The sum of money, gained from the demonstration of films, was used to buy the piano by the company board. It was also planned to increase the amount of cultural and educational films, rather than entertaining ones (Iz praktiki, 1916, p. 14–15).

Another striking example of the cultural and educational activities was the work of Yekakiievskyi Consumers' Society in Katerynoslav region, which had cultural-educational commission, the cinema club, evening classes for workers, and even a brass band (Baldin, 1990, p. 105).

An important vector of the cooperative society, functioning in the South of Ukraine, was the financial support of local educational institutions and their students. For example,



Mykolaiv Consumers' Association «Trudova kopiika» provided funds to the city public library, Mykolaiv School, the School of the First Artel of Loaders, the educational institution for children of unemployed parents, and to the daycare asylum for children of workers (SAMR, F. 305, d. 1, c. 1, p. 119).

Thanks to the Andriivskiy Credit Cooperative of the Tavria governorate, headed by E.A. Ivanchenko, and in the material assistance of the Zemstvo in 1909, a mixed progymnasium was constructed. In the future, the company continued to transfer funds for the activities of this institution (Totomiants, 1912, p. 335).

Cooperatives of the region also provided scholarships for students of low-income members and gifted ones. Thus, the Kostiantynivsk Credit Society of Katerynoslavshchyna transferred 4 thousand rubles for these needs (Totomiants, 1912, p. 335). In 1912 Enakiivsk Consumer Society opened 15 scholarships for the children of their members at a local commercial school (Fromett, 1911, p. 34).

**Conclusions.** Despite legislative and bureaucratic obstacles, cultural and educational activities became one of the priorities of the cooperative societies' work in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Following this direction, the cooperatives of the region have positively influenced the development of regional agriculture, contributed to the spiritual enrichment of the population, broadening of their outlook. The Southern Ukrainian societies, especially agricultural and consumer organizations, established libraries; held courses, lectures, excursions; opened museums, exhibitions; and finally provided material support to local educational institutions. Amateur theaters, musical and drama groups, orchestras also acted as part of the cultural and educational activities in the region's cooperatives. In general, cultural and educational activities of cooperatives contributed to enhancing agriculture, raising the educational and cultural levels of the regional population, as well as being an exciting and informative form of leisure.

At the same time, the potential for further development of this problem is not exhausted. The study of publishing activities of cooperatives and artistic activities can be a promising direction. Further research needs to determine the meaning of cultural and educational activities in the life of the population. The researches of the influence of the cooperative activities on the modernization of the population's outlook both of the region under study and Ukraine as a whole deserves special attention of scientists.

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**THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN TRADITION  
ON THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN MODEL OF UNIVERSITY  
EDUCATION (1917 – THE BEGINNING OF 1918)**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the article is to reveal the stages of the initial period in the practical realization of the idea of a national university establishing as a special and unique type of higher education institution through the prism of European experience. The research methodology. The article is based on observance of the principles of historicism, objectivity in the assessment of historical events and phenomena, systematic and comprehensive, which, in their totality, made it possible to reveal the diverse issues that form the subject field of the study. The research novelty lies in the fact that in the research studio for the first time the formation stages of the Ukrainian university education of a sign period in the national history of the Central Rada were distinguished and their main content was characterized; the influence of European traditions of the higher education system formation on the normative provision of similar processes in Ukraine was reflected. Conclusions. As a result of the analysis of the university education formation process in new socio political conditions related to the formation of Ukrainian power structures, the stages of the implementation of the idea, with the definition of the*

characteristics of each of them, were substantiated. It was proved that at the beginning of the revolution of 1917, according to the requirements of various public organizations and professional forums, the idea of the possibility of Ukrainianization of the existing higher education institutions in the region was prevailing. With the establishment of the General Secretariat, some hope of a positive solution to the issue relied on the coherence of its actions with the authorities of the Provisional Government. It was established that after formation of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR), this process became more precise, resulting in the network opening formation of national high schools of classical type and a number of national universities, respectively, of European practices by the Department of Higher and Secondary Schools of the General Secretariat of Education. In addition, at this stage, representatives of national education and science conducted intensive work on the creation of a Ukrainian version of the university statute. Particular attention was focused on the final period of the existence of the Central Rada, when, on the initiative of the Ministry of Education of the UNR, a project was implemented actively on the unification of the University of St. Volodymyr and Kyiv People's Ukrainian University. It was concluded that there was not enough time for putting the idea into practice, and therefore it was implemented already at the time of the Hetmanate of P. Skoropadskyi.

**Key words:** European tradition, university, statute, reform, department, professorial teaching corporation, higher education.

## ВПЛИВ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОЇ ТРАДИЦІЇ НА СТАНОВЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ МОДЕЛІ УНІВЕРСИТЕТСЬКОЇ ОСВІТИ (1917 – ПОЧАТОК 1918 РР.)

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – розкрити етапи початкового періоду в практичній реалізації ідеї щодо заснування національного університету як особливого та унікального за своїм характером типу закладу вищої освіти крізь призму європейського досвіду. **Методологія дослідження.** *Статтю побудовано на основі дотримання принципів історизму, об'єктивності в оцінці історичних подій та явищ, системності та всебічності, що у своїй сукупності уможливили розкриття різнопланових питань, які становлять предметне поле дослідження.* **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що в дослідницькій студії вперше виокремлено етапи становлення української університетської освіти знакового у вітчизняній історії періоду Центральної Ради та охарактеризовано їхнє основне змістове наповнення; відображено вплив європейських традицій побудови системи вищої освіти на нормативне забезпечення аналогічних процесів в Україні. **Висновки.** *У результаті аналізу процесу становлення університетської освіти за нових суспільно-політичних умов, пов'язаних із утворенням українських владних структур, обґрунтовано етапи реалізації ідеї, з визначенням характерних рис кожного із них. Доведено, що на початку революції 1917 р., згідно з вимогами різних громадських організацій та фахових форумів, переважала думка щодо можливості українізації наявних у краї вищих шкіл. З утворенням Генерального секретаріату певна надія на позитивне розв'язання питання покладалася на узгодженість його дій з владними структурами Тимчасового уряду. Встановлено, що після утворення Української Народної Республіки цей процес набув більш чітких форм, результатом чого стало вироблення департаментом вищої і середньої школи Генерального секретаріату освіти мережі відкриття національних вищих шкіл класичного типу та низки народних університетів відповідно до європейських практик. Крім того, на цьому етапі представниками національної освіти і науки проводилася інтенсивна робота щодо створення українського варіанту університетського статуту. Особлива увага зосереджена за заключному періоді існування Центральної Ради, коли за ініціативою Міністерства освіти УНР активно реалізовувався проект щодо об'єднання університету св. Володимира та Київського народного українського університету. Зроблено висновок, що для повноцінного переведення ідеї в практичну площину ініціаторам не вистачило часу, а отже, вона зреалізувалася уже за гетьманату П. Скоропадського.*

**Ключові слова:** європейська традиція, університет, статут, реформа, департамент, професорсько-викладацька корпорація, вища освіта.

**Problem statement.** University education and scientific practice have existed in Europe for more than nine hundred years, and its national model was implemented only a century ago. Being one of the most productive works of the European mind, the university played and

still plays an invaluable role in the development of European civilization. The significance of a sign institution, despite all the difficult challenges of the present, continues to grow to this day.

It should be emphasized that the «idea of the university» in the European public opinion at the level of the idea was established already on the boundary of the XVIII and XIX centuries. Indeed, in the XIX century, according to the recognition of the professional researcher A. Andrieiev, simultaneously with the realization that the nation is a core element of the state and culture, an idea of the «national model» of the university was formed. At their universities, each nation sought to see the result of the «national development» of higher education, the sphere of the embodiment of the «national spirit», which had an opportunity to manifest itself as fully as possible exactly there (Andrieiev, 2005, pp. 75–76).

Along with this, in the XIX century, an idea emerged, the essence of which was the reciprocal nature of the connection between educational institutions and culture in general: the university was seen as a «nation-building» phenomenon, that is, they claimed that a successful life and development of the nation would not be possible without a national university. Only in this way, thanks to its own university, a young nation could take a worthy place among other nations, compete with them and prove its self-worth and independence.

Awareness of these realities prompted Ukrainians to start an active struggle to establish their own university. The issue became of particular relevance during the period of the national revival of the early XX century, when the structures of the Ukrainian Central Rada appeared and attempts to organize local life in its national forms were made.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The problem of the formation and development of the university system of education in different historical periods and in different territories was studied by representatives of both foreign and domestic professional corporations. In this context, we should emphasize the meaningful developments of Hans de Wit (Hans de Wit, 2002), Johann P. Olsen (Johann P. Olsen, 2007), Keith Vernon (Keith Vernon, 2004), D. Rozovyk (Rozovyk, 2002), O. Zavalniuk (Zavalniuk, 2005, Zavalniuk, 2011), I. Perederii (Perederii, 2009), D. Yablonska (Yablonska, 2018) and others.

**The publication's purpose.** In the proposed article, the authors aim at analyzing the design of the national university model and its influence on the development of cultural and educational processes in the initial period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, based on the research practices of recent years, as well as on the new research institutes involved in documentary sources, highlighting the main stages of the national high school formation. The latter, on the one hand, were largely determined by the general development of revolutionary processes, and on the other hand, by the realities that the university corporation lived in the region. They did not always coincide with each other, and, consequently, the approval of the national model was manifested both in open and latent struggle and rivalry. This confrontation clearly reflected the problem of institutional building, which was characterized by a large variety of approaches and propositions.

**Statement of the basic material.** Since the formation of the Ukrainian Central Rada and the announcement of its course on the principles implementation of the autonomous system, the issue of building a national school became of great relevance. In various appeals to its address, it was primarily about the Ukrainianization of all parts of the education system (Verstiuk, 2003, pp. 39, 48, 55, 59). It is clear that in this task realization, the preference was given to elementary education, where the need was the greatest. As for higher education, as a rule, participants in professional meetings and wider circles of the public demanded

the introduction of courses in Ukrainian studies and the introduction of Ukrainian studies disciplines in the educational process (Zavalniuk, 2008, pp. 9–14). These requirements were reflected in the documents addressed to the Petrograd authorities and, it must be admitted, in some cases, achieved a positive result. In particular, in the spring of 1917, the Provisional Government allowed the founding of the Department of Ukrainian Language, Literature, History and Law (Rozovyk, 2001, p. 55).

Separate propositions came from representatives of faculty and teaching corporations. Thus, Kharkiv's professor of medicine, the famous therapist A. Kakovskii presented his reform project to I. Steshenko on April 6, 1917. He suggested to declare all university departments, whose professors served 30 years, vacant and to replace them by August 20, 1917, with only professors of Ukrainian descent who spoke the language. All other professors had to be obliged to master the Ukrainian language throughout the year or to exchange a place of work with Ukrainian professors from Russian universities. These questions were proposed to urgently present to the Provisional Government to find a solution (Ulianovskiy, 2007, p. 226).

Essential assistance in the question of Ukrainization, according to the initiators' intention, was to be provided by Ukrainian scientific forces, which were scattered across different educational institutions of Russia. In view of this, the problem was quite acute on the agenda to create the right conditions for their return to Ukraine. On the eve of the First All-Ukrainian Teachers' Congress, held on April 5–6, 1917, M. Hrushevskiy, referring to «Ukrainian professors and teachers of higher schools,» especially emphasized this task (Do ukrainsiv-profesoriv..., 1917). At the same forum, Ukrainian propositions for the establishment of a national high school were recorded in a separate decision (Vaskovych, 1996, pp. 271–272).

However, no one has special confidence of the way of higher schools Ukrainization, therefore projects of a more radical solution to the issue were initiated simultaneously. In particular, the magazine «Nova Rada» in the second half of April 1917 contained an article in which the author expressed doubts about the rapid Ukrainization of existing universities due to the lack of specialists who would meet the requirements of the university statute to replace the vacant departments. «But that does not mean» he stressed, «that among Ukrainians there is no scientific force. No, they are, but they are not qualified, they do not have any of these conditional signs – examinations of magistrates and others, although they may have written or know a course better than a professor» (T-ko, 1917).

Ukrainian citizenship, according to the author, could not tolerate such a state of affairs. He considered the practical way out of the situation as the foundation of a Ukrainian university (T-ko, 1917). In this way, a free university would unite all the scientific Ukrainian forces, and become an intellectual laboratory where Ukrainian science was to be developed and the world to be ukrainianized, where the training of Ukrainian scholars had to take place.

The second stage in conducting educational policy was initiated by the formation of the General Secretariat for public education. I. Steshenko entered the post on June 25, 1917 (CSASPAU, fonds 2581, description 1, case 15, page 1). In his activity, he was guided by the general principles defined in the Secretariat's declaration and the regulations of the First Teaching Ukrainian Congress. In the context of meeting the challenges facing the higher education link, the Secretariat appealed to the administrations of the universities of St. Volodymyr, Kharkiv and Novorossiysk with the request to open the Department of Ukrainian Studies, but none of them sent an answer. Beyond this, the section on higher education of the Secretariat adopted a fundamental decision on the possibility of teaching in the Ukrainian

language that year with the admission to read parallel courses in other languages. But the practical realization of this step was presented in the form of adopting a corresponding appeal with simultaneous appeals to higher schools and individual lecturers. In order to monitor these processes promptly, it was decided to create a special commissariat. In addition, the Secretariat expressed its support for the opening of the Ukrainian People's University in Kyiv (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 1, c. 15, p. 2).

The work of the educational department at this stage of socio political development took place under conditions that were not quite favorable in terms of the historical perspective. It was at this time that the Provisional Government developed an Instruction to the General Secretariat, the norms of which were unknown. As a result, its limited scope fell within Senate explanations by Minister O. Manuilov. University corporations used dependence on this situation and the real balance of forces at their discretion. For example, on a regular question from the General Secretariat concerning Ukrainization, the administration of Novorossiysk University replied, «We ask you to correspond in the official language» (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 2). A notable event at this stage was the introduction, on July 1, 1917, by the Provisional Government of the Changes in the University Statute, which returned home-school autonomy to the higher school (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 11, pp. 14–15).

Under such conditions, according to the heads of the Education Secretariat, the only way to influence the higher school was in the negotiation process with Petrograd (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 1). Appropriate steps have been taken and they have come up with some success. The role of the Secretariat of Education is obvious. The best evidence is the report of the Department of Public Education of the Provisional Government dated September 5, 1917 (SACK, f. 16, d. 469, c. 864, p. 14). As a result, in the rector's telegram of the University of St. Volodymyr, the Minister of Public Education O. Manuilov ordered to establish a department of Ukrainian studies in accordance with the resolution of the Provisional Government of September 19, 1917 (SACK, f. 16, d. 469, c. 864, p. 13).

I. Steshenko did not become more harsh to interfere in the affairs of higher education at this stage of the development of the national education system. This was partially obstructed by objective reasons (official approval of the General Secretariat took place only in August, and secretaries were appointed to office in early September), partly subjective (excessive loyalty of Ukrainian leaders to democratic principles). It is clear that at the time of revolutionary changes this did not always have a proper effect, and partly it complicated the work incredibly.

However, in spite of these lingering factors, the Secretariat of Education succeeded in successfully implementing a number of urgent reforms. First of all, it is about holding a very clear structuring of the department itself. Among other units, the Department of Secondary and High School with its internal departments was formed (Kudlai, 2009, p. 62).

At the beginning of September 1917, the director of the department, F. Sushytskyi, spoke at a meeting of the Scientific Society with a special report, in which he formulated two main tasks that were supposed to be implemented in the field of higher education. Firstly, to ukrainianize the existing higher schools of Ukraine, and secondly, to work out a project on the establishment of new higher schools (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 1zv.). In addition, it was considered necessary to open a national library, archives, and museums.

The department continued to take special care of the problem of the National Ukrainian University organization, the solemn opening of which took place on October 5, 1917, as well as the affairs of the pedagogical academy (Kudlai, 2009, p. 68).



The proclamation of the third Universal of the Ukrainian People's Republic began the third stage of educational construction. If before that the main efforts of the department in view of organizational development and financial problems were limited, as a rule, in Kyiv, then the scope and scale of activity expanded to the all-Ukrainian dimension. In particular, several important things were done at the end of the year.

Firstly, in November 1917 at Kyiv University of St. Volodymyr it was declared a competition to fill vacant positions in Ukrainian departments. Secondly, a bill on the Department of Ukrainian Studies in all higher schools of Ukraine was drafted. Thirdly, a draft law on compulsory lecture of the Ukrainian language for all faculties and departments of higher educational institutions of Ukraine was prepared. Fourthly, a circular was sent to Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa educational districts in order to ascertain the issue of the number of secondary school graduates in 1918 who would like to listen to lectures in higher schools in Ukrainian. This was done in order to visualize the picture for further course on Ukrainianization. Fifthly, in December, the development of the statute of state-owned Ukrainian universities began. To this end, a special commission was established consisting of Prof. H. Pavlutskyi (Doctor of Art History), B. Kistiakivskyi (Doctor of Public Law), D. Hrabe (Doctor of Mathematics) and V. Dubianskyi (Master of Geology and Mineralogy) (CSASPAU, f. 2201, d. 1, c. 326, p. 92). During December 1917 general points were already agreed upon. It is noteworthy that according to its general structure and normative provision of autonomous self-government, the charter was consistent with those principles that underlie the functioning of the European higher education institution. Sixthly, it was planned to reform the Nizhyn Institute of History and Philology in terms of its Ukrainization, as well as a draft on the nationalization of Kyiv Theological Academy was developed (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 1, c. 15, p. 54–54 v.).

Proclamation of Ukraine's independence by the IV Universal recognized and radicalized the problem solution of university building, thus initiating the fourth stage of the idea implementation. This is especially evident after the return of the Central Rada to Kyiv in March 1918.

The relevant plan was developed by the Department of Higher and Secondary Schools in February 1918 and proposed for consideration by the Council of Ministers of Education. It provided for the implementation of a measure set that would lead to the creation of a qualitatively new situation in the field of higher education. This seven-point project, as a rule, we know today from the retelling of S. Posternak (Posternak, 1920, pp. 74–75), who was a member of that Council and participated in the development of measures for the reform of higher education.

In fact, the authentic document developed by the Department of Higher and Secondary Schools of the Ministry of Education, which we managed to find in the archives, consisted of eight points and covered all the components of the organization of national university education (CSASPAU, f. 2581, d. 2, c. 27, p. 2 v.).

In the spring of 1918, the idea of a national university in the pursuit of educational policy acquired a new and high-quality sound. From the declarations and intentions it was decided to immediately proceed to its practical implementation. Looking for the most optimal options along the way, the issue of unifying the University of St. Volodymyr with Kyiv People's University was quite urgent in the Ministry of Education on the agenda. In order to solve it promptly, in early April 1918, a special commission under the leadership of Comrade Minister P. Kholodnyi was created under the Ministry of Education.

For the first time on its working meeting, the commission met on April 13, 1918, presided by P. Kholodnyi. The University of St. Volodymyr was represented by authorized representatives such as rector Ye. Spektorskyi, dean of the Medical Faculty O. Sadovenia, professors H. De-Metz and S. Reformatorskyi and associate professor P. Smyrnov, which were approved by the Council of educational institution the day before (SACK, f. 16, d. 465, c. 433, p. 22 v.). The Ukrainian People's University was represented by rector I. Hanytskyi, dean of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics F. Shvets, professors M. Vasylenko, D. Hrave, V. Zenkivskyi, B. Kistiakivskyi, V. Konstantynovych, O. Lukianenko, V. Luchytskyi and O. Cherniakhivskyi. The Ministry of Education was represented by the director of the Department of Higher and Secondary School F. Sushytskyi and professor V. Dubianskyi.

After a brief introductory speech by P. Kholodnyi, F. Sushytskyi, who spoke in Ukrainian, was invited to speak. He familiarized the participants with the main provisions on which the Ministry of Education would have liked to agree with the professorship in solving the issue of the Ukrainianization of higher schools in the state in general and the further fate of the University of St. Volodymyr (SACK, f. P-936, d. 2, c. 4, p. 1). Taking into account that the theses distributed to the members of the commission were printed in Ukrainian, according to the suggestion of some presenters it was decided to prepare parallel texts of the document being discussed – in Russian and in Ukrainian – by the next meeting. According to these, representatives of the University of St. Volodymyr asked the head of the assembly about the main motive, which was guided by the ministry when compiling the thesis proposed for consideration. P. Kholodnyi gave an exhaustive answer in the sense that the budget issue, despite all its acuteness, played only a derivative role in this case. Ye. Spektorskyi shared his own thoughts, the essence of which was that St. Volodymyr University was ready to meet the government in the matter of financial maintenance in Kyiv of two higher schools.

Thus, the representatives of the University of St. Volodymyr was aware of the fact that at the level of the Ministry of Education of the UNR practically it was impossible to stop the process of implementation of the model, according to which the teaching was to be conducted in all departments in parallel in Ukrainian and Russian. In fact, the commission itself, in its personal composition, where the qualified majority was representatives of Kyiv People's University, convincingly testified to this. Not in favor of the majority of the professors and teaching corporations of the University of St. Volodymyr was also the position of active student, who passed entirely pro-Ukrainian decisions (Donets, 2017).

The only attempt to qualitatively influence the situation was considered the way of introducing a topical issue for congress discussion of the representatives of higher educational institutions of Ukraine, which took place in Kyiv from April 14 to April 17, 1918. Its decisions noted the lack of timely reform of the education system. Regarding Ukrainianization of higher education, the forum stated that «the placement of new Ukrainian educational institutions should not take place at the expense of existing universities and institutes and for any damage to them, but should be carried out in the form of independent Ukrainian higher education institutions» (Korotkyi, Ulianovskyi, 2001, p. 39).

However, this, obviously, did not provide much faith in overall success. As an example, we should give a fact from the meeting of the Council of the University of St. Volodymyr of April 19, 1918. The agenda of the meeting was to consider the words of Minister of Education of April 13, No. 718/4227 with the following content, «I have the honor to inform that in all cases with which the University applied for the existing laws to the Ministry of National Education in Petrograd, is from today to apply to the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian

People's Republic in Kyiv» (SACK, f. 16, d. 465, c. 433, p. 29). The Council decided to take note of the information without any discussion.

In addition to solving the situation with Kyiv higher educational institutions, the Ministry of Education intensively promoted the case with the founding of a classical university in Kamianets-Podilskyi. To clarify a number of important issues related to the implementation of the project, in April 1918, the provincial center of Podolia was visited by a special delegation authorized by the Council of Linguists of Kyiv People's Ukrainian University and the Ministry of Education (Zavalniuk, 2011, pp. 106–107).

Based on these realities, the contemporary of events V. Prykhodko firmly convinced that «even with a completely hostile attitude of certain hetman authorities to the idea of high Ukrainian schools, the Russian case of Kamianetskyi and Kyiv Universities could not be buried: it would be too unpolitical» (Prykhodko, 2012, pp. 20–21).

Finally, in the spring of 1918, the case of developing a university statute was completed. According to its structure, it fully corresponded to the best European practices. The main feature of this document was the extensive expanded university autonomy. In order to emphasize the superiority of the collegial principle of the management of an educational institution, the Council was placed at the head of the university, then faculty meetings and only after – the governor, the rector and the deans. The Ministry remained, for the most part, only general oversight of institutions and approval of teaching staff (Proekt Statutu, 1918).

**Conclusions.** Thus, from the very beginning of the revolutionary events of 1917, Ukrainian citizenship claimed the need for the Ukrainianization of all parts of the education system, taking into account European traditions. This process has been further developed in connection with the creation of the General Secretariat of Public Education. Gradually, the state authority was structured, which had a qualitative effect on the development of strategic plans for the reform of higher education and the implementation of the idea of a national university. This task was especially active in the spring of 1918, when the plan for the establishment of a number of classical and popular universities in different cities of Ukraine was elaborated, and a special commission headed by P. Kholodnyi approached the question of the unification of St. Volodymyr with Kyiv People's Ukrainian University. A significant contribution to the formation of the national system of higher education was the development of domestic specialists of the university statute, which, in its structure, the availability of academic freedom and completeness of self-government, met the established principles that underlie the functioning of the European higher education. However, the completion of the legal proceeding of a national university took place under the Hetman's regime of P. Skoropadskyi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

*Table 1*

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

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

(Mały Rocznik Statystyczny, 1938: 24).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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## NECROPOLISES OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARMY IN PRECARPATHIAN DURING WORLD WAR I

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to find out the location, the place and the state of conservation of the burials of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army on the territory of Precarpathian (Ivano-Frankivsk Region) during the period of World War I. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematic and scientific approaches, objectivity, the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systematic) methods. The novelty is the classification and the substantive analysis of the military necropolises of the Austro-Hungarian army according to certain groups have been carried out; the changes in their architectonics (quantity, character of the location, etc.) that have taken place over the centuries have been determined; the process of the natural burial of the fallen soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and other armies in the individual and group burials and in the separate sections of*

urban, rural, parish cemeteries at the initial stage of the war has been reconstructed; etc. **Conclusions.** Thus, according to the developed model of the study, the graves at the military cemeteries in the above mentioned territory in 1914 – 1918 and the civilian cemeteries on the grounds of the belonging of the soldiers to the rival armies and the nationality of the soldiers are classified into two main groups: 1) common to the servicemen of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies; 2) separate, where the Austro-Hungarian Army soldiers are buried. Among them there were predominant the individual and group burials, scattered on the fields, the private farmsteads, along the roads, and also the separate sections in the urban and rural cemeteries. As a result of the changes (transferring, reburial, a natural and conscious destruction, etc.) that took place over the next decades, at the beginning of the twenty-first century there were almost no graves outside the cemetery, but in different conditions the separate military necropolises were preserved in the urban and rural cemeteries, many of them in a miserable condition. These necropolises require a special protection from the state. Up to date is the preparation of the generalized fundamental works on the military necropolises of Ukraine on the basis of the results integration of the relevant regional studies.

**Key words:** World War I, Precarpathian, Austro-Hungarian army, military burial, military cemetery, military necropolis, military graves.

### НЕКРОПОЛІ АВСТРО-УГОРСЬКОЇ АРМІЇ ДОБИ ПЕРШОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ НА ПРИКАРПАТТІ

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні локалізації, розташування та стану збереження поховань воїнів австро-угорської армії періоду Першої світової війни на території Прикарпаття (Івано-Франківщини). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, об'єктивності, використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Новизна дослідження** полягає в тому, що здійснено класифікацію і предметний аналіз військових некрополів австро-угорської армії за визначеними групами; з'ясовано зміни в їхній архітектоніці (кількість, характер розташування тощо), що відбулися епохою століття; реконструйовано процес стихійного поховання загиблих воїнів австро-угорської та інших армій в індивідуальних і групових захороненнях та окремих ділянках міських, сільських, парафіяльних цвинтарів на початковій стадії війни; тощо. **Висновки.** Отже, згідно з розробленою моделлю дослідження, поховання на військових цвинтарях краю 1914 – 1918 рр. і цивільних кладовищах за ознаками приналежності вояків до ворогуючих армій та за національністю воїнів класифіковано на дві основні групи: 1) спільні для військовослужбовців австро-угорської і російської армій; 2) окремі, де поховані загиблі австро-угорської армії. Серед них переважали індивідуальні і групові поховання, розкидані на полях, приватних садибах, уздовж доріг тощо, а також у вигляді окремих ділянок на міських і сільських цвинтарях. Унаслідок змін (перенесення, перепоховання, природне і свідоме руйнування тощо), що відбулися впродовж наступних десятиліть, на початку XXI ст. поховань за межами цвинтарів майже не залишилося, натомість у різному стані збереглися окремі військові некрополі на міських і сільських цвинтарях, багато з них у жалюгідному стані. Ці некрополі потребують особливої охорони з боку держави. На часі також підготовка узагальнювальних фундаментальних праць про військові некрополі України на основі інтеграції результатів відповідних регіональних студій.

**Ключові слова:** Перша світова війна, Прикарпаття, австро-угорська армія, військове поховання, військове кладовище, військовий некрополь, військові могили.

**Problem statement.** World War I (the Great War) drastically changed the history of the XXth century, it became a tragedy for millions of families. Its study is conducted on the continental, national, regional and interdisciplinary levels and covers the socio-political,

military, socio-economic, cultural and everyday spheres. These and other aspects accumulate the problem of the military burials, on which there is a long-term social and scientific discourse. The current situation in Ukraine regarding the preservation of the military graves is characteristic of other European countries and has its own peculiarities.

The topicality of the study of the military cemeteries of 1914 – 1918 in Precarpathian (we outline the territorial and administrative boundaries of Stanislaw voyevodstvo in the 20-ies and 30-ies of the 20th century, which generally coincide with the borders of modern Ivano-Frankivsk Region) is due to a number of factors: a) there is a general shifting of the emphasis on studying of the identified issues at the regional level; b) the registration of graves and graveyards is mainly carried out within the limits of the separate administrative units; c) the military burials of Ivano-Frankivsk region have been investigated worse than in many other regions of Ukraine, although their size is not less significant; d) their study at the «micro level» allows to show more deeply the general and special features, the tendencies of the formation of the military necropolises of Ukraine.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The problem stated above was not the subject of a special scientific research, but only a fragmentary analysis done by the ethnologists (Y. Balitska (Balitska, 2011), P. Vorobets (Vorobets, 2010), O. Kozak (Kozak, 2016), L. Orel, R. Chornenkyi, P. avrylyshyn (Orel, Chornenkyi, & Havrylyshyn, 2012)). The analysis of their work shows that a comprehensive study of the history of the formation and a modern state of the military memorials should be launched at the regional level, as this creates the basis for the preparation of the generalized fundamental works.

**The publication's purpose** is to find out the location, the place and the state of conservation of the burials of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army on the territory of Precarpathian (Ivano-Frankivsk Region) during the period of World War I. To achieve the goal of the research certain **problematic issues** must be solved: to define the main terms and the sources of the research; to elaborate the classification of the military burials of the Austro-Hungarian army and to carry out their substantive analysis; to find out the changes in the architectonics of the military burials that have taken place over the centuries.

**Statement of the basic material.** We use the terms «necropolis», «cemetery» as synonyms without going deep into the discourse on the interpretation of the above mentioned concepts. We use the term «military necropolis» in a broad sense to refer to the burial places of soldiers of various armies and nationalities that participated in the Great War of 1914 – 1918; the term «military cemetery» (in German – Kriegerfriedhof, in Polish – Cmentarz wojskowy) is understood as a place of burial of different armies servicemen; the term «war cemetery (German – Kriegsfriedhof, Polish – Cmentarz wojenny) – as a place where all the victims of the war, the civilians and the oldiers were buried.

38 states with 1.5 billion people were involved into the Great War. Carpathian region was in the epicenter of the East European «theater» of military activities between the Austro-Hungarian and German armies – on the one hand, and the Russian army – on the other hand. The general tendency has been revealed, according to which, the character and the dynamics of the deployment and localization of the military actions in Precarpathian region as the «puzzles-matrix» coincide with the appearance and geography of the military burials location.

The number of the dead soldiers of the warring armies during World War I and the number of the military cemeteries that appeared in Stanislavivshchyna after its end, can be spoken about only conventionally. A clear insight is given by the data of 1920 on the territory of the Lviv Austro-Hungarian military command (KuK Militärkommando Lemberg), which included the territories of the region. According to the data, there were 610 military cemeteries in the area from 1914 to 1919, of which 467 were individual. Among the 227 130 people buried, there were 108 220 warriors of the Austro-Hungarian army. Their remains rested in tens of thousands of the individual and group burials (Kozak, 2016). Taking into consideration the fact that Stanislavivshchyna was almost the third of the territory of the Lviv Austro-Hungarian military command, we can assert that in the post-war years there were about two hundred military cemeteries with several thousand individual and group burials.

At the initial stage of the Great War, the Austro-Hungarian army did not have a clear doctrine regarding the burial of the dead soldiers, and when their numbers began to grow rapidly, it became spontaneous. In the times of calm periods between the battles, therefore, with the stabilization of the front line, comrades of arms and the rear services, on the one hand, and the local people voluntarily or coercion, on the other hand, buried the soldiers in their place of death or pulled the bodies to the funnels and covered them with the ground. On the site of such sanitary graves the embankments were left, which in size corresponded to the individual and group (brotherly) graves. The crosses were erected. Otherwise, the peasants brought the bodies of the victims to the parish cemeteries and buried them «where the free space was». Later on, this process became organized, and some sections of the military burial grounds were established. Simultaneously, the military cemeteries were created.

The systematic ordering of the military burials in the Austro-Hungarian army began with the creation of the Ninth Division of Military burials (the 9th Kriegsgräberabteilung) on December 3, 1915, in the structure of the Ministry of War. The Ninth Division of Military burials functioned until November 1, 1918. Its tasks consisted in realizing the records of the dead, carrying out the exhumation and the reburial of the remains and designing, erecting and equipping the military cemeteries, etc. The inspections of the military burials (Kriegsgräberinspektion) were created in the districts under conditions of the war. In particular, Stanislavivshchyna belonged to the Military District «Lviv» (K. und k. Kriegsgräberinspektion des Militärkommandos Lemberg). The Inspections, the special labor brigades (Arbeiterabteilung) were subordinated to, had the separate districts fixed. Their competence included the issue of legal, organizational, logistical support for the process of the creation and operation of the military cemeteries and the recording and burial memorialization (Kozak, 2016).

In Halician governorate general, formed on the territory of the region during its transition to the power of Russia, the functions of accounting and ordering burials of dead soldiers were carried out by the police.

The documents from the funds of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional State Archive give important insights on the nature and peculiarities of the formation of the military cemeteries of Carpathian region during the Great Battle of the architectonics. We focus on the individual areas for the typology of this phenomenon.



In the list made by the organs of the Russian police in June 1916 – July 1917, «The List of graves of soldiers of the hostile army in Kosiv district», 65 burial facts (about one hundred individual and 3 group graves) are described according to the following features: a) the location (the village, the road, the other object); b) the presence of crosses, the material the crosses are made of, the inscriptions on them; c) the kind the fences are; d) the general condition, the special features. The analysis showed that about a quarter of the burials were located in the rural cemeteries; about 11 – along the roads, the bog lands and pastures, the rest – in private farmsteads and fields. On most graves there were hewn or non-cultured crosses made of oak, beech, birch, fir, and some had stone pedestals and fences made of wire. Only fifteen dozen crosses had the inscriptions with the names of the soldiers (SAIFR, f. 12, d. 1, c. 167, pp. 29–34).

According to our calculations, 102 graves of the soldiers of Russian and Austro-Hungarian armies were registered in 23 settlements, which belonged to the 1st Police Department of Kolomyia District. 50 and 20 of these are in the cemeteries of the villages of Malyi Hvizdets and Hvizdets (SAIFR, f. 605, d. 1, c. 20, p. 11).

The list of the graves of the warring army soldiers on the Usteritska territory Kosiv district illustrates the national composition of the dead. In particular, as a result of the battles in August – September 1916 in the village Yablonytsya there appeared the burial of the officer of the 23rd reserve corps (in the document «regiment») of the German army, Viliano Corde, and the burials of several dozen soldiers of various units of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian armies (SAIFR, f. 12, d. 1, c. 168, pp. 40–43).

Such a fragmentary review allows us to make an interim conclusion. Most of the burials of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, which arose during the period of the Great War, were not preserved under current conditions, and therefore the architectonics of the military necropolis of Precarpathians at the beginning of the XXIst century is fundamentally different. It is based on the military cemeteries and war graves sites laid in 1914 – 1918 on the civilian and military cemeteries, which have also undergone the significant changes over the next decades. We can speak quite arbitrarily about their number and more over about the number of soldiers buried there. The generalization of the accumulated sources allows to record about 140 burials of soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian armies and the national military formations on the territory of Precarpathian during World War I in the form of the military cemeteries, the sections of the military burials in urban, rural, church cemeteries and mass graves. This number does not take into account individual graves on the territory of the cemeteries and the graves, scattered in forests, fields, roads, etc.

The burials on the military cemeteries of 1914 – 1918 and on the civilian cemeteries are divided into two main groups in accordance with the belonging of the soldiers to the warring armies: 1) common for the servicemen of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies; 2) separate, where the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army were buried. These groups of necropolises are structured and characterized by the number of burials, the localization and the features of the location, the state of preservation of tombstones, the memorial immortality, and other features.

To the first of the identified groups belongs is about 20% of the designated number of burials. They are the largest in the number of the buried and are represented by the separate military cemeteries and sections on the civilian cemeteries. One of the largest in Carpathian region is the military necropolis in the tract of Rivnya near the village of Tyshkivtsi in Horodenka district, where about three thousand soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies were buried in three brotherly graves, who perished during June battles of 1916 (Nekropoli, 2000, p. 102). Not far away, in Korniv, another large burial place was preserved as the part of the graves with several hundred soldiers of these armies (Nekropoli, 2000, p. 99).

The necropolises of World War I in Ivano-Frankivsk have a difficult and tragic history. The fate of one of the oldest central city cemetery in Ukraine (founded in 1782) is indicative, now called «Memorial Square». From the beginning of World War I in its southern part – on a «new field», which belonged to the Greek-Catholic capitol, a military cemetery was founded. At first, the Russian soldiers were buried here (about 800 people in 317 graves); later – the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, who died at the front or died in hospitals (one of the oldest military hospital in Eastern Europe functioned in the city). After ordering from 1924 to 1927, it became the main military cemetery of Stanislav, where 665 graves of soldiers, who died in the Great War, (Orel, Chornenkyi, & Havrylyshyn, 2012) were located.

At the other «new» cemetery of Stanislav (founded in 1912) since the beginning of World War I, the soldiers of various armies were buried, but their burials were not preserved. In their place in the 1950-ies the graves of servicemen of the Soviet secret services units appeared (Nekropoli, 2000, pp. 26–27).

Large military cemeteries of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies are also located in the town of Dolyna (more than 300 small concrete crosses have been preserved) and in the village Vyshkiv, Dolinskyi district.

The best preserved are the military burials, in particular, the tombstones that make up the separate sections of village and church cemeteries. Among the dozens of such facts we will single out the cemetery in the village of Bliudnyky, Halytskyi district, where about one hundred soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies, who were killed in the battle on June 4, 1916, were buried. They are marked with 25 low earthen embankments with Latin crosses (Mista i sela, 2012, p. 85; Nekropoli, 2000, p. 84). In the 1920-ies, the remains of one and a half hundred soldiers of these armies, settled in separate graves in the tract of Zahostynets of the village of Bryn of the same district, were reburied in the village cemetery in a fraternal grave, which was made in the form of a high cone-shaped embankment with a tomb (Mista i sela, 2012, p. 88). By the efforts of the local communities and the church fraternities, several tens of graves of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies (1914 – 1916) are kept in a good condition in the old village cemeteries in Nyzhniy Bereziv, Kosiv district, in Korniv, Horodenkiv district (Nekropoli, 2000, pp. 99, 125) and others. Of the 25 burials of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian Army belonging to the second group, we mention one of the largest military cemeteries of Precarpathian town of Rohatyn. It has a complex structure and history, which in typical and unique dimensions is characteristic for the formation of many other military necropolises. In its structure, it is a single complex of three separate parts. The

largest are the burials on the left bank of the river Hnyla Lypa, where numbering on the crosses of the individual graves is indicated by figures from 407 to 572. In addition to them, there are three fraternal graves on which there are eight crosses and a two-meter monument with the inscription in German «Zu unseren Helden 1916». («To Our Heroes / 1916»). The second part is the burial ground at the cemetery near the church of the Holy Spirit (20 graves with crosses marked with numbers from 573 to 595); the third – 36 graves (from 599 to 652) in the town cemetery. The numbering indicates the integrity of the necropolis and means that the rest of the graves were not preserved (Vorobets, 2010). In these locally separated parts of the dead soldiers were buried in individual, group and fraternal graves. They were taken from the front, the town hospital, as well as from the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the cathedral of St. Nicholas, the secular buildings, where the Russian prisoners of the war were mostly held, and the others like that. The funeral service teams marked each grave with the concrete crosses made by the local craftsmen, and fixed on them the numbers made of the galvanized plaques. Due to this, under present conditions the buried soldiers are identified on the basis of the registration lists stored in Vienna military archives. With the assistance of the Austrian Consulate and the international organization «Black Cross», the memorial is constantly kept in order, in particular, 80 tomb crosses and a memorial sign were established (Vorobets, 2010).

The memorial complex was preserved on the old cemetery of Kalush in a more integral form, where about 300 soldiers (1916 – 1917) of the Austro-Hungarian army were buried. It occupies the territory in the southern part (the area of 50 m x 50 m), where there are 30–35 graves in seven rows from the north to the south and 10–15 graves in eight rows from the west to the east. In 1930 the half-meter Latin crosses with inscriptions of the personal data of the buried were installed on each tombstone. The inscriptions were written in Latin (Nekropoli, 2000, p. 47).

The architectonics of the tombs of the Austro-Hungarian army soldiers is quite mosaic. We will note the military cemetery in the village of Maidan in Tysmenytsia district as the example, reflecting the typical and specific features of the cemetery formation and the present state. At the cemetery where in more than 200 individual graves the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian Army are buried, who died in hospitals in 1916 – 1917 (crowned with the monorange crosses and the main cross) (Nekropoli, 2000, p. 168); the great fraternal grave of the German and Austrian soldiers, killed in 1915, at the town cemetery in Horodenka (Nekropoli, 2000, p. 96); the village military cemetery in Kulachkivtsi in Snyatynskyi district, where the Austrian soldiers and villagers were buried, who died in 1914 – 1919, and the others. (Nekropoli, 2000, p. 159). The column with a marble board, which was destroyed during the Soviet period, distinguished the site with 9 graves of the Austrian soldiers at the village cemetery of the village Borschov in the same district, where the remains were brought from the tract Hora in 1929. A large burial was preserved of 10 group and individual graves of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, who died in 1917 in one of the last major battles in Precarpathian region. This large burial was preserved in a separate section at the church yard in the village of Mizhhirya in Bohorodchanskyi district (Zvid pamiatok, p. 202).

The traces of the Croatian military graves did not fade either (Ustya village of Snyatyn district, Fytkiv village of Nadvirna district (Nekropoli, 2000, p. 165)). The most famous

became the Croatian military necropolis in the village of Hlybivka in Bohorodchany district, where 51 soldiers, who died in 1916, were buried in the churchyard. The gate was preserved and brought from Vienna in 1917 by a monument with a carved inscription, which testifies the burials of the Croatian soldiers of the 25th Zagreb and the 26th Karlovac Regiments of the Austro-Hungarian Army, who «gave their lives for their homeland and for the king» (Zvid pamiatok, p.78). In November 2016, on the initiative of the Republic of Croatia, the memorial complex was opened here.

The so-called plague cemeteries, singled out into a separate group, are divided into two subgroups in the context of the problem under study. To the first group we refer the civilian cemeteries, where the soldiers were buried, who died of various infectious diseases; to the second – actually the military burials. The remnants of such a large cemetery have been preserved in the suburbs of Rohatyn, where there are about 250 graves in the section of 40 m x 60 m sq., located in 8 rows, 26 graves in each, and the single graves. Judging by the personal numbers, engraved on the half-meter concrete crosses, the remains of the soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, who died in 1915 – 1916, were buried there. After the war, the monument was erected at the cemetery with the inscription in Polish «Do naszych bohaterów» («To Our Heroes») (CHCMIFR – Zvit, p. 4). At the cemetery of the buried soldiers of World War I in Kalush in 2011, besides 358 burials of the soldiers of various armies, a separate area was found where the buried soldiers of various armies, who died in 1917 – 1918 in the town infectious barracks (Balitska, 2011).

**Conclusions.** The Necropolis of the Austro-Hungarian Army of Precarpathian during World War I has a large number of varieties of burials. It began to be formed in 1914 – 1920 and during the following century it underwent the qualitative changes: the majority of the grouped and individual burials outside the cemeteries, except those reburied at the cemeteries in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies, was not preserved. Most of the burials in the urban and rural cemeteries, formed in 1914 – 1918, are no longer fixed in the contemporary necropolis studies, and many detached graves sites that survived at the military cemeteries are now in a miserable condition.

The further research of this problem should be developed in the direction of preparing the generalized fundamental works on the military necropolis of Ukraine on the basis of the integration of the results of the relevant regional studies. Perspective is the study of the burials of the soldiers of the Russian army and various national military formations in separate regions of the country.

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**UKRAINIAN ISSUE AT THE NATIONAL MINORITIES CONGRESSES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1920-IES (BASED ON THE PERIODICAL «DILO»)**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research – is to analyze the Ukrainian issue consideration on the basis of the publications in the newspaper «Dilo», the interethnic relations in Europe in the format of the national minorities Congresses in the second half of the 1920-ies. The methodology of the research is based on the combination of historicism, the objectivity principles and a general scientific method, a special-historical method of the scientific work. The scientific novelty of the research is based on the fact that for the first time the Ukrainian representatives' composition at the National Minorities Congresses, the goals and the results have been researched; the content of discussions, the Ukrainian approaches to the solution of the national minorities problems in Europe in the second half of the 1920-ies have been also investigated. Conclusions.* *Consequently, the National Minorities Congresses, held annually in Geneva in the second half of the 1920-ies, became a discussion platform for negotiating a wide range of the national minorities problems in the inter-war Europe with the accedence of the League of Nations, which sent its representatives to participate in their discussions. The leaders of the Congress, J. Wilfan, E. Ammende and the others, tried to narrow the discussion of the problems of only those national minorities that were scattered in the European countries and enjoyed the support of their national powers. It was they who formed the agenda of Congresses, imposing debates on the implementation of the idea of the national*

and the cultural autonomy in various forms in European countries. But in Europe there were national minorities who, in separate countries (in their territories), lived compactly and in some regions constituted the majority without their national powers. The latter belonged to the Ukrainians whose representatives participated in the discussions of the above-mentioned issues. The Ukrainian position at the Congresses was represented by the UNDO representatives – the most influential Ukrainian political party in the 1920-ies (in different years, D. Levytskyi, M. Cherkavskiy, O. Levchanivskiy, D. Paliyiv, O. Maritschak, etc.) and the «Peasant Union» (P. Vasilchuk in 1926 – 1927), as well as Bukovyna and Transcarpathia representatives. In 1925 – 1927 the Ukrainian representatives were in the status of the observers, and in the subsequent years – the sufficient participants. The Ukrainian delegation at the Congresses advocated broadening the agenda Congresses, discussing the national minorities issue in the context of implementing the principle of the national self-determination, and considering the situation of certain national minorities in the individual states. The Ukrainian delegates did not consider the Ukrainians to be a national minority in Poland, and the format of the Congress was viewed as an opportunity for the Ukrainian issue propaganda on the international scene. The allies of the Ukrainians were often the representatives of the Belarusians, the Lithuanians, and the others.

**Key words:** Ukrainian issue, National Minorities Congresses, Ukrainian National Democratic Organization (UNDO), national cultural autonomy.

### УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПИТАННЯ НА КОНГРЕСАХ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ МЕНШИН У ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1920-Х РОКІВ (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ЧАСОПISУ «ДІЛО»)

**Анотація. Мета статті** – проаналізовано розгляд українського питання, міжнаціональних взаємин в Європі у форматі Конгресів національних меншин у другій половині 1920-х рр. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на традиційне для історіографічних праць поєднання принципів (історизму й об'єктивності) і методів (загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних) наукової праці. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше досліджено склад, цілі та результати діяльності українського представництва на Конгресах національних меншин, зміст дискусій на них, українські підходи до розв'язання проблем національних меншин у Європі в другій половині 1920-х рр. **Висновки.** Конгреси національних меншин, які відбувалися щороку в другій половині 1920-х рр. у Женеві, стали дискусійним майданчиком для обговорення широкого спектру проблем національних меншин у міжвоєнній Європі з відома Ліги Націй, котра направляла свого представника для участі в їх обговоренні. Лідери Конгресу Й. Вільфан, Е. Амменде та ін. намагалися повернути увагу до тих національних меншин, які були розсіяні в європейських державах і користувалися підтримкою своїх національних держав. Саме вони формували порядок денний Конгресів, нав'язуючи обговорення реалізації ідеї національно-культурної автономії в різних формах у європейських державах. Але в Європі були національні меншини, які в окремих країнах (на їхніх територіях) проживали компактно і в окремих регіонах становили більшість, не маючи національних держав. До останніх належали українці, представники яких долучилися до обговорення вищезазначених питань. Українську позицію на Конгресах озвучували представники УНДО – найвпливовішої у 1920-х рр. української політичної партії (у різні роки Д. Левицький, М. Черкавський, О. Левчанівська, Д. Паліїв, О. Марітшак та ін.) і «Селянського Союзу» (П. Васильчук у 1926 – 1927 рр.), а також – Буковини і Закарпаття. Українські представники у 1925 – 1927 рр. мали статус спостерігачів, а в наступні роки – повноцінних учасників. Українська делегація на Конгресах виступала за розширення тематики порядку денного Конгресів, обговорення проблеми національних меншин у контексті реалізації принципу національного самовизначення, аналізу становища окремих національних меншин в окремих державах. Українські делегати не вважали українців у Польщі національною меншиною, а формат Конгресу розглядали як можливість пропаганди на міжнародній арені українського питання. Союзниками українців часто виступали представники білорусів, литовців та ін.

**Ключові слова:** українське питання, Конгреси національних меншин, УНДО, національно-культурна автономія.

**Problem statement.** The Treaty of Versailles (the system of international treaties) failed at solving all the national minorities problems in Europe after World War I, as well as the League of Nations created by it. In particular, in the interwar period of the XXth

century the Ukrainian issue remained unresolved. The Ukrainian statehood wasn't even on the European international relations agenda. There wasn't any European state, which defended the Ukrainian people's right to create an independent and constituent state. For obvious reasons, this problem was not discussed in the USSR. The Naddnieprianski parties, after the defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917 – 1921, were trying to draw attention of the European leaders in order to solve the Ukrainian statehood problem in the emigration, but their efforts were unsuccessful. The Western Ukraine, which belonged to Rzeczpospolita II (the Second Polish Republic) in 1923 – 1939, having political struggle historical traditions under the conditions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the experience of state-building during the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917 – 1921, the greatest influences (among the legal parties) on the Ukrainian social-political life of the region, the national-state parties (Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (UNDO), Ukrainian radical party (since 1926 – Ukrainian Socialist-Radical Party (URP-UDRP), Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USPP) attempted to actualize the Ukrainian issue in the international arena, however, only the National Democrats (UNDO) were most actively trying to use the format of existing international organizations (The League of Nations, The League of Nations Societies, The National Minorities Congresses, The Inter-Parliamentary Union, etc.).

**The analysis of the sources and recent researches.** This problem is not completely researched in Ukrainian and foreign historiography. In the interwar Rzeczpospolita II the national minorities problems were interested in a number of scientific institutions, including the Institute for National Studies and the Eastern Institute. On the pages of their printed periodicals – «Sprawy Narodowościowe», «Wschód», «Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński» – there were often analyzed the international relations in Central and Eastern Europe, the international relations in Poland and some aspects of the Ukrainian foreign policy. In the Ukrainian historiography of this period the works of P. Klunnyi (Klunnyi 1924), K. Levytskyi (Levytskyi, 1923), M. Lozynskyi (Lozynskyi, 1923), M. Mandryka (Mandryka, 1926) are distinguished. The works of the above-mentioned authors characterize, in the popular scientific form, the issue of protecting the national minorities in international law after the end of the World War I, especially in the Versailles Treaty system. One of the leaders of the National Minorities Congress, a German public figure, a scientist, E. Ammende analyzed the situation of the German minority in European countries (Ammende, 1927).

In modern Polish historiography, the problem of the national minorities in Rzeczpospolita II, in the interwar Europe of the XXth century in general, much more scientific works are devoted than in Ukrainian historiography. In the researches of M. Batóg (Batóg, 2017), S. Bober (Bober, 2018), V. Kundera (Kundera, 2016), the general approaches of the national policy of the Polish governments of the interwar twenty years are analyzed. The situation of the Ukrainians in the interwar Poland, their national rights and freedoms became the subject of the study of A. Dawidowicz (Dawidowicz, 2016), M. Figura (Figura, 2016), M. Koziński (Koziński, 2016), M. Marszał (Marszał, 2014), Yu. Pisuliński (Pisuliński, 2017) and the others. The UNDO policy on solving the Ukrainian issue in the international arena was partially analyzed by R. Torzecki (Torzecki, 1989), R. Tomczyk (Tomczyk, 2006), and the others. In Ukrainian historiography, certain aspects of the above-mentioned problem were considered incidentally by I. Vasiuta (Vasiuta, 2006), O. Zaitsev (Zaitsev, 1993, 1994), M. Kuhutiak (Kuhutiak, 2000, 2002), and the others.

The source basis of the article is the materials of the daily newspaper «Dilo», devoted to the problem of solving of the Ukrainian issue at the Congresses of the national minorities



of the second half of the 1920-ies, as well as the documents of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, the published researches (Rudnytska, 1998).

**The publication's purpose** is the analysis of the consideration of the Ukrainian issue and the interethnic relations in Europe in the format of the national minorities Congresses in the second half of the 1920-ies. To achieve the goal the authors set the task to investigate the composition, the purpose and the results of the Ukrainian representatives' activity at the national minorities Congresses, the content of the discussions, the Ukrainian approaches to solving the national minorities problems in the second half of the 1920-ies.

**Statement of the basic material.** The idea of summoning of the National Minorities Congress arose in the mid-1920-ies. Already on October 14, 1925, the Slovenians, who lived in Italy, the Germans from Latvia and the Hungarians, who lived in Czechoslovakia, summoned the international meeting in Geneva, whose main task was to prepare the Congress of the enslaved nations. The previous Geneva meetings of European national minorities representatives were limited to the consideration of the cultural autonomy and free economic development issues. The editorial of the newspaper «Dilo» expressed some surprise at the fact that there was no mention of the self-determination of the peoples, while at the meetings only the questions «the position of individual national groups in European state» were considered (Konhresy ponevolenykh, 1925).

The agenda of the meeting on October 14, 1925 was limited to four items: 1. The greetings of the invitees; 2. A national tolerance as a principle of an international law; 3. The value of a self-governing principle for the achievement of the national peace; 4. The task of international organizations, in particular, the League of Nations.

On the basis of the prepared resolutions the thesis was emphasized: «the national, cultural freedom as well as the religious freedom must find its true expression in the positive legal norms. Each state, at whose borders live other national groups, must provide them with free cultural and economic development and the opportunity to use civil rights (civil – the authors) along with the state nation. Each national group must have the right to create and develop community-based institutions, depending on the circumstances – on a territorial or personal basis. The defense of these rights is the responsibility of the League of Nations and all organizations that have set themselves the task of maintaining world peace and co-habitable living among the peoples» (Konhresy ponevolenykh, 1925).

The representatives of the Ukrainians and the Belarusians did not agree to this platform. «The basis and directions of this first preparatory meeting of European national minorities cannot satisfy the subordinate to the ruling peoples of the territorial peoples or their larger branches ... Those who summon the meeting are the representatives of the skillful national groups and then, of course, the non-territorial ones. So, it is no wonder that their demands are directed to the national, cultural autonomy. In addition, the initiators of this first meeting of European national minorities would like to spread the right legally and loyally, but rather implement the rights based on the Alliance Theses (Entente States – auth.) on the protection of the national minorities» (Konhresy ponevolenykh, 1925).

The initiators of the meeting did not distinguish the territorial and non-territorial peoples, large and small national groups, but only tried to create the basis for the minimum cultural rights of the non-state peoples. Despite the difference in Ukrainian demands with the resolutions of the meeting, the Ukrainians did not refuse to participate in the preparatory meetings of the Congress of enslaved peoples. The representatives of the Ukrainians set themselves the

goal «to extend the scope of the Congress also to the matters of a wider political significance, which would include the requirements and natural rights of the territorial peoples» (Konhresy ponevolenykh, 1925).

The representatives of the Ukrainians in Poland believed that Geneva meeting would give an impact to the creation of a uniform front of the national minorities and non-state peoples. The Head of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (UPR), a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (Central Committee of the UNDO), M. Cherkavskyy, stated that the Ukrainians received the information about summoning the Congress with a great interest. «Though from the top, – said the national democrat, – the fixed «frames» of the Congress are very narrow, the Congress has the right to change its program according to the wishes of the majority. But even when the Congress limited to the cultural issues, then its value would be great» (Konhresy ponevolenykh, 1925).

M. Cherkavskyy, O. Levchanivskyy, P. Vasilchuk went to the Congress (On October, 14 1925 in the newspaper «Dilo» there was published the information on the first two persons) The issues of Geneva Conference became the subject of the international meetings not for the first time, because the above-mentioned issues were considered for the numerous times at the meetings of the League of Nations Societies Union. The newspaper «Dilo» put an emphasis on the following point: «The only difference is that this time in Geneva, the initiative of such Congress came from the offended national minorities, who did not want to be controlled by the «senior guardians» performing the role of the peace judges. It was hard to predict the limits of the extension of the Congress programme, because it depended on the position of the participants. «The pursuit of the national, cultural autonomy is the maximum programme for some people, who are the disappearing minority in the state, for the others – the minimum programme. There are as many forms of the autonomies as the state systems and state regimes» (Zhenevska konferentsiia, 1925) While clarifying the situation, regarding the observance of minimum obligations for the national minorities protection by the European States, their discussion at the VIth session of the League of Nations, the editorial staff of the newspaper «Dilo» emphasized: «The basic fact that each of the states, having committed itself against the national minorities, performs them on their own means, that is, they are seeking for the other means to carry them out at least – this fact has given the impact to the Lithuanian delegate at the last meeting of the League of Nations to make some additions, so that the minorities rights protection will have one form in all states. The discussion in the political commission of the VIth session of the League of Nations was the best evidence that attempted to extend the same forms of «freedoms» to the national minorities to all states may still can wait for a long for their implementation. There is a little evidence that the International Human Rights Protection Commission agreed on a new procedure, considering that this is not in the interest of the great powers» (Zhenevska konferentsiia, 1925).

The Ukrainians were afraid of the similar situations that happened at the meetings of the League of Nations Societies Union when the Italians, the Slovenians, the Baltic Germans and the Czechoslovak-Hungarians would invite the national minorities representatives, who have formed their own states, and had their own national minorities: «Poland, for example, is ready to seek for the one-percent national minority autonomy in Ukraine, considering the fact that such kind of autonomy for 22 percent of the Ukrainians in its state is completely different, because these Ukrainians don't come from Ukraine (there are only MaloRussy and Rusyns), or they are at such a low cultural level that any autonomy would be harmful to them» (Zhenevska konferentsiia, 1925).

The Ukrainians considered the Geneva Conference's first task to find the ways to put pressure on the international community in order to improve the oppressed peoples. «Small national minorities, according to «Dilo», who organize the conference, do not see that securing their claims is possible only when a few million national minorities are on their side, even more offended by the small branches of those minorities» (Zhenevska konferentsiia, 1925).

On October 14, in 1925, the European National Minorities Congress began to work. At the organizational meeting, it was argued that 30 groups that declared their desire to participate in it, identified the official delegates or the political leaders. The Slovenian Ambassador to the Italian Parliament, Dr. O. Wilfan, was the head at the meeting. The discussion on the internal situation of the individual minorities, their peculiar situation, the protests have been excluded from the Congress agenda programme in advance.

Having agreed on the Congress agenda, a closer committee of 12 people was elected to organize the Congress. It included the Ukrainians along with the Hungarians, the Dutch, the Belarusians, the Poles, the Jews, and the Germans. At the end of this opening meeting, the Ukrainians and the Belarusians made an offer to consider the issue of peoples' self-determination, which was immediately sent to the Twelve Congress Committee, which rejected this proposal. Then the Ukrainians and the Belarusians representatives declared the statement in which they emphasized: «We, are the Ukrainian and Belarusian population representatives annexed to Poland against our will, assert that our two nations, who inhabit their own national territory, one third of the entire Polish state, are creating the prevailing national majority which we have sought for the full realization of the self-determination rights provided by their international laws». The above-mentioned petition was signed by F. Yeremich, O. Levchanivskyi, M. Cherkavskyi and P. Vasylchuk. (Konhres yevropeiskykh natsionalnykh menshostei, 1925).

The subject matter of these Congress meetings were the minimum requirements of the «groups national protection, exclusively based on the national and the cultural grounds, the claims for our national units are not enough, and the Congress is reluctant to extend the subject of the meetings to the limits of the national self-determination, nor to allow the situation of the individual national groups, we declare that our active participation in this Congress will become possible only when such kind of a Congress will only deal with the national minorities protection who are scattered in the foreign territories, but that the questions of the full realization of the self-determination rights and the individual position of the individual national groups» (Konhres yevropeiskykh natsionalnykh menshostei, 1925). Before the implementation of these requirements, the Ukrainians and the Belarusians participated in the Congress in the status of the observers. A similar statement was made by a representative of the Lithuanians.

As a result of the work of the Congress, the resolutions were adopted on October 15, 1925, which emphasized: «A national, cultural freedom is just the good of a cultural world as a religious one. This axiom must be recognized by everyone as an ethical principle for the national relations, and it must find its expression in the positive state laws and means of a public life. According to it, each state, within which other national groups also live, must provide these citizens with the right to a free, economic development, and to its members a full use of all civil rights. The aim and practical implementation of those principles create the precondition for understanding between the peoples, and thus the precondition for peace in Europe» (Konhres yevropeiskykh natsionalnykh menshostei, 1925).

At the same time, the Congress participants confirmed the need for the rights of these national groups to cultivate their national culture, to create political organizations, to

implement the principles of self-government. The resolution was sent to the League of Nations by the Congress. The Congress also expressed its sincere gratitude to all international organizations involved in solving the problem of the national minorities and asked them to «continue their work in accordance with their grand purpose» (Konhres yevropeiskykh natsionalnykh menshostei, 1925).

Summing up the results of the work of the Congress, the editorial staff of «Dilo», expressing the position of UNDO, noted: «It is wise to avoid irritating issues at the international congresses in order to maintain a harmonious atmosphere. But it is not entirely wise to reject the investigation of the real circumstances in which the peoples live, when the purpose of these resolutions is the correction of these circumstances» (Konhres yevropeiskykh natsionalnykh menshostei, 1925).

In the interview of «Dilo», the member of the Ukrainian delegation, M. Cherkavskiy, described the circumstances of the announcement of the Ukrainian delegation: «At the opening of the conference, it was agreed that each representation must give one of its members to the presidium of the vice president. Therefore, in the Presidium there was a place for us, and for the Belorussians. When after the opening of the conference there came to the turn the election issue of the presidium, and when the President Wilfan appealed to the attendees with the request, if anyone had any intention of making the declaration, then we made our declaration in the following order: the predeclaration speech was made in Belorussian by the Ambassador Yeremich, stating, that his speech must be translated into German by a Senator Levchanivska. The senator, having retold the content of Yeremich's speech, made clear the motives, due to which we can neither be satisfied with the meetings programmes, nor take part, because we are the national majority in our territories, which are occupied by Poland, because there are above 6 million of people of our population, because the very international law guaranteed even more than territorial autonomy. Senator Levchanivska finished her speech by reading the declaration, which was given in a written form to the presidium» (Do zizdu ponevolenykh v Zhenevi, 1925).

Answering the question about the concrete consequences of this congress, M. Cherkavskiy stated: «Now it's hard to predict, because this congress was the first congress of national minorities. It is called the so-called. executive committee. Despite our declaration and the fact that we were at the Congress as the observers only, in the executive office there were two places reserved for us and for the Belarusians» (Do zizdu ponevolenykh v Zhenevi, 1925).

The Second National Minorities Congress began in Geneva on August 25, in 1926, with the participation of the representatives of 39 national groups: 10 Germans, 5 Jewish, 5 Polish, 3 Ukrainians, in particular one representative from Pidkarpatska Ukraine, 3 Russians, 3 Hungarians, 3 Slovenians, 1 Belarussian, 1 Lithuanian, 1 Czechoslovak, 1 Lusutsko-Serbian, 1 Danish and 1 Swedish. Most of the national groups came from Poland (there were 6 national Polish groups), Czechoslovakia – 5, from Romania – 4, from Germany – 3, from Austria – 2, from Italy – 2, from Yugoslavia – 2, there were 1 national group from Denmark, 1 from Spain, 1 from Hungary. The secretary of the congress worked at the Victoria Hotel, led by Dr. E. Ammende (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei, 1926 a).

On August 22, in 1926, the Ukrainian delegation headed by UNDO D. Levytskyi, Deputy Head of the UNDO M. Cherkavskiy, O. Maritschak left for an Organized National Groups Congress. According to the newspaper «Dilo», the Ukrainian delegation said in advance that it would not take an active part in the Congress because of the fundamental positions, it would confine itself to issuing a statement of the principle, it would work as observers, it would try to contact the enslaved peoples' representatives and the national minorities (Novynky, 1926).

The Polish minorities consisting of five countries formed a common front under the leadership of delegates from Germany. The Jewish minorities delegates elected Dr. L. Motskin as their joint delegate equally. The German delegates from different countries did not find an agreement, since the situation of the Germans in the different states was significantly different. In particular, the Germans in Romania demanded the creation of a special League of Nations in order to protect the national minorities interests.

At the National Minorities Congress four commissions were elected: economic, cultural, organizational and legal political. The representatives of the League of Nations in Geneva maintained a neutral position before the Congress (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei, 1926 a).

The Ukrainian delegation proposed to include into the agenda the change of the borders of the existing states and the enslaved peoples' independence. This proposal was supported by the Belarusians, but it was not supported by the Congress. Similarly, there was no proposal to create a separate League of National Minorities. The Congress discussed only the cultural and the economic problems of the national minorities.

The newspaper «Dilo» evaluated the Congress programme without much optimism (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei, 1926 b). There was no great interest in this Congress not only from the European leading powers, but also from their official representatives. The leadership of the League of Nations sent to the Congress a referent of «complaints» of the national minorities. The world press reacted to topics, which were violated by the Congress, mainly in the referring tone.

More than 100 delegates came to the Congress, representing 17 organized national groups. The opening ceremony took place on August 25, in 1926 at Victoria Hotel, with an opening speech announced by the chairman of the Congress, O. Wilfan. He stressed out that only organized national groups were allowed to take part in the Congress, which found independent cultural competitions – from Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslaviya, Spain, Germany, Poland, and the others. The main task of the Congress is to ensure the freedom of the national and the cultural development of minorities. The agenda also included the following discussions: the linguistic issue, the economic equality, the ensuring citizens' rights, the electoral equality, and resolving the conflict between the national minorities and the state. The observers noted the differences between the national groups in solving these issues, but they were united by the desire to resist the restriction (or the destruction) of the national-cultural rights (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei, 1926 b).

M. Anghazel, the Catalans representative, said that the Catalan group, through its participation in the Congress, did not renounce the rights «arising from the full harmonization of the national principle» (Konhres menshostei, 1926). On the contrary, his participation in the Catalan Congress expressed hope for a peaceful solution to the national question. On behalf of the Russian group, the Congress welcomed the ambassador to the Estonian parliament, Kurchinskyi. The head of the Congress reported that the Ukrainians, the Belarusians, and the Polish-Lithuanians took part in the Congress only in the status of observers, «because their nations, interceded by them, defend the principle of the very definition of nations» (Konhres menshostei, 1926).

The Hungarian delegate from Czechoslovakia, Sillie said that the minorities issue is an illness of the whole Europe, and the Congress task is to find «remedies» to cure that illness. According to him, «The League of Nations did not find such a medicine. She wants to save her current condition. Minorities must fight and appeal to the world, namely, to the United States» (Konhres menshostei, 1926). In general, in his conviction, «a minority issue can be

solved only in the sense of love and justice, «because for how long the minority is not equal, how long they are only legal residents but not the citizens, how long in the world there are armed and unarmed states, how long in the world does not prevail the commandment: love your neighbor as yourself – so long the world will be sick» (Konhres menshostei, 1926).

On the behalf of five Jewish groups (from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Romania) L. Motskin spoke in favor of elaborating a moral code of relations between nations. «Nationalism only then will be true», he stressed, «when it will be understood for the other nationalities» (Konhres menshostei, 1926). The great interest among the participants of the Congress was the statement of the head of the German faction in the Estonian parliament P. Schiman, devoted to the attitude of the national minorities to the state. He called for the creation of a new law that could equalize the differences between the national and the state affiliation: «minority interests require the legal protection against the state. This is a prerequisite for the preservation of the world. The right to nationality must be given a stick, a competitive form. The League of Nations can regulate only relations between the states, but it cannot mean the relationship between the state and the citizens or groups of citizens entering into its structure. The principle of self-determination affects a state-owned entity that is not identical to a national affiliation. The right for self-determination does not make equal that opposition and is not a means to create a peaceful coexistence of different nationalities in the same territory. The treaties on the national minorities protection make these minorities a subject to bidding between the states. Inside the states must be created a new state law, a positive right of the people» (Konhres menshostei, 1926). He once again expressed the thesis about the creation in the state of freedom for the nurturing of national culture, the separation of the cultural sphere from the custody of the state» (Konhres menshostei, 1926).

A Jewish ambassador to the Lithuanian Parliament, Robinson continuing the theme of cultural autonomy, he proposed the relevant resolutions: «1) the national and cultural autonomy comprehension should be dependent only on the will of the minority; 2) the recognition of a given national minority must be dependent on the will of the unit and dare not to cause any harm to it; 3) the State duty is to allocate from its budget subventions for the cultural minority purposes in proportion to the size of the minority» (Konhres menshostei, 1926). However, these proposals were not supported by I. Greenbaum, a representative of the Polish Jews, who expressed their support for the territorial autonomy claim for the territorial minorities. As a result of the discussion, the resolutions proposed by Robinson were adopted.

In the linguistic case, the Congress passed a resolution on the state language as compulsory only in the administration. Concerning the resolution of conflicts between the governments and the national groups, it is proposed to form parity commissions for their solution.

An important outcome of the work of the Ukrainian delegation was the mutual understanding between the Belarusians and the Lithuanians, who took a common platform on the activities of the Congress. D. Levytskyi, O. Maritschak, M. Cherkavskyi, F. Yeremich, V. Zalmeskavs on behalf of their delegations expressed it in a joint statement: «As it is known, our representatives at the first conference of nationalities in Geneva last year made a statement that they could not take an active part in the Congress work, but for the reasons given in that statement, they are competing for the full realization of the self-determination right. For this reason, our representatives made an application for the conference foundations in the above-mentioned direction. The Conference Council did not accept our introduction. The basics of this year's Congress are stagnant in the same narrow framework as last year. Given that the right to complete the very definition of nations is definitely the ultimate basis

for their political development and for the peaceful coexistence of peoples, we cannot take part in the Congress works this year» (O. N., 1926).

The Congress work lasted for three days and touched the political, the economic and the cultural enslaved peoples. On the basis of the lectures and discussions O. Maritchak shared his observations: «The referents and the conversations were passing through the Congress program and were able to make sure that the resolution of the problems of the enslaved peoples – even the actual national minorities – would not allow the settled platform of the Congress» (O. N., 1926).

Outside of the UNDO, none of the other Ukrainian political parties tried to use this Congress. Only the representative of the Peasant Union – P. Vasilchuk, in a separate letter to the secretary of the Congress, M. Ammende refused to attend the Congress, stating reasons that made his presence unnecessary. In the periodical «Nashe Zhyttya (Our Life)», he stated frankly: «When the enslaved are taken up, they have the right to represent themselves and the opinion of the world in their actual situation. What's the reason for summoning the Congresses when you cannot tell the truth about your mode of life? What for repeating the well-known theoretical formulas, while being limited, – or only from the ad to show up ... A union of the enslaved, who would say to the world about his right to life loudly, is needed. The Geneva Congress of «European National Groups» is the Congress of National Agreed groups, gives way to the existing regime, which appeared after the war, it is not a union of enslaved territorial peoples, who would widely and fundamentally take the national question in the enslaved states» (Pislia konhresu menshostei, 1926). The Krakow periodical «Time» did not believe in certain positivity for Poland, because our policy «in relation to the minorities is non-conservative and unwise. The creators of the constitution introduced a lot of unpredictable and impractical resolutions, promising the minorities too broad «self-government», which in the end the minority does not have and do not need anywhere» (Pislia konhresu menshostei, 1926). T. Goluvko at the periodical «Robotnik», on the contrary, praised the united Polish delegation behavior, as well as the European representatives

While analyzing the results of the Congress in the articles of the newspaper «Dilo» «The Oppressors Union», «the Union of the Oppressed» it was «clearly indicated that the Congress of the organized national groups in European states» «cannot have any real consequences: «Narrowing the scope and the content of the Congress to small and purely abstract themes, preventing criticism of the existing regimes in some states – all these looked like the unnecessary meetings but not the courageous and serious approach to the national problem» (Pislia konhresu, 1926).

For those politicians of the national, democratic group in 1926, it became clear that the Congress had neither «demonstrative nor practical significance» (Pislia konhresu, 1926). Moreover, they then had the impression of the initiative of conducting the Congress by the insurgent states in order to bury the most important right of our century, the right for self-determination of the peoples by the organized national groups» (Pislia konhresu, 1926). According to the newspaper «Dilo», two consensus blocks met at the Congress: «German minorities and Polish; to these last joined and the Polish Russians with the ambassador Serebrenikov and Halytski katsapy (Moskvophiles – the authors)» (Pislia konhresu, 1926). They tried to remove the principle of the right for self-determination beyond the Congress. The Ukrainian politicians even questioned the moral value of this organization.

The Third Congress of the National Minorities took place on August 22 – 24, in 1927 in Geneva. On August 1, in 1927, the Ukrainian, the Belarusian and the Lithuanian groups in

Poland held a joint meeting and on August 3, during the same year the letter was sent to the Congress presidium with the terms of the cooperation at the IV Congress. The conditions were based on the declarations of 1925 and 1926: «1) the assumption of the statement that the participation in the Congress of these groups does not mean the abdication of the national-political competitions of the Ukrainian, the Belarusian and the Lithuanian nations and their self-determination right; 2) the extension of the Congress discussion framework, which allows only the theoretical considerations on the minorities protection, to eliminate the frustration and the unlawfulness of the enslaved peoples in the European individual states; 3) the national minorities loyalty requirement removal against the ruling powers, which was indicated at the first and second Congress discussions; 4) the admission of two representatives of the above-mentioned groups to the presidium of the Congress» (Maritchak, 1927).

On August 21, in 1927 the Congress presidium was dealing with the above-mentioned conditions. In addition, the Frisians adoption issue from Germany was discussed, which found the protectors among the Polish delegation from Germany. The Congress Presidium was prone to meet the requirements of the representatives of the Ukrainians, the Belarusians and the Lithuanians from Poland, but the Congress Council, which consisted of one representative from each nationality, was unable to resolve the issue of accepting the new members and decided to prepare the first statute, on the basis of which it would be possible to take new groups. The Ukrainian and the Belarusian delegations were invited to participate in the Congress in the status of the observers.

While analyzing the course of the Congress, the researcher O. Maritchak put an emphasis on the following: «The practical instructions for solving the important problem of the enslaved peoples in the abstracts are not presented and this circumstance encouraged numerous delegates to the congress. In the individual states Parliaments, the enslaved peoples representatives have far more freedom in discussing the affairs of the nation, as in the Congress itself, the enslaved ones. This was an anomaly, which was felt by the delegates who weren't able to attend the Congress, and which some observers also raised» (Maritchak, 1927). The author saw the task of the Congress in finding a common practical way and the common language of all enslaved peoples.

Putting aside the affairs connected with the friezes adopted to Congress, the Polish delegation protest and the congressional meetings resignation, the withdrawal from the organization of the Germans of Czechoslovakia, have greatly increased the tension in the Third Congress. O. Maritchak advised the Congress secretariat «to take seriously the events that took place at the last Congress and with a greater understanding to lead the further work of the enslaved organization» (Maritchak, 1927).

The Third Congress of National Minorities in Geneva ended with the Poles and the Dutch withdrawal from the organization. The reason for this decisive step, according to the official communique of the secessionists, was the Germans' opposition to the adoption of the Frisians and the Vends (Latvian vendi) – two thousandths of minorities in Germany. According to the newspaper «Dilo», «the initiators and founders of this institution were the Germans, and then the Baltic Germans, it means: the most loyal element. They gathered the scattered minorities and bound them in one whole on the platform of the Treaty of Versailles and its branches. The invincible holiness for them was the existing borders imposed by the winners in the World War. Preserving the modern states boundaries, they advanced only the development of the minor treatise, but not on the basis of the reality, the living life, its needs and postulates, but based on the transcendental dissected theses and formulas. As the situation came to a



standstill, the national minorities unification thus became the right hand, the donor of the official League of Nations, whose task was to crush the national problem» (Menshostevyi olimp, 1927). With such a platform, the UNDO representatives could not find the agreement.

At the Third Congress it was proposed to consider the following abstracts: 1) about the European peace threat as a source of the national tolerance; 2) on the domestic and interstate cooperation of the nationalities; 3) about the problem of the languages; 4) on the state sovereignty and the minorities rights; 5) about the organization and the propaganda. The delegation, consisting of D. Levytskyi, M. Cherkavskiy, O. Maritchak, left for the Congress (R. Yasenytskyi joined the Ukrainian delegation from Bukovina) (Konhres ponevolenykh narodiv v Zhenevi, 1927).

The Ukrainian politicians did not agree with the status of the Ukrainians as the national minority. They believed that the actual national minorities: the German, the Hungarian, the Polish and the others were in a much better position than the Western Ukrainians. The UNDO representatives understood that it was not enough to use the Geneva National Minorities Congresses to declare their principle status, while remaining passive. After the Third Congress it was written in the newspaper «Dilo»: «The task of our representation is to find such a formula, which, on the one hand, would enable it to live on the international scene and, on the other, would not weaken our principledness» (Konhres ponevolenykh narodiv v Zhenevi, 1927).

The Fourth Congress of National Minorities began its work on August 29, in 1928 in Geneva. The researcher O. Maritchak noted that «in the order of the meetings, we see many theoretical issues that don't have any practical importance for preparing the solution to the complicated issue of the enslaved nationalities» (Maritchak, 1928). In particular, in 1928, it was planned to consider the following issues: 1) the status of the nationalities and the League of Nations; 2) the cultural work of nationalities and their cultural attitude towards the indigenous peoples; 3) the activities of the international organizations on the nationalities issue and the nationalities cooperation within their framework; 4) the question of the nationality science: a) the nationalities struggle and the set forth by law; b) the continuation and the development of the biography; c) the European nationalities statistical textbook preparation issuance; d) the finality and the structure the Intereuropean Institute for the Nationality Science « (Maritchak, 1928). The researcher believed that the main reasons for the past Congresses disorganization were the following: 1) its narrow political platform, the uncertain position of the Germans of Czechoslovakia. In particular, the Third Congress «stuck in small formal affairs, which almost did not lead to the organization's breakdown. The main offensive against the organization was led and conducted by the Poles, who used the false foundations of the organization for their calculations with Germany's domestic policy against the national Minorities» (Maritchak, 1928).

O. Maritchak insisted that «while solving the complicated issue of the enslaved nationalities, the idea of single peoples movement should be taken, one big, indomitable idea. With dry material, even the most intelligent essays cannot solve this question as it cannot be resolved from a loyalty position against the ruling ones. Without an idea, there can be no extension in any action, and even more so in the action that forms the ground for making peace in Europe – and the lack of ideas caused by the infirmity of all the enslaved nationalities Congresses, which the organizers did not have the courage to face and resolve to fight for the idea, which alone could unite all the enslaved nationalities into one front. The idea is great, it was born out of the blood of millions of victims of the World War, and its name: a true, a complete self-determination of the peoples» (Maritchak, 1928).

An interview with the Belarusian Ambassador F. Yeremich, and the UNDO and the UPR Chairman, D. Levytskyi, was published in Lviv Jewish Diary «Der Morgen» on September 4, in 1928, on their participation in the National Minorities Congress. The Belarusian representative stressed out the following: «Life will force the Congress to take a new position, and only the conviction that this will happen, could cause my participation as a Belarusian representative in that Congress. However, I ask you to emphasize strongly in the press that our participation in the Congress is not ambiguous with the plague of a further struggle for the full rights of our nation» (Interviu, 1928).

D. Levitskyi, answering the question: «What happened that you have finally decided to come to the National Minorities Congress officially», stressed the position of the Ukrainian delegation: «Nothing happened. Through our introduction, we wanted to show that, being a national majority in a densely populated area of our country, we must still fight for the most primitive minorities rights that are guarded by the Congress. In the previous years, we have rescued our congressional membership due to the loyalty clause. In my opinion, no national minority, which is threatened in its national existence, cannot be loyal to the state and the government under which it was necessary for it to live. The edges of the Congress are rather narrow and they are tied up to the conditions in which the national minorities live, for example, the Jews. The political tendencies of Ukrainians, who in their national territory are not a minority, but a majority, are going in a completely different direction as the direction of those goals that the National Minorities Congress considers. I have quite clearly stated in our declaration, and only because we, the Ukrainians, do not even have the rights for which the National Minorities Congress is fighting – we participate in it. I want to document that we are forced to fight hard even for the rights guaranteed to us by the international treaties» (Interviu, 1928).

On August 26, in 1929, the Vth Congress of National Minorities took place with the participation of the representatives of 15 peoples. The head of the UNDO D. Levytskyi and D. Paliyiv came from Poland as the Ukrainian representatives, from the Russians – Serebrenikov and Yurchakevych, from the Non-Party Block of Cooperation with the Government – Roskosh and Bohuslavskyi, from the Jews – Greenbaum and Reich, the Lithuanian – Tachik. The Belarusian did not participate in the Congress. The Polish minorities and the German Minorities Union did not participate either because the Congressional Executive did not satisfy the requirements for their participation. The Congress was attended by 8 German groups, 5 Jewish, 4 Russian, 3 Hungarian, as well as the Catalan, the Swedes, the Bulgarians, the Slovenians, the Czechs and the Croats. The Congress presidium rejected the request of the Frizian minority for their entry into the organization (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei v Zhenevi, 1929).

The Congress presidium included the following representatives: D. Levytskyi – from the Ukrainians (Lviv), P. Shiman – from the Baltic Germans (Riga), M. Kurchinsky – from the Russians (Revel), L. Mockin – from the Jews (Paris), Masnons – from the Catalans (Barcelona), G. Sulo – from the Hungarians (Prague).

The UNDO representatives did not share the positions of the majority of the national minorities representatives (primarily the Jews, the Russians, the Germans, the Hungarians) who emphasized their loyalty to the countries in which they live. Their maximum demand was the cultural autonomy within the existing states and borders.

The introduction of the Ukrainians to the organization at the Vth Congress met the criticism of many Ukrainian parties that considered this step a «fake move, because

the Ukrainian problem in Poland is reduced to the level of minor problems» (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei v Zhenevi, 1929). D. Paliyiv, the participant of the Vth Congress responded to these objections as follows: «The very fact that we, after three years, put off (postponed – authors) by joining the minorities organization indicates that we were under this review of great doubts. When, last year, the UNDO leader decided to finally join the organization, only because the arguments for the introduction was much more than against». The Ukrainian delegation did not leave any doubts about the legitimacy of their aspirations, but met protests by the Congressional Presidency on the desire «to implement the national minorities problem in other ways». «The Ukrainian delegation in the organization remained», D. Paliyiv emphasized the following: «using the congressional program to ensure that the Ukrainian issue is properly represented in the foreign public affairs» (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei v Zhenevi, 1929).

The researcher D. Paliyiv did not the golden opportunity to express another argument in favor of the UNDO representatives participation at the Congress. After all, the Ambassador of the Non-Party Block of Cooperation with the Government (B.SSU) Y. Bohuslavskiyi (from Volyn) arrived at the Vth Congress and demanded that he should have been accepted as a member of the organization, as the representative of the Ukrainians in Poland. «It is clear that such a plan was not born in my head,» D. Paliyiv emphasized, «most of Bohuslavskiyi, but they were sent to Geneva by those who were interested in the fact that one of the Ukrainians spoke at the National Minority Congress on the full satisfaction of their national rights and needs in Poland» (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei v Zhenevi, 1929). The Ukrainian delegation was against the idea of accepting Bohuslavskiyi under the threat of leaving the Congress. In this situation, the Congress approved a proposal brought in by an organizing Committee, according to which, the ambassadors were elected from the non-national lists and could be admitted to a congressional constitution, if they prove their independent activity without the influence of the other national groups on them. Therefore, D. Paliyiv assured that «it is not freely possible for us to admit to this organization people, who would represent the Ukrainian issue in Poland and the Ukrainian problem as the integrity in the false light. And in order to prevent this, we must be the members in the organization» (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei v Zhenevi, 1929). D. Paliyiv drew attention to the unexpected solidarity of the Russian delegations from Poland, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, who spoke in defense of Y. Bohuslavskiyi. D. Paliyiv and V. Zalozetsky (from Bukovyna) were the Ukrainian representatives at the Congress. The UNDO representatives drew attention to the fact that «no surrender improvement to the League of Peoples considering complaints won't change the situation of those nations who have fallen to be in the role of the minorities. This has been already indicated by the Ukrainian delegation at the last Congress, because of this fact the representatives from different parties put the blame on the Ukrainians, highlighting they are working against the peace. Meanwhile, the Ukrainians don't work against peace, but all those who do not have understanding for the affairs of peoples who have fallen into the minority positions» (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei v Zhenevi, 1929). The Congressional resolutions on the establishment of the National Research Institute (Vienna or Prague) and the formation of the Minority Journalists Union were vital (Konhres natsionalnykh menshostei v Zhenevi, 1929).

The National Minorities Congress decided to form an international association of journalists of the national minorities. This decision was immediately implemented after the end of the Congress. At the beginning of September in 1929, in Geneva, the constituent assembly of the

association took place, attended by the dozens of journalists, and who approved the charter of the association and held the elections. The Board of the Association was in Geneva. The Presidium of the Society included the representatives of the most numerous nationalities. Mr Bobidnyak, the former ambassador of the Italian Parliament, the Slovenian from Italy, was elected as the Chairman of the organization unanimously. The Council members were the following representatives: Baron F. Ikskil – from the Germans; D. Paliyiv – from the Ukrainians, F. Sundan – from the Czechs, I. Greenbaum – from the Jews, B. Nikolskyi – from the Russians and the others. The task of the association was to protect the professional interests of journalists of the national minorities, to strengthen peace and reach consensus among the national minorities (Mizhnarodne obiednannia natsionalnykh menshostei, 1929).

**Conclusions.** Consequently, the National Minorities Congresses, held annually in Geneva in the second half of the 1920-ies, became a discussion platform for negotiating a wide range of the national minorities problems in the inter-war Europe with the accedence of the League of Nations, which sent its representatives to participate in their discussions. The leaders of the Congress, J. Wilfan, E. Ammende and the others, tried to narrow the discussion of the problems of only those national minorities that were scattered in the European countries and enjoyed the support of their national powers. It was they who formed the agenda of Congresses, imposing debates on the implementation of the idea of the national and the cultural autonomy in various forms in European countries. But in Europe there were national minorities who, in separate countries (in their territories), lived compactly and in some regions constituted the majority without their national powers. The latter belonged to the Ukrainians whose representatives participated in the discussions of the above-mentioned issues. The Ukrainian position at the Congresses was represented by the UNDO representatives – the most influential Ukrainian political party in the 1920-ies (in different years, D. Levytskyi, M. Cherkavskyi, O. Levchanivskyi, D. Paliyiv, O. Maritschak, etc.) and the «Peasant Union» ( P. Vasilchuk in 1926 – 1927), as well as Bukovyna and Transcarpathia representatives. In 1925 – 1927 the Ukrainian representatives were in the status of the observers, and in the subsequent years – the sufficient participants. The Ukrainian delegation at the Congresses advocated broadening the agenda Congresses, discussing the national minorities issue in the context of implementing the principle of the national self-determination, and considering the situation of certain national minorities in the individual states. The Ukrainian delegates did not consider the Ukrainians to be a national minority in Poland, and the format of the Congress was viewed as an opportunity for the Ukrainian issue propaganda on the international scene. The allies of the Ukrainians were often the representatives of the Belarusians, the Lithuanians, and the others.

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**PECULIARITIES IN THE CREATION OF CIVIL PROCEDURES LAW  
IN THE PERIOD OF NAZI OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE (1941 – 1944)**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the study is to analyze the civil procedure legal framework which the «shlikhters» (judges in civil cases) relied on in their own work. The research methodology is based on the principles of consistency, historicism and scientism, as well as general scientific research methods. The scientific novelty lies in the fact that such a detailed analysis of the regulatory framework will be done for the first time. Conclusions. Before the advent of the Civil Procedure Code, there were scattered normative acts used by the judges in their own activities. A similar situation was on the territory, which was occupied by the Third Reich of Ukraine. The documents were scattered, issued with a large period of time and by different officials. For a certain systematization and simplification of their use, the incorporated collections of normative legal acts were issued. We propose to consider one of them: the official collection of legal acts of the General District «Kyiv» – «Amtsblatt des Generalkommissars Kiev». This journal is an incorporation of four by-laws: the Decree of the General Kommissar of Kyiv General district «On jurisdiction and judicial proceedings in civil cases of the local population», the Extract from the Decision «On the introduction and development of German judicial proceedings in the occupied Eastern regions», the Announcement of the German court in Kyiv and the Decision of the Reich Kommissar of Ukraine «On provisional rules on marriage and divorce». But we will focus only on the first three, which make it possible to analyze the legal regulation of civil proceedings on the occupied territories of Ukraine. The publications on the activities of the «shlikhter» courts by A. Honcharenko, N. Kolisnyk, M. Komytskyi, Yu. Levchenko, T. Martynenko, V. Shaikan and the author of this article are well-known in the historiography. But all of them considered the legal framework through the prism of the courts activity very marginally, which was the subject of these scientists' research publications. The territorial boundaries under the scope of the Journal were limited by Kyiv General District. But in fact the activities of judicial institutions in all districts of Reichskommissariat of Ukraine were similar. Besides all regulations presented in this Code are Extracts from Decisions or Full Acts, which expanded on all «occupied East territories». The*

only exception was «the Announcement of the German Court in Kyiv» in which the address of court and the schedule of work specific only for Kyiv are registered, the following contents of this announcement is based on the Decision of the Reichskommissar of Ukraine «On Jurisdiction of Civil Cases».

**Key words:** resolution, court, case, normative legal act, decision.

## ОСОБЛИВОСТІ СТВОРЕННЯ ЦИВІЛЬНО-ПРОЦЕСУАЛЬНОГО ПРАВА ПЕРІОДУ НАЦИСТСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ УКРАЇНИ (1941 – 1944 РР.)

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – проаналізувати цивільно-процесуальну нормативно-правову базу, на яку опиралися шліхтери у власній роботі. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи системності, історизму та науковості, а також загальнонаукові методи дослідження. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що такий детальний аналіз нормативно-правової бази буде зроблено вперше. **Висновки.** До появи Цивільно-процесуального кодексу існували розрізненні нормативні акти, якими користувалися судді у власній діяльності. Подібна ситуація була і на території окупованої Третім Рейхом України. Документи були розрізнені, видавались із великим проміжком часу та різними посадовими особами. Для певної систематизації та спрощення користування видавались інкорпоровані збірники нормативно-правових актів. Ми пропонуємо розглянути один із них: офіційний збірник нормативно-правових актів генеральної округи «Київ» – «*Amtsblatt des Generalkommissars Kiev*». Цей журнал є інкорпорацією чотирьох підзаконних актів: Постанови генерального комісара Київської генеральної округи «Про підсудність і судове провадження в цивільних справах місцевого населення», Витягу з Постанови «Про запровадження та розвиток німецького судового провадження в зайнятих східних областях», Об'яви Німецького суду у Києві та Постанови Рейхскомісара України «Про тимчасові правила щодо одруження та розлучень». Але ми зупинимось лише на перших трьох, які дають можливість проаналізувати нормативно-правове регулювання діяльності цивільного судочинства на окупованих територіях України. В історіографії відомі публікації О. Гончаренка, Н. Колісник, Куницький, Ю. Левченко, Т. Мартиненко, В. Шайкана та статті автора пропонованої публікації з приводу діяльності судів шліхтерів. Але усі вони в основному дотично розглядали нормативно-правову базу через призму діяльності судів, що і було предметом дослідження публікацій названих вище науковців. Територіальні межі, на які поширюється дія Журналу обмежувалась Київською генеральною округою. Але фактично діяльність судових установ в усіх округах Рейхскомісаріату Україна була подібною, окрім того, усі нормативні акти, представлені у цьому зводі, є витягами з Постанов або повними актами, що поширювались на всі «зайняті східні території», виняток становила лише «Об'ява Німецького суду в Києві», у якій прописані специфічні для лише Києва адреса суду та графік роботи, наступний зміст «об'яви» базується на основі Постанови Рейхскомісара України «Про підсудність цивільних справ».

**Ключові слова:** постанова, суд, справа, нормативно-правовий акт, рішення.

**Problem statement.** Hitler's occupation of Ukraine is one of the most tragic periods in the history of our people, and the consequences and echoes of those events continue to affect the present. We can see it most clearly in the days when memorable events are celebrated on the occasion of the end of the war between the Communist USSR and Nazi Germany. At the same time, both Soviet and modern historical science reconstruct those events almost exclusively in the victim, black and white key behind which we will not see a person with his/her daily needs. The problems of daily life of the occupied society have remained out of researchers' sight, and the characteristics of the social and legal status of the local population have only just begun to be researched.

One of the important spheres of life of any society is the civil status of a person. And although Hitler's occupation administration, which operated in Ukraine, was not going to take into account any interests and rights of the local population in any case, it still had to create certain conditions under which the legal settlement of social relations in Ukrainian society was carried out. Herewith, judicial forms and means of regulatory impact on the



local society were used. Judicial institutions acted under the conditions of occupation, but the German administration could not use them in a systematic manner, because there was no legal framework for this. But to use the Soviet legal framework was impossible. This problem was partially solved by transferring the relevant powers to local government officials, in particular, to the legal departments of district and city governments. And only in the spring of 1942 criminal and civil courts began to operate in Ukraine. They were headed by «shemens» (criminal judges) and «shlikhters» (judges in civil cases). These courts dealt with cases of the local population, with the exception of Jews, who had no right to judicial appeals. Simultaneously with the local judicial institutions the German court was created. It considered the cases of citizens of the Third Reich and the Volksdeutsche, as well as property disputes, the amount of which exceeded 5 thousand krb. (Author's note: krb. – short from «karbovanets», currency in pre-revolutionary Ukraine and the USSR, equal to 100 kopecks).

It should be noted that civil procedure law in the modern sense and in the form of a codified act has emerged relatively recently. Before the advent of the code, there were scattered normative acts used by the judges in their own activities. A similar situation was on the territory, which was occupied by the Third Reich of Ukraine. But there was quite a significant peculiarity: the conquest of the territories was relatively fast, the society continued to exist and natural civil processes took place (marriage, death, childbirth, purchase and sale of goods, etc.), but in fact there were no mechanisms of their regulation.

The first normative-legal acts appeared only at the end of 1941, and most of them were published in the spring and summer of 1942. The documents were scattered, issued with a large period of time and by different officials. After publication, they were sent to the relevant General Kommissariats or other subordinate institutions or officials, and from there to the judicial institutions. For a certain systematization and simplification of their use the incorporated collections of normative legal acts were issued. We propose to consider one of them: the official collection of legal acts of the General District «Kyiv» – «Amtsblatt des Generalkommissars Kiev». Similar regulations were issued in other General districts of the Reichskommissariat «Ukraine» (hereinafter – RKU).

«The official journal of the Kyiv General Kommissar» is an incorporation of four by-laws: the Decree of the General Kommissar of the Kyiv General District «On jurisdiction and judicial proceedings in civil cases of the local population», Extracts from the Decree «On the introduction and development of German judicial proceedings in the occupied Eastern regions» of December 19, 1941, the Announcement of the German court in Kyiv and the Decision of the Reichskommissar of Ukraine «On provisional rules on marriage and divorce» of May 11, 1942. But we will focus only on the first three, which relate exclusively to civil procedure. This incorporation is official: it could be used by the «shlikhters» in the resolution of civil cases; it is branch-like: normative acts are mainly taken from the field of civil procedure law and one from civil law, it contains the norms of the institution of marriage; it is subject-like, because the regulation was done according to the branch it pertains to.

This official journal provides an opportunity to analyze the legal regulation of civil proceedings in the occupied territories of Ukraine.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The publications on the activities of the «shlikhter» courts activities issued by O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2009 a, 2009 b, 2010, 2011, 2012), N. Kolisnyk (Kolisnyk, 2014 a, 2014 b, 2014 c), M. Kunytskyi (Kunytskyi, 2014), Yu. Levchenko (Levchenko, 2011), T. Martynenko and K. Kondratiuk (Martynenko, Kondratiuk, 2013), V. Shaikan (Shaikan, 2006, 2007) as well as by the author of this article (Ivanenko, 2018)

are well-known in the historiography. But all of them considered the legal framework through the prism of the courts activity marginally, which was the subject of these scientists' research publications. In particular, O. Honcharenko and M. Kynytskyi analyzed the practical activities of the local criminal and civil courts of the RKU. Researchers also considered the judicial decisions on the establishment and termination of marriage relations. V. Shaikan established the organizational structure of civil courts, the actual judicial activities of the legal Department of the Dnipropetrovsk City Council. Yu. Levchenko in his article considered the judicial apparatus of administrative-territorial units of Ukraine, briefly revealed the legislative basis of their activities, dividing the acts into «German» and «non-German». The article by T. Martynenko and K. Kondratiuk is devoted to the analysis of materials of judicial authorities as sources in studying the social history of Lviv in the context of daily life in the conditions of the German occupation. The paper briefly outlines the peculiarities of the German legal proceedings and the system of courts in Lviv. But N. Kolisnyk studied the work of local government officials, when the judicial authorities in occupied Ukraine had not yet been established and their functions were transferred to the leadership of district and city governments. So, it is easy to observe that the analysis of the regulatory framework on the basis of which the local civil courts of the RKU accomplished their functions has not been carried out yet.

**The publication's purpose** is to analyze the civil procedure legal framework which the «shlikhters» (judges in civil cases) relied on in their own work. Such a detailed analysis of the regulatory framework will be done for the first time.

**Statement of the basic material.** According to the legislation, which was current on the territory of occupied Ukraine, only «shlikhter» courts (trivial civil offences) and the German courts (the cases concerning Volksdeutsche, German citizens and cases, where the value of the claim exceeded 5000 krb.) could consider the civil cases. In the first three documents of «Amtsblatt des Generalkommissars Kiev» the civil process in «shlikhter» courts and partly German courts is exposed, the latter regulated the institution of marriage.

German courts had jurisdiction over civil cases, if one of the parties was not a former Soviet or Polish citizen, as well as in cases where only persons belonging to the local population participate in the case, but the dispute concerns the status of the spouses, the origin of the legal marriage, the right to land or if the claim exceeded 5,000 krb.

Civil disputes between the individuals, who belonged to the local population, were not under the jurisdiction of German courts and were considered by «shlikhters». German courts could also refer cases under their jurisdiction with their own guidelines to the «shlikhter» courts. Legal Departments at the General Kommissars could refer cases under the jurisdiction of «shlikhters» to German courts. Civil cases, in which Jews took part, were considered only according to an administrative order.

Civil cases, which were under the jurisdiction of German court, were decided in accordance with German law, taking into account local conditions (State Archives of Poltava Region, f. R-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 14). German laws could be also applied in cases where according to the principles of German law the rules of Soviet law could be invoked. In addition, all materials of the claim had to be submitted in German, otherwise it was understood as a request to make a translation in the court, which was paid by the demandant (1 reichsmark per page) (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 28).

The participation of lawyers was not compulsory, but as a representative in a court, who would correspond to this appointment, a German citizen or a person of German nationality could be admitted

Court decisions could appeal only to the German Supreme Court in Rivne. The appeal took place only when it was stated in the sentence. Court expenses were calculated by the German court.

The claim, as well as other petitions and explanations of the parties that belonged to the service, had to be submitted in a written form directly to the German court or through Gebiets-(Stadt) Kommissar. The necessary number of copies had to be attached to the specified papers.

The petition had to contain:

1. Indication of the parties and their legal representatives, their names, surnames, nationality, occupation and address.
2. Indication of the court which it refers to.
3. The exact indication of the subject matter of the dispute and the grounds for the violation of the claim, as well as the phrasing of the paragraphs of the petition.
4. Indication of the evidence, with which the party wishes to confirm or deny the claim (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 15).
5. Determination of the price of the subject matter of the dispute, if it is not expressed in a certain amount.

A party, which relied on certain documents, was required to add them to each copy of the claim in the original form or giving their copies.

The cassation appeal, if it took place, had to contain:

1. Indication of the decision that was appealed;
2. An explanation about the extent of the appealed decision and what changes are requested by the party;
3. An exact indication of the reasons for the appeal and a reference to new evidence and objections, which the party has in its disposal to substantiate the complaint.

More detailed justification of the complaint could be submitted within a month from the date of filing of the cassation application.

The complaint could be filed through the court of first instance.

The German court used the appropriate chambers of «shlikhters» for the delivery of all kinds of papers. In addition, the German court at each stage of the court trial and execution of orders was assisted by «shlikhters» and their bailiffs.

«Shlikhters» were designated at Gebietskommissariats by General Kommissar for the submissions of Gebiets-(Stadt-) Kommissars from among individuals, who were quite knowledgeable with the law and lived on the territory of the General district (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2. c. 5, p. 16). They were enrolled into German government agencies or Ukrainian institutions. The General Kommissar, if it was necessary, solved the question of the withdrawal of a «shlikhter», and if a question about the dismissal of a «shlikhter» arose, the Gebiets Kommissar could suspend him from duty. There was double service supervision for «shlikhters»: supervision of the legal activities was conducted by the legal Department of the General Kommissar, and the immediate personal supervision was carried out by the Gebiets Kommissar. In addition to that, «shlikhters» assistant-workers were also under the service supervision. For each County the chief «shlikhter» was appointed. He was responsible for the proper operation of all «shlikhters» chambers in the district (including cassation) before the two above-mentioned officials. He also filed the decision of all issues on «shlikhters» about the yet to be announced rulings.

The «shlikhters» chambers had to be established in each district and the cassation chamber – at each Gebietskommissariat. Each «shlikhter» chamber consisted of the judge himself, the

registrar, the bailiff and the required number of clerks (SAPR, f. R-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 17). Several «shlikhters» chambers could be put into one and several «shlikhters» could work in the same chamber if necessary. The cassation chamber consisted of the required number of cassation departments. The cassation department consisted of the head («obershlikhter») and two assessors from among «shlikhters», who were not involved in the trial of first instance. The order of participation of «shlikhters» in the cassation chamber was determined by the head. The cassation chamber also had a senior secretary, the right number of secretaries, interpreters and clerks.

«Shlikhter» had to apply the laws of the latest edition introduced for the Reichskommissariat by the Reich Minister for the occupied Eastern regions or by the Reichskommissar and authorized institutions. It is interesting to note in this resolution that «shlikhter» decided the issue at his own fair discretion, taking into account the basic provisions of the laws. The regulations of local legislation, which was adopted before the advent of Soviet power «if they correspond to the spirit of the present time», could be also applied.

If there were doubtful cases, the following principles should be used.

«Shlikhter» considered the cases of the defendants, if they lived constantly or temporarily in the area of his jurisdiction. The defendant had the right to protest the disparity of local jurisdiction, but only at the time of submission of the first objection to the claim (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 18).

There was also the possibility of a simplified trial. They had to submit a statement to a «shlikhter» in oral or written form to be entered into the record. The «shlikhter» informs the defendant about the application and appoints the time of the hearing for which witnesses and experts, other than the parties, were to appear, if necessary. If both participants of the process appear on the day of the case, a «shlikhter» could make a decision on the basis of oral explanations of the parties.

A «shlikhter» could send the received application to the defendant for the written protest and on the basis of two explanations could make the decision if there was no need for additional oral consideration of the case.

One of the functions of the bailiffs was to serve any kind of notice, but a «shlikhter» could also delegate this authority to any employee of his chamber, if necessary. In case of the absence of a person, to whom the notice was to be served and the absence of a prohibition to give it to a third party, the bailiff could serve the notice to an adult family member or an adult, who serves the defendant's family. In the absence of the above-mentioned individuals it can be handed over to the head of the house, one of the neighbours, if they agreed to take it (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 19).

When serving a notice, an official act should be drawn up and it should contain the following information: location and time of notification served; a person, who received the message and a person to whom it was awarded; the reasons why the document was handed to another person, if it happened to be; on the refusal of adopting the document and the abandonment of the latter in the place of delivery. The act was signed by the person, who performed the delivery.

In case of the failure of one of the parties to appear at the hearing or, in case of the written proceedings, the failure to provide timely explanations, the case at the request of the demandant shall be decided on the basis of the data, available in the case. The parties were warned of the consequences of the above-mentioned actions at the time of receiving the notice of summons or at the beginning of the written proceedings.

Each court session was accompanied by the signing of the Record by a «shlikhter». This document noted: the details of the trial and filed petitions; questioned witnesses and experts; a decision and a possible settlement agreement. By the way, one of the goals of each court session is to sign a settlement agreement in the presence of a «shlikhter» (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 20).

The «shlikhter's» decision was made in a written form with justification, if it was not refused by the parties. But all justifications should be laid out as clearly and concisely as possible for the convenience and speed of translation (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 28).

By analogy with the system of the German courts, «shlikhter's» decisions were also possible to appeal in cassation chamber. The complaint was filed through the court of first instance, that is, through the «shlikhter's» chamber, which conducted the judicial proceedings.

The deadline for filing a complaint was a month. The term began from the date of the decision delivery and ended with the day that «corresponded to the day of receiving a delivery, and in the absence of that day in the month, the term ended on the last day of the month». That is, there could be a different number of days to file a complaint, depending on the month: 28, 30 or 31 days.

The cassation claim must contain the contested decision, as well as the scope and grounds of appeal. The complaint could be withdrawn before the cassation, but with the consent of the second party. The trial was conducted by analogy with the courts of first instance, with the exception of the decision, which was final.

Each party, which could not file a complaint in the course of a month because of compelling reasons, but within two weeks after overcoming these reasons, but not later than one year, petitioned against the decision, the «shlikhter's» cassation chamber could provide the possibility of appeal (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 21).

The «shlikhter's» order could be enforced on the basis of a document of the registrar of the relevant court (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 23). The following items were subject to compulsory execution:

1. Existing decisions that have entered into force or pre-execution orders, executive orders, recorded court agreements and relating to the execution of a German court decision.

2. The «shlikhter's» decision, which entered into legal force (the certificate of legal force was issued by the «shlikhter» after receiving a message from the cassation instance that the complaint was not filed within the appropriate period).

3. The deals are drawn up at the «shlikhter».

Cases concerning the institution of marriage and relations between parents and children were not subject to prior execution.

In the event of a complaint against a preliminary enforcement order, the «shlikhter» could order a temporary cessation of enforcement, but only if it caused any damage (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 22).

The enforcement on behalf of «shlikhter» was carried out by the bailiff, who at the end of the procedure gave the debtor a receipt of a proper debt and in the executive letter notified the amount of funds received. The bailiff had the right to unlock the dwellings, rooms and storages, as well as to carry out a search there. If necessary, he could go to the police or use force. About each action the Record had to be made.

The bailiff determined the procedure and scope of enforcement on his own. His task was to bring the satisfied requirements of the principal to life, but, in case the property or wages were attached, the bailiff had to leave some funds for a modest existence to the debtor (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 23).

If during the enforcement it was necessary to arrest the debtor or impose a fine on him, the case was referred to the German court.

Any claims against the bailiff were considered by a «shlikhter» after the bailiff's explanation.

After careful examination and understanding that the actions that were applied to the debtor were too strict, the «shlikhter» had the right to solicit a request of a debtor to cancel the measures taken against him partially or completely (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 24).

Amounts for enforcement were collected from the debtor together with the requirement for this procedure, including the production and delivery of documents. For judicial proceedings 5 – 10 % of the claim amount was contracted in various courts, but not less than 5 krb. Besides it was possible to collect 1 krb. for each page of the case. The fee at the beginning of the case was paid to the «shlikhter» chamber by the demandant, and the office expenses by the defendant. The «shlikhter» had the right to exempt the demandant from the fee payment fully or partially for the inability to pay, as well as reduce the fee to 5 krb., if a settlement agreement was drawn up. The fee was paid to the institution, which enrolled «shlikhter», where this precedent was registered in the journal signed by the payer. The «shlikhter», in his turn, transferred the paid funds in case of necessity or every 3 months to the above mentioned institutions. This institution had to take care of providing a «shlikhter» with office staff, premises and its quality, as well as wages (SAPR, f. P-8676, d. 2, c. 5, p. 25–26).

**Conclusions.** Consequently, in order to establish the lawful behaviour of the local population of the RKU and the resolution of property disputes by Hitler occupation administration, a system of civil courts, which was represented by the German courts and «shlikhter» courts, was created. German courts considered civil cases of the citizens of the Third Reich and individuals belonging to the German people (Volksdeutsche). The «shlikhter» courts were appointed to consider civil cases of the local people, except the Jews.

The legal departments of German administrative institutions, in particular, the General Kommissariats and Gebiets Kommissariats, looked after the process of appointing, recalling and monitoring of performance of judges. In addition, «shlikhters» were included in the staffing of local governments – district and city councils.

Cassation institutions were established to monitor the lawful implementation of legislation. The role of the cassation institution for the German courts of General Kommissariats was performed by the court of the same name in Rivne (the administrative centre of the RKU). For «shlikhter» courts «shlikhter» chambers were created, which acted at the level of Gebietskommissariat. These cassation institutions were headed by a senior «shlikhter».

German civil courts in their practice had to apply the legislation of the Third Reich. We can say that they worked on a full-fledged regulatory framework. But the regulatory framework, on the basis of which the local civil courts («shlikhter» courts) functioned, had an imperfect view. Simultaneously with the normative acts, issued by the German occupation administration, these courts had the right to use the legislation, adopted before the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine or a «shlikhter» took a decision on his own «fair» judgement, which corresponded to the «spirit of the law».

Enforcement of civil courts decisions provided for the presence of bailiffs, who had to withdraw certain material values according to the relevant official instructions. If more serious legal sanctions were required against the debtor, in particular his arrest or the imposition of a fine, the case was referred to a German court.

Nevertheless, despite the imperfection of the legal framework on the basis of which the «shlikhter» courts worked, German occupation administration of the RKU was able to create necessary conditions for the use of judicial means of compliance of lawful behaviour by the local population, the settlement of civil and legal relations in the occupied society.

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**THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET PRESS IN CULTURAL-IDEOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1945 – 1953)**

**Summary. The purpose of the study.** *In the article the role of the Soviet press in cultural-ideological processes in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR in the post-Stalinist totalitarian regime has been analyzed. The authors characterize the materials of the All-Union, Republican, local Soviet press of 1945 – 1953, they investigate the forms and methods of press influence on cultural-ideological processes and socio-political atmosphere in the Ukrainian SSR. The methodology of the article is based on the use of general scientific methods of cognition of the object of research, with observing the principles of originality, objectivity, comprehensiveness, and historicism. The scientific novelty of the work is that using the methods of studying the contents of materials and the consequences of their publication, the authors analyse the influence of materials of the all-Union, central republican and local Soviet press on the deployment of repressions against representatives of science, literature, culture and art. They also research the influence of the press on the behaviour of both party-state bodies and ordinary citizens, and its role in shaping*

the general socio-political atmosphere in society. **Conclusions.** The Soviet press in the post-war period has become the main instrument for promoting repression among the cultural and scientific workers. The printed periodicals of the Ukrainian SSR completely copied the technologies and techniques of the central newspapers and magazines. It imitated the all-union press both in the form of presentation of materials, and in its content. With the help of materials from the central all-union and the republican party newspapers and magazines, the start of the ideological campaigns were announced. The publication of the main legal acts aimed at the cultural and ideological sphere determined the official line of the party, and various printed materials of the newspapers and magazines formed the appropriate socio-political atmosphere, adjusted the behaviour of citizens and authorities at all levels.

**Key words:** press, role, Ukrainian SSR, cultural-ideological processes, zhdanovshchina.

### РОЛЬ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ПРЕСИ В КУЛЬТУРНО-ІДЕОЛОГІЧНИХ ПРОЦЕСАХ В УРСР (1945 – 1953)

**Анотація.** Метою дослідження є аналіз впливу радянської преси на суспільно-політичні, культурні процеси в роки ідеологічного наступу в СРСР та УРСР у повоєнний період сталінського тоталітарного режиму. Автори характеризують матеріали всесоюзної, республіканської та місцевої радянської преси 1945 – 1953 рр., досліджують форми та методи впливу преси на культурно-ідеологічні процеси та суспільно-політичну атмосферу в УРСР. **Методологія статті** базується на використанні загальнонаукових методів пізнання предмета дослідження з дотриманням принципів істинності, об'єктивності, системності, всебічності, історизму. **Наукова новизна** роботи полягає у тому, що, використовуючи методи контент- та дискурс-аналізу, автори аналізують вплив матеріалів всесоюзної, центральної республіканської та місцевої радянської преси на розгортання репресій проти представників науки, літератури, культури та мистецтва, на поведінку як партійно-державних органів, так і звичайних громадян, її роль у формуванні загальної суспільно-політичної атмосфери у суспільстві. **Висновки.** Радянська преса у повоєнний період стала основним інструментом розкручування репресій серед діячів культури та науки. Підцензурна періодика УРСР повністю копіювала технології, методики та прийоми центральних газет і журналів. Вона наслідувала всесоюзну як за формою подачі матеріалів, так і за їх вмістом. З допомогою матеріалів центральної всесоюзної та республіканської партійної преси оголошувався старт різноманітних ідеологічних кампаній. Публікація основних нормативно-правових актів, які були спрямовані на культурно-ідеологічну сферу, визначала офіційну лінію партії, а різноманітні друковані матеріали газет та журналів формували відповідну суспільно-політичну атмосферу, коригували поведінку громадян, органів влади усіх рівнів.

**Ключові слова:** преса, УРСР, культурно-ідеологічні процеси, ждановщина.

**Problem statement.** With the end of the Second World War, the restoration of an ideological control in the Soviet society became particularly important. Its temporary weakening was not connected with the temporal democratization of the social processes and the weakening of ideological influence in the USSR, and, first of all, by the irreconcilable struggle of the German and Soviet totalitarian regimes during the war years, which required the concentration not only of material forces, but also the significant ideological resources. However, since 1946, the All-Soviet Union campaign for the restoration of the ideological control, which was directed against the leaders of science and culture, began under the name of the initiator of the campaign – the secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) Andriy Zhdanov. The Soviet press played one of the main roles in these processes.

The analysis of the problem contributes to the necessity of ensuring the pluralism of the press and depriving it of the ideological control both by the state and the financial groups, which is an indispensable condition for the development of democracy under modern conditions.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** The question of the role of the Soviet press in the political processes was reflected in the studies of a number of the authors. Thus,

O. Koliastruk considers the Soviet press as an ideological and propaganda instrument of power, a joint publication by the bodies of the party committee and the executive power of the correspondent levels, and hence the ideological dependence on them, and the monologue character of the functioning, and the censorship, and the limited dynamism and non-transparent nature of functioning (Koliastruk, 2003, pp. 8, 9).

Y. Kahanov considers the following: the mass media during the Soviet period were constructed in such a way as to introduce the new stereotypes, the myths, the slogans as guidelines for the action into mass consciousness, and «the use of template phrases and chanceries, the formalization of sentences at the subconscious level laid the appropriate standardized samples of thinking and behaviour» (Kahanov, 2011, p. 39; Kahanov, 2014, p. 218).

L. Masenko thinks that, with the help of the language of the totalitarian regime – the «newcomers», taking control of all media, the Bolsheviks launched a powerful ideological propaganda machine, where the false word became the main instrument (Masenko, 2017, p. 7). The role of satire and humor as a political tool in the ideological processes on the example of the magazine «Pepper» is investigated by K. Yeremeyeva (Yeremeyeva, 2018). The works of S. Shulzhenko, N. Siuruk, Yu. Kolisnyk (Shulzhenko, 2011; Siuruk, 2016; Kolisnyk, 2006) are also devoted to the various aspects of the functioning of the Soviet press during this period.

During the research, the authors carried out the content and discourse analyses of the materials of the all-union, central republican and local Soviet press, the normative legal acts of the party and the state bodies of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, which became the main sources of the research.

**The publication's purpose** is to analyze the influence of the Soviet press on the socio-political, cultural processes during the ideological attack in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR during the post-war period of the Stalinist totalitarian regime. The purpose of the study involves the following tasks: the study of historiography and the source of the subject of the study; the analysis of the materials of the all-Soviet Union, the republican and local Soviet press during the specified period; the study of the forms and methods of the press influence on the cultural-ideological processes in the Ukrainian SSR, the social and political atmosphere in the republic.

**Statement of the basic material.** During the postwar period, the press, together with the radio, played the role of the main party horns. The main function of the media, including the press, is, of course, informative. At the same time, at all times, the press functioned in parallel with other functions: enlightenment, criticism, control, communication resource, etc.

The influence of the media (mass media) on society is so powerful that they are called it «the fourth power», proceeding from the theory of the division of powers into three branches. However, it is in the USSR, both under the totalitarian conditions and under conditions of an authoritarian political regime, that they became an instrument of repression, a means of instilling fear, an ideological inspiration for the concrete actions.

During the postwar period, the press continued to carry out the tasks that were put to it in the 1920-ies and 1930-ies: it transmitted the information to the ordinary citizens from the party and the state bodies (publishing the official legal acts, the appeals, the explanations, etc.); the press formed a public opinion by means of the appropriate blocks of the selected information, the analytical reviews, the satires and the cartoons; created the Soviet myths by presenting frank disinformation; announced the launch of the ideological campaigns to combat diverse «biases», the manifestations of the nationalism, the cosmopolitanism, the internal and external enemies, and the others.

During the post-war reconstruction, the totalitarian control over the mass media was gradually restored during the war years, and following all-union standards remained an indispensable feature of the republican press since the late 1920-ies. According to O. Koliastruk, «an obvious sign of the functioning of the press in the Ukrainian SSR was copying it with a central periodical, imitating its technologies, techniques and techniques, which in part acquired the nature of tracing both content and form» (Koliastruk, 2003, p. 12).

According to our observations, the sprouts of the future ideological repressions against the activists of science and culture in the Ukrainian SSR began to appear in the summer of 1946. And the very press itself played a major role. The theme of the central newspaper of the republic («The Soviet Ukraine») during the winter – the spring of 1946 was devoted mainly to the issues of rebuilding the industry, setting the order in collective farms, preparing the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the role of the party and J. Stalin personally in the victory, the celebration of the Soviet holidays, the post-war international relations, etc. The all-union party newspaper «The Pravda» also mentioned Ukraine exclusively in the context of the reconstruction of the national economy and the state-political processes by the middle of August of 1946. During this period, the periodicals continued to play the usual role of the transmitter of the socialist realism, which became the largest and only approved «a creative method» of the era, and depicted the Soviet society in distinct hierarchical images: the Leader – on the top, and below – «an ordinary Soviet man – an ordinary enthusiast of the construction of a new the world» (Merinov, 2015, pp. 58, 60).

In various materials of the newspapers there continued to be created various images of the Soviet man. For example, the ideal image of a Soviet woman was created – a woman-guardian, a woman-worker, a young, full-fledged beauty collective farmer. The press, together with the visual arts, continued to create a visual reflection of the ideology, in which «the ruling elites solved two problems: they constructed a new social ideology and created the image for imitation» (Vinichenko, 2017, p. 166). The role of the newspapers as a transmitter of social ideas, attitudes and images was extremely high. Even under conditions of the post-war devastation and rebuilding of the economy, the state sought for the publication resources. For example, only in Drohobych Region in the autumn of 1945 there were 28 newspapers, containing materials that were aimed at persuading people of the Soviet system superiority (Popp, 2018, p. 149).

The republican press was the first one which began to accentuate attention to the ideological issues in the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, at the beginning of June in 1946 in «The Soviet Ukraine» there appeared the article «The Significance of Ideological Work under Modern Conditions» (the reprint of the article from «The Bolshevik» magazine), which was on the general questions of the ideological work in the USSR (Peredova stattia, 1946m, p. 1). On July 2, there was published the article «The Responsible Value of Ideological Work in the Masses», in which were the outlines of the upcoming campaign in culture – «people are waiting for their writers to create vivid images of the Soviet man», and «from the literature, the same people are waiting to show it the abomination of nationalism ... all kinds of manifestations of national limitations» (Peredova stattia, 1946, p. 1).

The the republican press was the first one to accentuate attention to the ideological issues in the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, at the beginning of June 1946 in «The Soviet Ukraine» there appeared the article «The significance of the ideological work under modern conditions» (the reprint of the article of «The Bolshevik» magazine). The article focused on the general question of the ideological work in the USSR (Peredova stattia, 1946m, p. 1). On July 2,

the article was published under the title «The Responsible Value of Ideological Work in the Masses», where the outlines of the upcoming campaign in the culture appeared – «the people expect their writers to create the vivid images of the Soviet man», and «the literature is expected to show, the abomination of nationalism ... all kinds of manifestations of the national limitations» (Peredova stattia, 1946, p. 1). The leading article of July 5, 1946 clearly defined the place of the press in the cultural-ideological processes – «the Soviet press – an instrument of the Bolshevik Party», «the duty of the newspapers – to start the Bolshevik critique of the mistakes of work in various fields of economic and cultural life of the country» (Peredova stattia, 1946, p. 1). Later on there appeared the article under the title «On Literary Criticism», in which the meaning of «the Soviet» literary criticism was emphasized. On July 19, 1946, in «The Soviet Ukraine» there was published the first open statement against Ukrainian literature and history – the letter of «the reader» S. Zahorovskyi «Some Thoughts on Social Sciences in Ukraine», in which the author pointed at the «narrow problems» of the literary criticism and criticized Ukrainian historical science for the lack of topics «concerning other republics of the USSR, as well as other countries» (Peredova stattia, 1946g, p. 2; Zahorovskyi, 1946, p. 4).

The study of the content of the newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine» of this period illustrates the following fact: a clear algorithm can be traced for preparing the readers, the society, the local authorities to the future ideological campaign. The main objective is to create an appropriate socio-political atmosphere that would determine the reaction and behaviour of both the average citizen and the lower level authorities. If the press materials at the initial stage of the campaign focused on the general issues of the ideological work, then they pointed at the specific «disadvantages».

The real ideological attack began on the pages of the newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine» from July 20, 1946. It should be noted that it began almost a month before the first normative acts of the CPSU (b) and the CP (b)U related to a cultural-ideological sphere (The Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) on the report of the Central Committee of the CPU (b) of Ukraine «On the preparation, selection and distribution of the leading party and the Soviet personnel in the Ukrainian party organization» of July 26, 1946, and the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) «About magazines «The Zvezda» and «The Leningrad» from August 14, 1946). In the article «Against the nationalist tendencies in literature studies criticism», «The Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature» edited by S. I. Maslov and E. Y. Kyrlyuk, issued by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1942 – 1943, was subjected to a crushing criticism. The main accusation was «the nationalistic views», which was reflected in the Essay ... and the lost «connection of the literary process with the social class processes, the class struggle» (Kopytsia, 1946a, p.3). In the next issue of the newspaper in the continuation of the article it was stated that «this tendency simply to the embrace of the theory of M. Hrushevsky about the non-bourgeoisie of the Ukrainian nation» (Kopytsia, 1946b, p. 3).

In a few days in the newspaper there came the massive critique of the the first volume of «History of Ukraine» (1943), which was prepared by the historians at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and had «great disadvantages and mistakes coming from «the school» of Hrushevskyi» (Kovalov, 1946, p. 3). The scientific legacy of the prominent Ukrainian historian and statesman M. Hrushevskyi was discredited in the same issue of the newspaper in the article by M. Petrovskyi «To reveal the nationalistic perversions in the history of Ukraine (on the anti-scientific theory of M. Hrushevskyi and his school)

(Petrovskiy, 1946, p. 4) was discredited by the end to expose nationalist distortions in the history of Ukraine (on the anti-scientific theory of M. Hrushevskiy and his school).

Concurrently, the ideological work was launched by the printed organ of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine (SRPU) – «The Literary Newspaper». On July 4, 1946, it was written in the newspaper «On some flaws in modern Ukrainian literary studies», it was pointed out that «the Ukrainian public demands from the Soviet literary scholars a profoundly scientific Marxist coverage of the history of Ukrainian literature», on July 11, it reported on the discussion of «The Essay ...» at the meetings of the party organization The SRPU, and soon it severely criticized the Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature, the «school» of M. Hrushevskiy, «wrong antilenin allegations» in the articles and brochures of O. Doroshkevych, S. Braslavskiy, E. Kyrylyuk, I. Pilhuk; the «bourgeois-nationalist conception» of O. Dovzhenko, L. Smilyanskyi, O. Kundzich, T. Masenko was severely criticized as well (Le, Stebun, 1946, pp. 3, 4; Peredova stattia, 1946a, p.1; Peredova stattia, 1946e, p. 1).

The Ukrainian writers were already in the atmosphere of fear, the expectation of consequences, the justification, the criticism and self-criticism during the period of the publication of the decree of the Central Committee of the CP (b)U «On distortions and mistakes in the coverage of the history of Ukrainian literature in the Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature» dated August 24, 1946 (printed in the republican press on September 1, 1946) (On Perversion, 1946: 1). But some writers dared to defend themselves, defending the «right to mistake» (P. Panch and Y. Horodskiy), for which they were immediately subjected to the devastating criticism.

It seems that the CPSU (b) did not appreciate the «seriousness» of criticism of literature and history in the republican press. Thus, on November 13, 1946, a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was held, at which the question of harvesting, the preparation for sowing and grain procurement was considered in the usual manner (Peredova stattia, 1946f, p. 2). However, the relevant conclusions were made at the level of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). On July 26, 1946, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) issued the Decree «On the Preparation, Selection and Distribution of Leading Party and Soviet Personnel in the Ukrainian Party Organization». The higher party leadership not only considered the work of the Central Committee of the CP (b)U with the staff unsatisfactory, but also pointed out that «in a number of the published books, in the magazine and newspaper articles, in oral speeches of certain Ukrainian historians and writers, the harmful bourgeois-nationalist views are traced». Some historians and literary critics try to revive the bourgeois-nationalist concept of historian M. Hrushevskiy and his «school» (Postanova TsK VKP (b) za zvitom TsK KP (b) Ukrainy, 2009, p. 483). It should be noted that according to our observations, the all-Union press, including by the end of August 1946, did not actively raise the issue of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, and the above mentioned Resolution of the CPSU (b) was not published in the press.

On August 15–17, 1946, a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks)U was held, at which M. Khrushchov, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), pointed at the drawbacks s in the work with the personnel, at a small number of articles on the theory and history of Bolshevism in the republican newspapers «The Truth of Ukraine» and «The Soviet Ukraine», he drew attention to the attempts to revive the bourgeois-political conception of M. Hrushevskiy in some books, magazines, newspapers and the works of Ukrainian historians and writers. M. Khrushchov

criticized the drawbacks in the work of institutes of history, language and literature of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Peredova Stattia, 1946, p. 2).

On August 21, 1946 after the publication of the decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) «On the magazines «The Zvezda» and «The Leningrad» in the newspaper «The Pravda» (August 14, 1946), the flywheel of the ideological repressions was officially launched.

It should be singled out that the official reaction of Ukrainian writers and historians to criticism was somewhat belated. Only on September 5, 1946, the information about the meeting of Kyiv writers was published, at which K. Lytvyn, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, criticized the materials of the magazines «The Homeland», «The Dnipro», «The Soviet Lviv», «the right to an ideological mistake» of P. Panch, Y. Horodskyi, the unsatisfactory work of the CPSU government (Peredova stattia, 1946b, p. 3). On August 27, 1946, it was announced in the press that «the board of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine did not become the creative center of the literary process, the center for the development of the acute, principled criticism and self-criticism among the Soviet writers» (Peredova stattia, 1946l, p.1). And the very plenum of the CPSU took place only on September 15, 1947.

It is obvious that the entire Soviet press was within a single hierarchical structure. Under conditions of the censorship and control, those printed publications, which stood at the highest hierarchical level (first of all, the party press), regularly pointed out the drawbacks in the work of other editions. Thus, on August 24, 1946 in the newspaper «The Pravda» the article appeared under the title «On the Vulgar Writings of One Magazine (the magazine «The Pepper/Perets» №№ 1–12, 1946)», which instead of satire and humor spread «vulgarity» and «zuboskalstvo» (Peredova stattia, 1946d, p.1). On August 29, 1946, one of the central republican newspapers – «The Soviet Ukraine» – was criticized. In the article «Wrong Speech of the Newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine», the feuilleton, written by O. Vyshnya, «Let's Make Mistakes!», was criticized at dismantling the «theory» of the right to the ideological mistakes (Peredova stattia, 1946c, p. 3). In its turn, «The Soviet Ukraine» regularly raised the issue on the printed materials of the republican newspapers and magazines. On October 9, 1949, it accused «The Literary Newspaper» that it had not taken the clear instructions of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) about the damage caused by «the substitution of a fundamental Bolshevik critique to unprincipled, rotten friendship» (Peredova stattia, 1949, p. 3). However, according to our observations, the latter only during the second half of 1946 reviewed the materials of the magazine «The Dnipro» (October 13, 1946), «The Soviet Woman» (November 2, 1946), «The Motherland» (December 26, 1946). In some period of time, the Ukrainian central press, in unison with the all-Union, began to find the ideological drawbacks of its colleagues and fully reiterated the methodology of the work of the all-Union press.

It should be noted that the publications of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) and the printing of the «critical» materials in the press were considered by the leaders of the party and the state bodies, the mass media, various creative unions as a direct signal to action. Some of them did this without questioning the activity of the Communist Party, the others – because of fearing of criticism. Some acted on the principle – it's better self-criticism than the criticism from the top and the negative consequences for a career. In the study K. Yermieieva cites the words of the caricaturist of the well-known Ukrainian magazine «The Crocodile» B. Yefimov, who recalled that published in the all-Union party newspaper «The Pravda», the advanced articles were considered «not merely the thought of the editorial staff of the

newspaper, but the political setting, the non-appeals directive of the Central Committee of the party» (Yeremieieva, 2018, p. 65).

In the course of the post-war period of ideological processes the press set the tone of the repression. In some cases, it directly sought for «the enemies of the people» and gave grounds for the publication of another resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) or the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b)U, in the others – crushed criticism after the publications of the party decisions.

The technology of the public opinion formation by the press concerning the support of the ideological campaign was well elaborated and had a well thought-out algorithm of the actions. The party and the state authorities continued to use all the arsenal of the vocabulary of a totalitarian society in the language of the press and the legal regulations. And the quicker the flywheel of the repression was untwisted, the more ruthless the language became. Together with the long-used nominees of the enemies contingent (for example, «the bourgeois nationalists») new («homeless cosmopolites», «the low-worshippers», «the doctor-killers») were introduced. The use of the new nominations of the enemies, the use of metaphors, the brutalization of the official-business and journalistic broadcasting became the norm. The researcher L. Masenko points out that «the demonization of the mythical enemies of the Soviet power was not limited to the practice of using labels with the sharp negative semantics. The context in which the propaganda represented the hostile groups was «enriched» by the additional pejorative vocabulary» (Masenko, 2017, p. 115).

The groundless ideological repressions required the active myth-creation, the creation of a cohort of the internal and external enemies. For example, at that time, the all-Union and the republican central and local Soviet newspapers were actively involved in the creation of the myth of the Jewish rebellion against the supreme leadership and in fact promoted both the state and the domestic anti-semitism. Thus, another explosion of the anti-semitism in the Soviet society took place after the publication of the TASS information on the «Arrest of a group of the doctors-killers» in «The Pravda» newspaper on January 13, 1953. The analysis of the text of the message points at its anti-Jewish orientation. It is confirmed not only by Jewish surnames, but also by convincing conclusions that «most of the terrorist group's members were associated with an international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organization» «Joint» that was allegedly created by the US intelligence to provide the material assistance to the Jews in other countries» (Peredova Stattia, 1953a, p. 1). In the editorial of the same newspaper, «Mean Spies and Murderers under the Mask of Professors-Doctors», it was also noted that «the disclosure of the conspiracy of the doctors-poisoners is a blow to the international Jewish Zionist organization» (Peredova stattia, 1953c, p. 1). Similar information was duplicated by other central all-Union newspapers. So, on the same day, the newspaper «The Izvestia» published the article «Killers under the mask of doctors», which, using the language of the TASS message, continued to expose «conspiracy» (Peredova stattia, 1953d, p. 1). The Republican and local press reacted immediately to this direction of struggle with «the internal enemies». The next day already in the article «Mean Spies and Murderers under the Mask of Professors-Doctors» the information about «the criminal conspiracy» was posted by the newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine» (Peredova stattia, 1953b, p. 1). Within a few weeks, the publishing agency of the Vinnitsa Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine («The Vinnitsia Pravda») in the article «The Zionist Agency of American Intelligence» informed the most distant village of the region about «the crimes of a terrorist group of the pest doctors, disclosed by the state security organs of the Soviet Union» (Peredova stattia,



1953e, p. 2). Under the similar scheme there developed the «discussion» concerning the cosmopolites, the drawbacks in science, the distortions in history and literature, etc.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the Soviet republican press in the postwar period remained the unchanging link in the censorship hierarchical structure of the USSR press, where all-union party newspapers and magazines were at the top of the hierarchy. In its work it used the forms and the methods of work characteristic of the central one. During the postwar period, it continued to play the usual role of the tool for the formation of the ideological guides, the myths and the images. However, during the deployment of «Zhdanovshchyna», it became the main initiator of the promotion of repression among Ukrainian culture and science activists.

The main forms of work of the republican press under conditions of the cultural-ideological processes of 1945 – 1953 were the publication of basic legal acts of the central and republican party and the state authorities, reprinting materials of the central press, deploying the «discussion» on the tasks set by the party, publishing reports on the work of the party bodies and organizations, etc. The linguistic and stylistic means of influence of the normative acts and printed materials, the appeals and theses, the caricatures, the photographs, the feuilletones were among the main arsenal of techniques for the formation of the Soviet images and myths.

The publication of the main legal acts, which were directed at the cultural and ideological sphere, determined the official line of the party. The various printed materials of the newspapers and magazines contributed to the development of the «discussion», formed the corresponding socio-political atmosphere, adjusted the behaviour of the citizens, and the contemptuously rough language, along with an acute caricature, aimed at the formation of the negative images of the internal enemies – the bourgeois nationalists, the low-worshipers, the cosmopolites, etc. Sometimes the press began to fight the deviations of the Stalinist course, even before the publication of the official decisions by the party and state bodies. However, there remains to be analyzed whether they did it having the official sanction of the authorities, or following the instructions concerning the need for «Bolshevik critique of the failures of work». In addition, our article does not detail the complex hierarchical links between the Soviet Ukrainian press of the republican and local levels, the party and special industry periodicals, which undoubtedly fulfilled their role in the post-war repressions against the activists of science and culture.

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## IMAGES OF THE «EAST» IN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHIC TRADITION: THE PROBLEM OF MENTAL MAPS DESIGNING

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to study the genesis concept of the «East» as the manifestation form of the spatial and the civilizational representations in the Ukrainian historiography, keeping track on the evolution of the historians' point of views concerning the Ukrainian position in relation to the diverse images of the «East», elucidating the concept correlation between the East and Asia, the West concept in Ukrainian historical thought, the analysis of the concept content of the East in historical texts. The methodology of the research is based on the mental maps as the cognitive reflection means of the geographic and spatial entities in the intellectuals' consciousness. The significant component of the methodological basis of the study is also the imagelogy as the strategy of looking into the images of «own» and «alien». The deconstruction of Orientalism (a specific way of perceiving and describing the concept of the East by the Western «intellectual thought» representatives), carried out in*

the researches of E. Said and L. Vulf, also serves the theoretical basis of the article. **The scientific novelty** of the research is based on the fact that the article is the first attempt of a special historiographical reflection on the specifics of the concept «East» usage in the Ukrainian historiographical tradition of the XIXth – XXth centuries. **The conclusions** are as follows: the several images of the concept of the «East» coexisted in the Ukrainian historical texts: the Slavic East, the Orthodox East, the Byzantine East, the Muslim East, the Turkic-Nomadic (Steppe) East. Some of these concepts convey the similar meaning and could be partially interchangeable, while the others are completely mutually exclusive. Numerous images of the East were differently identified by the Ukrainian historians according to the imageology evaluation formulae of «own» and «alien». If the Slavic East of the Orthodox East were perceived as «own», while the Muslim East and the Nomadic East were clearly construed and interpreted as «alien» or «hostile». Such kind of images of the East were marked in the historical texts as Asia. The Ukrainian historical thought has evolved from the complete inclusion (or exclusion) of the national-historical image of Ukraine to one of the East's content (the XIXth – first quarter of the XXth century) to the spatial and civilizational identification formula, in which Ukraine combines the elements of the East (or several Easts) and the West. The above-mentioned idea is depicted in the popular historiographical formula «Ukraine between the East and the West».

**Key words:** East, West, Asia, civilization, image, identity, historiography.

## **ОБРАЗИ «СХОДУ» В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЧНІЙ ТРАДИЦІЇ: ПРОБЛЕМА КОНСТРУЮВАННЯ МЕНТАЛЬНИХ МАП**

**Анотація.** Метою статті є дослідження тенези концепту Схід як форми вияву просторових та цивілізаційних уявлень в українській історіографії, простеження еволюції поглядів істориків на місце України стосовно різних образів Сходу, з'ясування співвідношення понять Схід та Азія, Захід в українській історичній думці, аналіз змістового наповнення поняття Схід в історичних текстах. **Методологія дослідження** базується на ментальних картах як способі когнітивного відображення географічно-просторових утворень у свідомості інтелектуалів. Вагомим компонентом методологічної бази дослідження є також імагологія як стратегія дослідження образів «свого–чужого». Теоретичною підставою статті виступає деконструкція орієнталізму (специфічного способу сприйняття та описування Сходу представниками «західної» інтелектуальної думки), здійснена у студіях Е. Саїда та Л. Вулфа. **Наукова новизна** дослідження базується на тому, що стаття є першою спробою спеціальної історіографічної рефлексії стосовно специфіки вживання концепту «Схід» в українській історіографічній традиції XIX – XX ст. **Висновки** статті полягають насамперед у тому, що в українських історичних текстах співіснувало декілька образів Сходу: слов'янський Схід, православний Схід, візантійський Схід, мусульманський Схід, тюрксько-кочовий (степовий) Схід тощо. У змістовому наповненні цих понять окремі із них могли частково накладатись, а інші – повністю взаємовиключали один одного. Різні образи Сходу по-різному ідентифікувались українськими істориками за імагологічною оцінною формулою «свій–чужий». Якщо слов'янський Схід чи православний Схід сприймалися як «свій», то мусульманський Схід та кочовий Схід однозначно трактувались як «чужий» чи «ворожий». Такі образи Сходу в історичних текстах маркувались також як Азія. Українська історична думка пройшла еволюцію від повного включення (або виключення) національно-історичного образу України до змісту одного із Сходів (XIX – перша чверть XX ст.) до формули просторової та цивілізаційної ідентифікації, за якою Україна поєднує елементи Сходу (або кількох Сходів) і Заходу. Ця думка відображена у популярній історіографічній формулі «Україна між Сходом та Заходом».

**Ключові слова:** Схід, Захід, Азія, цивілізація, образ, ідентичність, історіографія.

**Problem statement.** During the last decade in the Ukrainian historic science there gained popularity the problem of the Ukrainian inclusion in the supranational images of the West/ the East. Having passed through the stage of the «seeking state» in 1990-ies, the Ukrainian historical science intensified the search of Ukraine's place in the system of spatial, cultural, geopolitical and civilizational coordinates and images. Proceeding from the growing research dynamics of the above-mentioned problem, its obvious complexity, we consider the urgent

necessity to specify and generalize the modern approaches in the process of studying the spatial and the civilizational images of the East. Although, the article is devoted to the study of the East images genesis, primarily, in the Ukrainian historiography of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst century, we also turn to the corresponding interpretations of those foreign scientists whose works and views have had the significant influence on the Ukrainian intellectual space.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** If in 1991 Ya. Dashkevych, the researcher, historian, claimed about the problem of the Great Border (the boundaries between the European and the Eastern civilizations) as «controversial, but little discussed» (Dashkevych, 1991, p. 28), there has been an increase in the Ukrainian scientific interest (sometimes even the specific intellectual fashion) concerning the thematic complex of «Ukraine between the East and the West» during the last decade. According to Y. Hrytsak's observation, it is hard to come across the decent historian, who hasn't omitted the following topic at least once in Ukraine (Hrytsak, 2011, p. 291). The above-mentioned topic is often articulated as the applied or the theoretical research problem, but it has not become the subject of a special historiographical analysis yet.

**The publication's purpose.** The topicality of the outlined problem and the presence of the significant Ukrainian researchers' achievements in the field of the above-mentioned problem, instigates us to carry out the historiographical reflection on the process of the East images genesis in the Ukrainian historical thought of the XIXth – XXth centuries.

**Statement of the basic material.** The Concept of the East (as well as its opposition – the West) appeared to be one of the basic foundations of the mental maps of the scientists in the era of the Enlightenment before that time dominated the idea within the framework of the dichotomous opposition the North – the South (Kolesnyk, 2012, p. 148). At the same time, the East was regarded as the objectively existing (real), internally integral, homogeneous spatial unit. However, the historian E. Said in his work «Orientalism» proved in order to find their opposite feature («the other») and thereby reveal their own (the «Western») identity. According to V. Hrybovskiy, «the apparent self-identity of the East and the West», shattered after the Said's definition of the «Orientalism» (Hrybovskiy, 2010/2011, p. 511). L. Vulf's well-known arguments, with the help of which the principle of «difference» the Western European intellectuals «invented» the concept of the Eastern Europe as an image of the «another» Europe: «semi-Europe» or «semi-Asia» in the Enlightenment. Owing to the above-mentioned authors, the concept of the East began to be perceived not as a real integrity, but rather as an intellectual construct to a large extent. B. Anderson's concept of the «imagined community», i. e., the community of people whose members are not familiar with each other but they belong to it on the basis of *a sense of belonging* was relevant for the characteristics of the East (Anderson, 2001, p. 22). The binary opposition of «the East – the West» refers to one of the most important components in the mental maps of Ukrainian modernist intellectuals. This opposition includes the philosophical, the religious, the geospatial, the geopolitical, the historical, the social and the cultural meanings. According to many culturologists, this conditional (imaginary) semantic construct is created by the cultural thought for the world culture typology and expresses the dichotomy and the distinction between different models of the cultural identity; it expresses the dialectic of unity and plurality of the world culture as a complex dynamic integrity (Kondakov, Sokolov & Khrenov, 2011, p. 334–335). S. Huntington, the author of the «clash of civilizations» concept construes the following dichotomy as the cultural division, which is based on the

differences in defining the philosophical principles, the system of the values and the lifestyle (Huntington, 2006, p. 26).

According to Y. Hrytsak, the researcher, the historical and cultural identification in the coordinates of the «East – West» was the cross-cutting theme of the Ukrainian intelligentsia from the beginning of the modern era: «In 1830 – 1840-ies the Rus» Trinity figures argued about this issue; the Ukrainian modernists and modernizers generation on the verge of the XIXth and the XXth centuries focused on this issue; during the first post-war years it became one of the main topics of discussions» (Hrytsak, 2004, p. 296). L. Okinshevych claims that the issue of Ukraine's membership of the East or the West is the most significant, a nodule in Ukrainian history; all other issues depend on their solution (Okinshevych, 2011, p. 193). I. Kolesnyk assumes that the East / West dichotomy in the Ukrainian case cannot be explained only by one group of the reasons – the geopolitical, the economic, the cultural historical, etc. According to the researcher, this problem can be described with the help of the concept of *biculturalism* (Kolesnyk, 2013, p. 94).

It is quite obvious that both, in Ukrainian, as well as in the European intellectual traditions, such concepts as the *East, Asia* are not neutral, but they carry out a definite emotional estimation load. According to common stereotypes, the East or Asia (more often including Russia) appear to be the embodiments of such features as despotism, barbarism, collectivism, etc. As claimed by O. Hnatiuk, the Ukrainian debates on the national identity are closely linked to the dichotomy of the East – the West, or its more ideological option – Europe and Russia (Hnatiuk, 2005, p. 66). The Ukrainian historians formed their own autostereotype, and at the same time they carried out the «difference of the other» communities by attributing the following clichés: the eastern / the western, the European / the Asian. Hence, V. Hrybovskyi's opinion is appropriate, as the researcher offers «the consideration of geography as a text, and the geographical concepts as the constructs that fill it and, contrary to the attempts of scientisation, absorb the non-scientific images» (Hrybovskyi, 2010/2011, p. 513).

The dichotomy of the spatial delimitation on the East and the West was first observed in the era of antiquity. In particular, Herodotus interpreted the Greek-Persian War of the Vth century as the conflict between the East and the West. I. Shevchenko correlates the inclusion of these concepts in the spatial representation of the late antiquity with the division of the late Roman Empire into the eastern and western parts (Shevchenko, 2001, p. 2). According to the researcher, the explicit antagonism between these spatial entities is associated with the church division of the XIth century and the attack of the Crusaders on Byzantine in 1204. The medieval mental maps divided the area along the South-North, and only during the Enlightenment the spatial formula of the East-West returned. Numerous scientists have found the evidences of the contrast between the East and the West in the works of S. Montesquieu, F. Bernier, and G. W. F. Hegel. The intellectuals of the Modern age generally distinguished between the «western» (the private property and civil law with a limited role of the state) and the «eastern» (the leading role of the state apparatus in all spheres of the society life), the ways of historical development of the preindustrial societies (Krymskyi & Pavlenko, 2007, p. 115).

As claimed by I. Shevchenko, in the two-division into the East – the West the Ukrainians «became the «East» in Western European eyes rather early – even before the division of Poland. This happened not only because most Ukrainians professed the «Eastern faith» ... / ... / The Polish-Lithuanian state was considered to be the part of the West in the XVIIth century, but from the middle of the XVIIth century and almost until the middle of the XVIIIth century the West started unreasonably regarding this part to the East» (Shevchenko, 2001, p. 4–5).

In the Ukrainian historical thought, the images of the East or Asia appear in the form of holistic, monolithic, timeless unities, which have their distinct socio-cultural identity. Let us, first of all, focus on the question of the ambiguity and the multiple interdependence of the interpretation of these concepts in Ukrainian historical texts. The opinion of many Ukrainian historians about the identity of the East with Russia is quite common, stereotyped. Thus, Lviv researcher S. Kost in the article «Between East and West», although acknowledging that «the East needs to be understood more broadly», nevertheless, substantially fills this concept with the Russian component (Kost, 2004, p. 260). It is hard to disagree with O. Hnatiuk's opinion, that in the European discourse of identity, Russia occupies a place of «another», which «is being withdrawn from the realm of «Europeanism» in the various ways. The definition of «Asian» with a negative connotation is endowed with the beginning of the XVIth century» (Hnatiuk, 2005, p. 78). In the Ukrainian historical thought, Russia was perceived as representing the two main ways of the civilization identity (the Slavic and the European ones) as the antipode of Europe or the West in the vast majority. However, if the European identity bearers often referred Russia to the part of the holistic East (or Asia), the Slavic identity representatives interpreted it only as the part of the «Slavic» (or «Orthodox») East and opposed it to another «Asian East» – the steppe nomads and the Muslim world.

L. Okinshevych identifies the East with the Eastern European Orthodox space, that is, the range of Byzantine cultural tradition. I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky mentioned that the concept of the East (or the Orient) is used by the Ukrainian historians for two totally different historical objects: «on the one hand, to the Eastern Christianity world and the Byzantine cultural tradition, on the other hand, to the Eurasian nomads world» (Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, 1994, p. 3). The historian argued that these two meanings of the concept of the East are quite different and from both sides the influence on the Ukrainian historical process was carried out in a completely different way.

The researcher Ya. Dashkevych put an emphasize on the practice of balancing «between the Euro- and Moscow-centricism resulted in the fact that the Ukrainian humanitarian sciences confused the parts of the world. Therefore, for the Ukrainian historians, the East is often associated with Byzantine or Moskoviya (a clear transposition of the Eurocentric stereotype for the Ukrainians), the North and the South are absent» (Dashkevych, 1991, p. 30). Actually the *East*, was denoted by this historian as follows: «the cultures spread territory and the Asian civilization», that is, everything that is located to the east and the south – east of Ukraine. The scientist even used the expression «true Orient», which emphasizes the author's conviction in the objective reality of such an education.

I. Shevchenko, determining generally the conditionality and the historical variability of the concept of the East, speaks mainly about the *Byzantine East*. Concerning Byzantine, the scientist notices that it «lies not to the east, but to the south – or even to the southwest – from Kyiv. It turns out that, bearing in mind the influence of Byzantium on Ukraine, we must speak not about the influence of the East, but part of the Mediterranean civilization» (Shevchenko, 2001, p. 1). I. Shevchenko traces that the concept «East» in the Eastern European folklore has a positive connotation inherited from the late antiquity of paganism, which was preserved in early Christianity.

The other researcher N. Yakovenko distinguishes in the Ukrainian historical imagination three completely different life-spatial images of the East: the *Byzantine East*, the *Russian East* and the *Turkic East*. Each of these «Easts» has left in Ukrainian history the «vivid tracks, which were mixed with each other intricately, and as well as with replicas of «the



West» (Yakovenko, 2002, p. 363–364). According to an appropriate researcher's observation, the concept of the East has gradually «overgrown» with the ideological, the cultural, the spatial semantics in the Ukrainian historiography.

The situation with the use of the concept of Asia is equally ambiguous and controversial as in the case of the East. In general, it has the same semantic connotations as the East. However, L. Vulf warns that «despite all its fierce Orientalism, the Enlightenment has by no means unanimously equated the Asian continent with barbarism» (Vulf, 2009, p. 497). According to our observation, the Ukrainian historians associated all the countries or people of the Muslim world, as well as the nomadic (the Iranian and the Turkic) tribes, the nations and the states with *Asia*. The European civilization orientation representatives, in addition to it, included also Russia in the content of the concept of *Asia*, which often appeared in their historical texts as the main representative of the «Asian». For the Slavic civilizational identity bearers, Russia as the component (or even the core) of the Slavic world, of course, was as outside of Asia.

In the socio-cultural notion of Asia, the most controversial situation was with Byzantine. Thus, during the «long XIXth century» the thesis of Byzantine as a completely separate and independent civilization in Ukrainian historical thought can be traced rather poorly. If the Slavic and the European orientations historians recognized Byzantine as the part of the East (that is, as the antipode of the Latin – Catholic West), it is difficult to come across the idea of Byzantine belonging to Asia in their works. In the same way, with a different degree of clarity, the idea of the civilization (primarily the church – religious, as well as the political) between Byzantine and the Slavic world can be found. The identification of Byzantine with Asia took place more in the spatial-geographical sense. Hence, the contradictory nature of the Byzantine image in the civilizational representations of the Ukrainian historians was that this empire and civilization were clearly marked as «eastern», but with great difficulty «fitted» into the image of Asia. Therefore, the East and Asia appear in the civilizational representations of the Ukrainian historians not entirely identical to the concepts: if the East could be Byzantine, the Russian (or the Slavic), the Turkic, the Muslim, the nomadic (steppe), then Asia could be represented by the steppe nomads, the Muslim world, Russia (or one of the currents), but in most cases not Byzantine.

Consequently, the concepts of the East and Asia could be described by the Ukrainian historians as the holistic and intrinsically homogeneous entity (that is, as a synonym for any of the local civilizations), as well as for the super-civilization (or poly-civilization) spatial entities that include several images of the civilizations. The notion of the East and Asia often appear in the Ukrainian historical thought as forms of the manifestation of the civilizational identity. However, in many cases, their application is the manifestation of the spatial representations of the largest scale and the highest level of identity, which can be given the terms as *supra-civilizational*, *macro regional*. The problem with this level of identification lies in the fact that in some historians these concepts were identified with the image of only one civilization (for example, «the East = Russia» or «the East = the Muslim world»), while the other authors could include several civilizational images in the content of these concepts («the East = Russia + the Muslim world + the nomadic steppe»).

In modern Ukraine, one of the most important signs of the normative historiography has become the European integration paradigm, which envisages the justification of the «Western» or «European» civilization, the cultural, the political identity of Ukraine and the interpretation of its historical past as the part of the European historical process.

According to V. Honcharevskyi, the idea of the European identity of Ukraine today claims to be in the role of the newest national historical myth (Honcharevskyi, 2011, p. 151). It is clear that under such circumstances, for many Ukrainian historians, the desire to separate civilizationally at any cost, both from the former Soviet Union and from the present-day Russia, is noticeable. Nevertheless, there are still numerous attempts to position Ukraine with the East historiographically, namely, the component of the civilizations that are socio-cultural coincide with Russia. First of all, we refer here to the assertion that Ukraine belongs to such civilizations as: the Slavic, the Eastern Slavic, the Orthodox, the Eurasian, Byzantine, the Russian, Rus (Kyivska Rus as an independent civilization), etc. Of course, this reflects the significant influence of Russian historical thought. However, even in such interpretations of the Ukrainian scholars, Ukraine (and not Russia) appears to be the «Orthodox-Slavic» East civilization center. The following circumstance gives grounds for asserting that the Ukrainian civilization idea is not deprived of originality.

According to the observation of the culturologists, the semantic pair «the East – the West» has the character of the socio-cultural and the civilizational dilemma «either-or». Pretty common (or even stereotyped) are the idea of the mutually exclusive content of each of these images. However, modern Ukrainian historians (Y. Hrytsak, O. Tolochko) debunk the «civilizational myths» and prove that the traditional division into the «East» and the «West» cannot be a «serious helper tool» in modern history. As claimed by I. Shevchenko, the Ukrainian historians «paid much attention to the East-West axis, from which the cultural development of Ukraine depends on today, which is relatively small to the North-South axis / ... on this axis lies Moscow, Byzantine and its successor, Ottoman Empire» (Shevchenko, 2001, p. 8). This researcher in the discussion of the «eastern» / «western» nature of Ukrainian culture put an emphasize on another important circumstance – the lack of the direct access and, accordingly, the indirect influence of both the «eastern» and the «western» factors on Ukrainian cultural and historical processes .

It is vital to highlight that the Ukrainian historians of the late XVIIIth and early XXth centuries determined their spatial and civilizational identity by fully integrating their ethnonational space (Rus-Ukraine) into one of the civilizational images, which automatically meant a complete «exclusion» and the opposition to the image of «another» civilization. In other words, the identification was carried out according to the scheme: Rus-Ukraine is either the East, or the West, or the Slavic region, or Europe.

From the beginning of 1920-ies, we see a gradual abandonment of the established method of the civilizational self-identification, that is, the complete identification of oneself with the East or the West. At this time, according to N. Yakovenko's observation, the binary opposition of the East – West gradually began to transform into the thesis of a certain metaphysical triangle within which the territory of Ukraine is located. The main sides of this triangle are the «East» (Step), the «West» (Poland) and the «North» (Russia) (Yakovenko, 2002, p. 334–335). The thesis about the Ukrainian livelihoods in the form of a triangle is presented in the works of M. Hrushevskyi's Lviv students, in particular, S. Tomashivskyi. Regarding the M. Hrushevskyi's civilizational representations, V. Telvak evaluated them as ambivalent: the declared pro-Western historian was combined with «the historical accusation of the West in the destruction of the identity of Ukrainian culture» (Telvak, 2013, p. 302). In 1925 V. Lypynskyi brought in the formula «Ukraine between the East and the West», which according to M. Masnenko, became the concept of a peculiar «third way» in the civilizational landmarks between the West and the East and the variety of the Ukrainian messianic idea

(Masnenko, 2013, p. 322). The above-mentioned concept was actively implemented in the Ukrainian historiography of the XXth century and remains popular in the intellectual circles up till the present day. According to A. Atamanenko, the recipients of the formula «Ukraine between the East and the West» (B. Krupnytskyi, I. Mirchuk, V. Yanov, I. Lisyak-Rudnytskyi, I. Shevchenko, etc.) adopted the idea of synthesis in the eastern (Byzantine) and the western (European) cultures. At the same time, the researchers emphasized the European membership of Ukraine – not only the geographic but also the cultural (Atamanenko, 2013, p. 377).

If during the «long XIXth century» the East and West were conceptualized as a completely self-sufficient and isolated living space, then in the interwar decades the formula of the civilizational identity presupposed the openness of Ukraine in regard to the external civilizational influences. That's why, Y. Hrytsak notes the following: «It will not be able to conceptualize Ukraine purely in the categories «either – or» – there is always a minimal possibility of the compromise formula «and – and «. / ... / In the dispute between two views, «either – or» the truth lies somewhere in the middle, that is, in the space «and - and» (Hrytsak, 2011, p. 294). L. Okinshevych justified the thesis that «Ukraine laid in the space of the two civilizations collision and was transitional type territory, we will never find a 100% admission of any of its parts to a particular cultural complex. The Western Ukraine has never been 100% Western and the Eastern Ukraine – 100% Eastern Europe» (Okinshevych, 2011, p. 193).

**Conclusions.** In Ukrainian historical texts, several images of the East coexisted: the the Slavic East, the Orthodox East, the Byzantine East, the Muslim East, the Turkic-nomadic (steppe) East and the others. Some of these concepts convey the similar meaning and could be partially interchangeable, while the others are completely mutually exclusive. Numerous images of the East were differently identified by the Ukrainian historians according to the imagelogy evaluation formulae of «own» and «alien». If the Slavic East of the Orthodox East were perceived as «own», while the Muslim East and the Nomadic East were clearly construed and interpreted as «alien» or «hostile». Such kind of images of the East were marked in the historical texts as Asia. The Ukrainian historical thought has evolved from the complete inclusion (or exclusion) of the national-historical image of Ukraine to one of the Easts content (the XIXth – first quarter of the XXth century) to the spatial and civilizational identification formula, in which Ukraine combines the elements of the East (or several Easts) and the West. The abovementioned idea is depicted in the popular historiographical formula «Ukraine between the East and the West». On the mental maps of Ukrainian historians of the modern age, Russia was usually incorporated into one of the images of the East – mostly the Slavic or the Orthodox, but sometimes even the Turkic – «Asian». The concept of the «East» in the Ukrainian historiographical tradition functioned not only as a neutral working term for indicating a certain space or cultural-civilizational community. The usage of this term in the historical texts often carried out a certain emotional and estimated load: «lower», «backwardness», «uncivilized», «savagery» or some other (mostly negative) connotations. The European-centered ideological foundations had significantly influenced on the emotionally-biased and evaluative-negative attitude of Ukrainian historians to different images of the East by Ukrainian scholars, which has been especially evident in the recent decades in the European integration paradigm of the Ukrainian humanities. Hence, it could be argued that the modern Ukrainian historiography is characterized by a somewhat original form of the Orientalism as a specifically biased way of representing the Western intellectuals about the East as a space of the «backwardness», the «savagery», the «barbarism» and the «Asian threat». The Ukrainian historians also interpreted the East as

an intellectual construct (or imagined community) in order to refer to the spatial images and the civilizational representations, and as a real spatial and cultural-civilization integrity. The topical task for the Ukrainian scholars is a detailed scientific explanation of how these spatial and civilizational images were part of the scientific representations and the historical consciousness of the Ukrainian historians, more precisely – as the Ukrainian historians «invented» and «imagined» the East and Asia in all their varieties. The detailed examination of the process of «fitting» Ukraine into the images of the East and the West at all stages of the Ukrainian historiographical process is also of the utmost importance.

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**THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY OF CHERNIAKHIV  
ARCHEOLOGICAL CULTURE IN THE SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE  
OF MYKHAILO BRAICHEVSKYI**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to determine the viewpoints of a famous archeologist, historian of the ethnic development of Eastern Slavdom Mykhailo Braichevskyi (1924 – 2001) on the ethnicity of Cherniakhiv archeological culture. The methodology of research includes a comparative historical approach (comparison of the historical concepts of Mykhailo Braichevskyi and other historians), biographical approach (analysis of Mykhailo Braichevskyi's life and career), method of historiographic analysis (specific content of the research papers of Mykhailo Braichevskyi and other Cherniakhiv culture historians) and historiographic synthesis (the formation of the general image of Cherniakhiv culture in the legacy of Mykhailo Braichevskyi). The scientific novelty of the article lies in the fact that for the first time Mykhailo Braichevskyi's concept of the ethnicity of Cherniakhiv culture is reconstructed and the factors that have defined it are stated. Conclusions.* As far back as in Soviet times, Mykhailo Braichevskyi developed a framework for the ethnic history of East Slavs starting from the 1st and till the beginning of the 2nd millennium AD, with the concept of Cherniakhiv population as the Slavs-Antes. The last were regarded by the scientist as the predecessors of the South Western ethnic group of Eastern Slavdom (a conglomerate of six «tribes» called the Polianians) that started to adopt features of the Ukrainian ethnic community in the social and political conditions of the second half of the 1st – the beginning of the 2nd century. While in Soviet times the idea of Cherniakhiv population as the actual Pre-Ukrainians was concealed in terms of a comparatively politically «neutral» historical concept of the ethnic development of Eastern Slavdom, since the beginning of the 1990s, due to the disappearance of government control over historical studies, it has been openly promoted in his research papers.

**Key words:** Mykhailo Braichevskyi, archeology, historiography, Cherniakhiv culture, ethnicity.

## ПРОБЛЕМА ЕТНІЧНОЇ НАЛЕЖНОСТІ ЧЕРНЯХІВСЬКОЇ АРХЕОЛОГІЧНОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ В НАУКОВІЙ СПАДЩИНІ МИХАЙЛА БРАЙЧЕВСЬКОГО

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – встановити зміст і сутність поглядів відомого археолога, історика етнічного розвитку східного слов'янства М. Брайчевського (1924 – 2001 рр.) на етнічну належність черняхівської археологічної культури. В основі **методології дослідження** – порівняльно-історичний метод (зіставлення історичних концепцій М. Брайчевського та інших істориків), біографічний метод (аналіз життєвого і творчого шляху М. Брайчевського), метод історіографічного аналізу (конкретного змісту наукових праць М. Брайчевського та інших істориків з проблем черняхівської культури) та історіографічного синтезу (формування загального образу черняхівської культури в спадщині М. Брайчевського). **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у тому, що в ній уперше реконструйовано концепцію М. Брайчевського щодо етнічної сутності черняхівської культури й аргументовано чинники, які її визначали. **Висновки.** М. Брайчевський вже в радянські роки виробив схему етнічної історії східних слов'ян I – початку II тис. нашої ери, складником якої була концепція черняхівського населення як слов'ян-антів. Останні розглядалися вченим як попередники південно-західного етнічного масиву східного слов'янства (конгломерат шести «племен» під збірною назвою поляни), який в суспільно-політичних умовах другої половини I – початку II тис. набував рис української етнічної спільності. Якщо в радянські часи ідея про черняхівське населення як фактичних пражукраїнців була замаскованою у рамках порівняно політично «нейтральної» історикової концепції етнічного розвитку східного слов'янства, то з початку 1990-х рр. через зникнення державного контролю над історичною наукою вона почала відверто рекламуватися в його дослідженнях.

**Ключові слова:** М. Брайчевський, археологія, історіографія, черняхівська культура, етнічна належність.

**Problem statement.** Mykhailo Y. Braichevskyi (1924 – 2001) does not need a special introduction. He is one of a few truly famous Ukrainian historians of the second half of the 20th century, a prominent public figure, an activist of the intellectual opposition to the Communist rule, a truly unique person who belonged to the intellectuals elite of his time. As of today, in honour of Mykhailo Braichevskyi several collections of memoirs and papers about him have been published. Dozens of specific studies are dedicated to his career and pages from his life. The publication of his unpublished legacy has begun. Still, the majority of texts about the scientist, from our perspective, suffer from superficial glorification and even apology of Mykhailo Braichevskyi, against which, we believe, he himself would be the first to protest. Every scientist, especially an outstanding one, such as our hero, deserves respect, which should be shown not only in commemorations but also in a serious attitude towards intellectual legacy – the main treasure, left by the individual of such format, both in life and after passing away in eternity. The necessity of such a «non-jubilee» approach to the comprehension of works of «significant» figures of historical studies is highlighted e.g. by the authors of an interesting article on a famous Soviet archeologist Oleksii Terenozhkin (Sayenko & Shestakova, 2018). In this article, we will try to show the vision of an archeologist and Eastern Slavdom historian Mykhailo Braichevskyi on one of the most debatable problems in archeology, namely the problem of ethnicity of Cherniakhiv culture. His personality combined rare charms of an extraordinary scientist and a veil of controversy, erudition, unusual for a Soviet scientist, and independence of thought along with insufficient sensitivity to conjuncture (in a broad meaning and in different fields), which, as it seems, sometimes deterred the scientist from intellectual flexibility and ability to reassess his own stand. Due to such features of his own personality, atypical of the mainly conformist

community of historians in the Soviet times (Yaremchuk, 2018, pp. 243–244), he was the only Ukrainian historian, who evidentially negated the basic constructions of the Soviet historical memory, carefully nurtured in the Stalin times, – a concept of the «Old Rus nationality» (a monography *The Origin of Rus*) and «reunion of Ukraine with Russia in 1654» (an article-manifesto *Joining or Reunification? Critical Notes Regarding One Concept*) (Yaremchuk, 2009, pp. 265–271). These politically motivated historical doctrines are placed by modern science in the museum of relics of the Soviet Imperial historical mythology. Such rigidity of thoughts was as well demonstrated by Mykhailo Braichevskyi in a fierce archeology-based debate, especially in the second half of the 20th century, over the problem, mentioned in the title of the article. However, his ideas did not have and still do not have the total support from professional societies. Actually, we will try to analyze his interpretations of this problem in connection with the corresponding research tradition, which has been developing in a different way and make assumptions about the reasons behind such a collision.

**Analysis of the sources and recent studies.** The main source of studying Mykhailo Braichevskyi's views on the ethnic nature of Cherniakhiv archeological culture is the texts of the historian, published during 1950 – 1990s, as well as his doctoral thesis *The Antes (A Sketch of the History of Eastern Europe in the Era of the Migration Period)*, unpublished and undefended in the time of preparation for the defense in 1960. The additional light on the scientific and ideological conditions that accompanied Mykhailo Braichevskyi's work is shed by his unpublished correspondence and some other documents of personal and business character from the funds of Ukrainian archives, primarily Fund 320 (*The Archive of Mykhailo Braichevskyi*) of the Department of Manuscripts of Volodymyr Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine.

Despite the fact that Mykhailo Braichevskyi was a recognized specialist in archeology and ethnic history of Eastern Europe of the 1st millennium and an author of the original works with regard to these issues, his interpretation of ethnic aspects of Cherniakhiv culture is not represented in any special literature except for the cursory mentions in the articles of Vitalii Yaremchuk (Yaremchuk, 2008, pp. 35–37; Yaremchuk, 2011, pp. 100–101) and synthesis papers of famous Ukrainian (Borys Mahomedov) (Mahomedov, 2001, pp. 13–15) and Russian (Mark Shchukin) (Shchukin, 2005, p. 156) scientists-archeologists within «Cherniakhiv» subject. For today, the fullest (from the known to us) synthetic essay stories about the cultural studies, which we will address during the examination of historiographic context and the current status of its investigation, are presented in the abovementioned works and monography of Tetiana Rudych (Rudych, 2014, pp. 10–14), a researcher in the field of anthropological composition of the population of Middle Podniprovia in the 1st–2nd millennium, including the population of Cherniakhiv culture. The fact that the works of Borys Mahomedov and Mark Shchukin are the key works on the issue and their conclusions are worth credibility, is stated in the bibliographic note to the entry in *The Encyclopedia of Ukrainian History* dedicated to this archeological phenomenon, where they were recognized as the principal works for discovering Cherniakhiv culture (Synytsia, 2013, p. 530). The above mentioned predetermined the **purpose of research** – to identify the content and meaning of Mykhailo Braichevskyi's views on the ethnicity of Cherniakhiv culture, taking into account the context of cultural studies in the world historiography.

**Statement of the basic material.** Having been discovered at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries by Vikentii Khvoika, Cherniakhiv culture (or «the culture of burial fields») was at first recognized as exclusively Slavic. The majority of Ukrainian



and Russian scientists shared this point of view until the 1960s. At the same time, since the beginning of its study by a number of German archeologists, it was determined as a phenomenon, associated with the Germanic people of the Antiquity and Early Middle Ages – the Goths (or, in other interpretations, with the Goths and other Germanic ethnic groups such as the Gepids, the Vandals, the Bastarns etc.), who, according to the established view, had a rather developed political formation during the 3rd-4th millennia in the area that started to be equated with Cherniakhiv culture, the so-called «Ermanaric's state». At the beginning of the cultural studies, its ethnic qualifications were influenced by the researchers' national feelings and political and ideological factors. It was advantageous to interpret extremely unique antiquities and, in general, civilization, atypical of the rest of Eastern European Barbaricum (high-quality ceramic ware, skillfully made jewelry, the prevalence of land-based accommodations etc.) as their own national heritage. Thus, the German scientists, particularly of the Third Reich period, highlighted the civilizational mission of their ancestors, the Germanic-Goths, in the area of Eastern Europe, which allegedly may have been already claimed on legal grounds by the Germanic race in the 20th century. In its turn, starting from the World War II till the mid-1950s, the Soviet researchers added exclusively ideological motivation to the scientific arguments in favour of «autochthonous» origin of Cherniakhiv culture as the pride in the past and worthy opposition to the ideological enemy on the «historical front» were in question. In the prewar and war period, an idea of identifying culture with the nations, famous from the Late Antiquity/Early Middle Ages sources, who were situated in the forest-steppe belt between Dnister and Dnipro and were considered Slavic – the Antes and the Sclaveni, was put forward (Mykhailo Artamonov, Borys Rybakov) (Mahomedov, 2001, p. 13). Accordingly, the idea has been developed that during the times of «Antes' ethnic political formation» from the 1st century AD till the eve of reunification of the East Slavic «tribes» into Ancient Rus) there existed a culture and that there is a direct ethnic and genetic connection between the Cherniakhiv-Antes and Kyivan Rus people.

Liberalization of the political climate in the USSR in the mid-1950s made the appearance of the alternative to «Slavic» versions possible. More and more archeologists were expressing doubts about the distinctly «autochthonous» character of culture. Others adhered to the position of former «ideological enemies» instead, thus defending the common sense of «Gothic» concept. At that time, due to primarily new discoveries of the local character and the increase in awareness of the variety of Cherniakhiv antiquities, an idea, expressed in the Interwar period, was developed about the significant local variability of Cherniakhiv group, and the concept on the cultural polyethnicity appears. Despite the abovementioned information, the majority of specialists in the scientific communities took the «autochthonous» stand till the 1960s. It was as well supported by the representatives of the party and scientific establishment, particularly by the director of Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Science of the USSR in 1956 – 1987, one of the most influential figures in the post-war Soviet historical studies Borys Rybakov.

Since the beginning of its development, a weak link in the «Slavic» concept has been a small amount of archeological data from those archeological manifestations of the Early Middle Ages, which were considered to be direct Cherniakhiv descendants due to the fact that known to archeologists antiquities of that time were characterized by the «regress» of material, particularly roughly made ware and generally less «civilization». As the opponents of the abovementioned point of view stated (state), the East Slavs of forest-steppe of the Pre-Kyiv Rus age were not ethnic descendants of the Cherniakhiv population. They had predecessors

in other archeological cultures, which were yet to discover. At last, the «Slavic» concept was substantially undermined in 1960 – 1970s due to the justification of the existence of three Early Slavic cultures in the 6th-7th centuries that was a step backwards in comparison with the Cherniakhivs (Prague-Korchak, Penkiv and Kolochynsk) as well as relatively «poor» so-called Kyiv culture, simultaneous with Cherniakhiv, which began to be regarded as a predecessor of the Kolochynsk and Penkiv cultures. Thus, from the perspective of critics of the concept of «autochthonous and Slavic» nature of Cherniakhiv culture, it «fell out» of the Slavic chain, created by the newly discovered cultures, which combined more outdated (at least according to the archeological antiquities) in comparison with the Cherniakhivs Slavic people of the Antiquity, Early Middle Ages and Old Kyivan age into one (Shchukin, 2005, p. 157).

In 1970 – 1990s, the number and areal of the known to scientists Cherniakhiv monuments (there are more than 3500 nowadays) significantly increased. At the same time, the interest of foreign specialists in these problems grew due to the Gothic history and issues of European chronology of the Roman Age. During the last decades, scientists' opinions have significantly come closer. The majority of specialists acknowledge the multiethnicity of culture, the presence of several local variants in it, its late antique («narrow») dating (the 3rd-the beginning of the 5th century), the wide areal of distribution (the south of Eastern Europe, from Romania to Bielhorod and Kursk oblast of Russia), the crucial role of connections with the Roman world in the functioning of the Cherniakhiv population. In the presence of relative consensus on the poliethnicity, the proportions of Germanic and Slavic components and the importance of other ethnic groups (the Scythians, the Sauromatians, the Carpi-Dacians etc) continue to be discussed. For instance, Borys Mahomedov believes that «the Germanic tribes formed the ethnic basis» of culture (Mahomedov, 2001, p. 114). Not completely refuting her previous beliefs, a supporter of the «Slavic» concept, a famous Russian anthropologist Tetiana Aleksieieva started to recognize an important role of the Goths in the Cherniakhivs' ethnogenesis (Aleksieieva, 1999). On the contrary, Tetiana Rudych, on the basis of anthropological studies of the Cherniakhiv population of Middle Podniprovia, reached a conclusion on its ethnic diversity even on such a local scale. At the same time, she argues that «people of Germanic decent are occasionally recorded in the area» (Rudych, 2014, pp. 64–65, 222, 224). Recognizing the ethnic heterogeneity of the Cherniakhiv population, Mark Shchukin considered it necessary to emphasize the mystique of the phenomenon of «marvelous solidity of [his] culture on such a vast scale» (Shchukin, 2005, p. 195). At the same time, from the Russian archeologist's perspective, Cherniakhiv archeological culture just as any other was a result of the creativity of both local and newly-arrived people, and «to argue about the priority of those or these was the same as to argue about the benefits of the bicycle rear or front wheel» (Shchukin, 2005, p. 159). In fact, the only known specialist in this problem, who firmly stuck to the «Slavic» concept of Cherniakhiv culture to the end of his days despite some specific views, was Mykhailo Braichevskyi. It is time to give him the word.

Mykhailo Braichevskyi was without a doubt an expert on Cherniakhiv culture. This can be seen from the mentions of him in all of the historiographic reviews of the research on Cherniakhiv culture (Mahomedov, 2001, pp. 13–15; Shchukin, 2005, p. 156; Rudych, 2014, p. 11). The notion is central in his numerous works: from his first unpublished article in 1950 (Braichevskyi, 1950) to one of the last papers published while he was still living – a paper of monographic character *The Antes* (Braichevskyi, 1998). Apart from that, Mykhailo

Braichevskyi was the author of the historiographic publications on this topic (Braichevskyi, 1968a; Braichevskyi, 1971; Braichevskyi, 1989b) and provided historiographic stories in the texts about the culture itself.

His views on this question were formed on the verge of 1940 – 1950s under the influence of both scientific tradition and connected with it ideological situation, though he may not realized it at that time. The ideas of that time were developing in accordance with the «Slavic» concept of Cherniakhiv culture. As it was previously mentioned, Borys Rybakov was one of its main promoters, who gained the scientific and political influence in the 1950s. Moreover, during all his scientific career, the Moscow scientist was a famous supporter of the view that the Southern Rus (not the Northern one) served the basis for the Eastern Slavic ethnic group, out of which, according to the concept of the 1940 – the beginning of the 1950s, «Old Rus nationality» – «a cradle» of three «fraternal nations», was formed in Kyivan Rus. His emphasis on Podniprovnia as the ethnic center of Eastern Slavdom and future «Old Rus nationality» was objectively «pro-Ukrainian» without Rybakov's striving towards such a provocative under those circumstances treating of the situation. On the other hand, as it will be shown later, Mykhailo Braichevskyi added «bourgeois-nationalist» meaning to the abovementioned idea, at the beginning, probably, without any deliberate intentions. The thing is that while working in the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Science of the USSR (1948 – 1960), where he applied for immediately after he had graduated from Kyiv University, Mykhailo Braichevskyi was a «faithful» Soviet scientist, who had no reasons to oppose his views to the official mainstream (Yaremchuk, 2008, p. 34; Yaremchuk, 2011, p. 99). It is to be noted that at the very same time, the ideological tendency towards the absolute refusal of «Hrushevskyi's bourgeois-nationalist concept» dominated in Soviet Ukraine, which resulted in an active search by the «fighters of the ideological front» for any «nationalistic» manifestations among the Republican historians. Under such circumstances, the accusations of ideological mistakes were brought against even rather ideologically discreet scholars, as the ideological campaigns in the USSR were developed according to their own logic, which anticipated an extensive network of Soviet country enemies who had to be fought with.

In his first published article in 1950, Mykhailo Braichevskyi instantly rejected the «Gothic» concept as he considered it to be «a product of the German combative imperialism and fascism», «an instrument of exculpating the predatory attempts to conquer our, traditionally, Slavic lands». «Nowadays», the young historian argued without any reservations, «we may consider this theory to be totally disproved» (Braichevskyi, 1950, p. 30). Thus, the thesis on Cherniakhiv culture as a Slavic one, which should have been final and not first, was taken as a baseline. In fact, some particular arguments in its favor were put forward in that article. Moreover, the article provided an outline of his future original concept on the history of Eastern Slavdom in the 1st-the beginning of the 2nd centuries AD, which was later developed in the 1950-1960s and whose main component was the idea on the Cherniakhivs-Antes. The fundamental principles of this concept were revealed in the article in 1957, (Braichevskyi, 1957), in the already mentioned scientist's undefended «first» doctoral thesis (Mykhailo Braichevskyi became a doctor of historical sciences only during Horbachov's Perestroika (reformation period) in 1989) (DM VNLU, f. 320, a. u. 20) and in the monography *The Origin of Rus* (Braichevskyi, 1968b). Below is a summary of the concept.

In Mykhailo Braichevskyi's opinion, Cherniakhiv culture included the area of Ukrainian (and partly Moldavan, Eastern Slovak and Southern Polish) forest-steppe and was chronologically limited by the 2nd-the beginning of the 7th centuries (the so-called «wide

chronology»). It was formed on the basis of the more ancient cultural manifestations, namely parts of Pshevorsk, Zarubynets and Lypytsk archeological cultures. In addition, according to Mykhailo Braichevskyi, it was exclusively Slavic. Sometimes he briefly spoke in favour of a «softer» version of the «Slavdom» of culture, but this did not change the meaning of his concept. For instance, in *The Origin of Rus* (1968), the historian emphasized the «marvelous unity and solidity» of culture and «was unable to accept strong statements on the poliethnicity of culture in order to find an effective solution to the problem» (Braichevskyi, 1968b, p. 74). Nevertheless, in one of his publications in 1971, the scientist indicated that «the weight of evidence suggests a contribution of Sarmatian and Celtic culture La Tene [to Cherniakhiv culture]» (Braichevskyi, 1971, p. 101). However, the view on Cherniakhiv ethnic diversity was not developed further in the historian's texts. Cherniakhiv culture was regarded by Mykhailo Braichevskyi as an archeological equivalent to the Slavic ethnos, known as «Antes» and «The Antes' political formation»/ «The Antes' kingdom», which at first was considered an analogy to the other Barbarian European polities on the verge of Antiquity and Early Middle Ages (the Visigothic, Ostrogothic, Burgundian, Vandal etc.) (DM VNLU, f. 320, a. u. 20, pp. 429–430). However, shortly after this, he refused from the analogies with these «kingdoms» (Braichevskyi, 1968b, pp. 152–156).

Unlike «early» strong statements on the impossibility of the «Gothic» concept, in the mid-1950s, Mykhailo Braichevskyi tried to provide sufficient from his perspective arguments for its complete fallacy. Among them, the main argument revolved around uncertainty about the prolonged stay of the Goths in the forest-steppe – a central, in his opinion, areal of the culture spreading. Another argument was the fact of the Goths leaving Nadchornomorshchyna at the end of the 6th century and the existence of culture there till, at the very least, the 5th century, that is recognized even by the supporters of the «Gothic» attribution to Cherniakhiv (Braichevskyi, 1957, pp. 17–18). Since the end of the 1960s, Mykhailo Braichevskyi has also provided compelling arguments against the thesis on the decay of ceramics on the area of Ukrainian forest-steppe in the Early Middle Ages as an evidence of the absence of Cherniakhiv people there (particularly, he explained the poverty of ceramics, which is considered to be a distinctive feature of Cherniakhiv culture, not by its absence but by the invention of lathe and the dominance of woodenware at that time) (Braichevskyi, 1968b, pp. 36–37; Braichevskyi, 1989b, pp. 123–124).

In the scientist's opinion, the South Western group of East Slavs – the Cherniakhiv-Antes of the middle of the 1st millennium – was ahead of the North East Slavic tribes in cultural and social and scientific development. However, at the time of the establishment of the East Slavic state in the 9th – 10th centuries, the Northern tribes «in general catch up with their Southern relatives» (DM VNLU, f. 320, a. u. 20, p. 563; Braichevskyi, 1968b, p. 174). A defeat of the Antes' kingdom in the war against the Avars at the beginning of the 7th century led to the decay of Cherniakhiv culture. Nevertheless, the Antes did not disappear as an ethnos. Under new conditions, they gained a name of the Polianians that, according to Mykhailo Braichevskyi's concept, were not a separate tribe but a union of six tribes – the Ulychians, the Tyvertians, the Dulibians, the Buzhans, the Volynians, the White Crotians (DM VNLU, f. 320, a. u. 20, pp. 131–132; Braichevskyi, 1968b, pp. 135– 148, 155, 158). The Antes-Polianians continued to preserve a relative ethnic and political unity even in pre-Kyivan times, forming the so-called «narrow», «primeval» Southern Rus – «the primary cornerstone of the future Rus (Rus in a broad meaning of this word)» (Braichevskyi, 1968b, p. 163).

According to Mykhailo Braichevskyi, the origins of East Slavic nations formation should be sought in the age of annalistic «tribes». Back then, the Polianian forest-steppe became a center of formation of Ukrainian nationality (the basis of which formed the Polianians, the Siverianians and the Dregovychies), the Upper Dnipro, Oka and Volga – of Russian nationality, and the area of Dregovychi and Polochans – of Belarusian nationality (Braichevskyi, 1968b, pp. 188–189). In the Kyivan Rus era, due to the presence of general East Slavic integration, a strong tendency towards ethnic agglomeration of East Slavs around the three main centers of ethnic formation, Southern, Northern and North-Eastern, continued to exist. Such a situation led to the political disintegration of Kyivan Rus and to the final formation of three East Slavic nations – the Ukrainians, the Belarusians and the Russians (and not vice versa, as the Soviet historians stated, the political disintegration of Rus caused the ethnic disintegration) in the post-Kyivan times. Therefore, formally by the end of the 1980s, Mykhailo Braichevskyi in his work of 1968 had raised doubts about the existence of «Old Rus nationality» in the form of the ethnic monolith (as the official Soviet historiography was doing), without refusing its existence in the Kyivan Rus period. He considered this unity to be rather political than ethnic and regarded it as much more real process of establishing three distinct East Slavic ethnoses in the political framework of one state of Kyivan Rus (Braichevskyi, 1968b, pp. 148, 163–165, 184–185, 188–189, 190–191).

As we can see, the abovementioned historical structures of Mykhailo Braichevskyi were based on exclusively scientific arguments and scientific tradition (however, no satisfactory arguments in favour of total rationality of either of «Cherniakhiv» concepts, including Mykhailo Braichevskyi's concept, have been presented till this day) in the Soviet times. Apart from that, almost till the beginning of active persecution of the scientist at the end of the 1960s (because of his signing the so-called «letter 139», addressed to the top officials of the USSR, against the deployment of large-scale political repressions in the country), he enjoyed ideological and intellectual (but not organizational and career) support of Borys Rybakov. The historians were united by the idea of Southern Rus' core in the East Slavic ethnogenesis (DM VNLU, f. 320, a. u. 1522–1526, 1901, 1902). However, two paradoxically opposite in their essence factors worked against Mykhailo Braichevskyi and his views even before he became an unwelcome person for the Communist regime and his mainly servile historiography.

Firstly, it was a relative political liberalization in the post-Stalin times, which gave voice even to the opponents of «Slavic» concept and assisted in a more politically neutral approach to the Cherniakhiv problem and, as a result, activation of corresponding studies and development of alternative interpretations. Secondly, the identification of the Cherniakhivs with the Antes and withdrawal of the central line of the East Slavic ethnogenesis from them was directly related to the forbidden theory of the origin of the Ukrainian people by Mykhailo Hrushevskyi. As it is indicated by the documents, in the 1950s, Mykhailo Braichevskyi was already accused of «repeating» the concepts of the famous Ukrainian historian, demonized by the regime. According to Mykhailo Braichevskyi's unpublished memoirs, several «evil geniuses» who stood guard over «the ideological purity» of the Soviet historical science were working at the Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Science of the USSR at that time. They were irritated by the scientist's Independence and the proximity of his ideas to Mykhailo Hrushevskyi's views, tarnished by «bourgeois nationalism» (DM VNLU, f. 320, a. u. 13, pp. 131–160, 167, 169; a. u. 1522, p. 1; SA IA NASU, f. Dilovodnyi arkhiv [Record keeping archive], d. l. 1, a. u. 410, pp. 13–123).

Then why had the historian maintained his scientific positions, formed in the 1950s, till the end of the Communist regime and ignored both the «liberal» tendencies in the Cherniakhiv history and the calls to get rid of the ideological connection with a dreadful and dangerous enemy of the Soviet historiography? Let us try to give a plausible, from our perspective, answer. When it comes to him ignoring new approaches to the solution of the problem of Cherniakhiv ethnic attribution, then one of the possible explanations may be the following. Mykhailo Braichevskyi had a rather independent and even bold character (that was noted both by his contemporaries and by Braichevskyi himself) (DM VNLU, f. 320, a. u. 13, p. 46; SA IA NASU, f. Dilovodnyi arkhiv [Record keeping archive], d. l. 1, a. u. 410, pp. 17, 25, 122–123, 150–151; Tolochko, 2006, pp. 36, 87), and such people do not usually abandon their ideas without a legitimate excuse and neglect criticism, especially when they see no reasons for it. Obviously, the scientist did not see such reasons. For this reason, in his texts and statements, he clearly denied Cherniakhiv's «non-Slavic» concepts, not arriving at any compromises and not sparing sarcasm for his opponents. For example, in his article of 1989, he «crushed» the proponents of Cherniakhiv's «poliethnism» one more time, noting «the unhealthy desire to divide Cherniakhiv culture into local manifestations, where each of them should have obtained an independent ethnic attribution and in such a way, prove the thesis on the Cherniakhiv's multiethnic character» (Braichevskyi, 1989b, p. 117). Over time, the recent ordinary (due to his social and cultural characteristics) Soviet scientist transformed into a historian-oppositionist, one of the volunteers of the national historic heritage, virtually forbidden in Soviet Ukraine (Halishkevskyi, 2018). His concept became an expression of not only his exclusively scientific views but also his nationalistic historical thought. If to speak about the scientist's attitude towards Mykhailo Hrushevskyi's ideas, at first, Mykhailo Braichevskyi did not accept the claims of «big brothers» as there was nothing to be «corrected». The archeologist was neither a critic of the Soviet power nor a proponent of the work of the leader of «Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism», and a relative coincidence of their views on the ethnic history of the Early Slavic people did not have any «ideological» premises. However, shortly after that, such accusations started corresponding to reality. Already in the mid-1960s, along with the other pro-opposition Ukrainian historians, he shared a widespread at that environment «cult of Hrushevskyi» as the greatest Ukrainian historian (Braichevskyi, 1996; Rublov, 2007, pp. 233–234, 282). From that time on, Braichevskyi deliberately drew inspiration from it for his unique and more and more distinctly pro-nationalism historical views, the view on the Chekniakhivs-Antes in particular.

In general terms, the scientist's ethnogenetic concept did not undergo any changes even after ideological censorship disappearance in the 1980 – 1990s. At that time, Mykhailo Braichevskyi, a scientific legend, historian-nonconformist, formed proponent of the national vision of the Ukrainian past, completely rejected any ideological camouflage and manifested a direct transfer to Mykhailo Hrushevskyi's stand in terms of the Antes as the immediate ancestors of the Ukrainian people. Moreover, he added to the ideas of his predecessor an opinion that «the immediate ancestors of our nation were not only the Antes (that we identify with the annalistic Polianians) but also the Drevlians and the Siverianians, situated more to the north» (Braichevskyi, 1997, p. 57). We cannot satisfactorily explain the total rejection by the venerable scientist of any meaning of the Goths in the genesis of Cherniakhiv culture in the last period of his work in any way, apart from his absolute conviction about self-righteousness and value of the concept of the East Slavic ethnogenesis,

formulated and stood on for decades during the Soviet regime. What is more, in one of his articles, he formed an extended hypothesis on their non-Germanic ethnic origin and on the fact that the Goths of Nadchornomorshchyna, in fact, were not newly-arrived people from the European North but an autochthonous nation of this region that was forced to leave its ancient territories and start long and fruitful travels throughout Europe after the Huns invasion (Braichevskyi, 1989a). According to our observations, Mykhailo Braichevskyi only in one article of 1992 concisely recognized, at least, the partial presence of non-Slavic people in the Cherniakhiv population one more time (just as in the publication of 1971). «The majority of specialists, at least of the domestic historiography, agree on the fact that Cherniakhiv culture is Slavic completely or partially (along with some other ethnic groups)» (Braichevskyi, 1992, p. 211).

**Conclusions.** In conclusion, Mykhailo Braichevskyi had already developed a well-organized and argued framework for the ethnic history of Eastern Slavs since the 1st till the beginning of the 2nd millennium, the component of which was a concept of Cherniakhiv population as the Slavs-Antes, in Soviet times. The last were regarded by the scientist as the predecessors of the South Western ethnic group of Eastern Slavdom (a conglomerate of six «tribes» called the Polianians) that started to adopt features of the Ukrainian ethnic community in the social and political conditions of the second half of the 1st – the beginning of the 2nd century. Such views were unacceptable for a part of specialists and political censors due to not only scientific but also political reasons: they corresponded with the views on the origins of the Ukrainian ethnos of the creator of the «nationalist» framework of Ukrainian history Mykhailo Hrushevskyi. Mykhailo Braichevskyi has been convinced of the rationality of his ethnogenetic framework during all his scientific career. His stand was predetermined by two main factors. Firstly, no generally recognized concept of the ethnicity of Cherniakhiv culture has been formulated from the times of Mykhailo Braichevskyi's scientific career and till today. However, a view on the ethnic diversity of the Cherniakhiv population has had the biggest amount of supporters for the last decades. Due to such circumstances, other explanations of this phenomenon, including the concept of Mykhailo Braichevskyi, have upheld their scientific validity. Secondly, the conviction that the mentioned archeological culture is of Slavic nature resulted from the worldview and psychological convictions of the scientist. Mykhailo Braichevskyi belonged to the opponents of the Communist regime in Ukraine, thus by his texts trying to popularize the national vision of the Ukrainian past, effectively prohibited in the USSR. If in Soviet times the idea of Cherniakhiv population as the actual Pre-Ukrainians was concealed in terms of a comparatively politically «neutral» historical concept of the ethnic development of Eastern Slavdom, then since the beginning of the 1990s, it was advertised openly in his research papers due to the disappearance of government control over historical studies.

The conclusions of this article may be specified by the conduct of further research of Mykhailo Braichevskyi's intellectual biography. For instance, it is worth deepening the examination of the scientific and extrascientific motivations of the scientist as a researcher of Cherniakhiv archeological culture.

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**VISION OF A «NEW SOVIET MAN» IN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE XX CENTURY**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the results of Western, Central European and American historiography discourse analysis regarding the phenomenon of a «new Soviet man» in the second half of the XX century. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of consistency, reliability, historicism, logic. General scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and specifically historical (historically genetic, historically typological, historically system) methods are used in the article. Scientific novelty.* The article presents a unique complex historiographic analysis of the scattered publications dedicated to «Homo Sovieticus» as highlighted in European studies. **Conclusions.** *Within the frames of Western academic discourse, the concept of the «new man» has been investigated from various points of view, i.e. totalitarian, revisionist, axiological, identity history and history of subjectivity. The Western European researchers have focused primarily on general aspects of USSR citizens' consciousness transformations under the influence of the Communist ideology, thus shaping out the key methodological approaches to the «new man» phenomenon and coining a specific term, «homo soveticus», to designate it. At the same time, regional versions of the Soviet project aimed at public consciousness transformation, specifically the Ukrainian one, still lack thorough investigation. In the end of 1980-ies, following the transit to democracy and a range of antitotalitarian revolutions, a critical perspective upon the Communist society studies was introduced through the emerging works of Eastern and Central European researchers. A focus upon primarily negative features of «homo soveticus» as a social anomaly induced by totalitarian regime has become a common denominator for the Eastern and Central European research discourse.*

**Key words:** «Soviet man», «homo soveticus», consciousness, identity, historiography

**ВІЗІЯ «НОВОЇ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ЛЮДИНИ» В ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКІЙ ТА АМЕРИКАНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХХ СТ.**

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження – здійснити історіографічний аналіз західно- та центральносхідноєвропейського дискурсу у висвітленні феномену «радянської людини» у другій*

половині XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, багатфакторності, системності, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше в українській історіографії здійснено комплексний аналіз й актуалізацію розрізненого масиву літератури з проблематики «Ното Sovieticus», напрацьований європейськими дослідниками. **Висновки.** У рамках західного академічного дискурсу сформувалися ключові методологічні підходи до вивчення «нової людини»: тоталітарний, ревізійно-історичний, історія ідентичностей, історія суб'єктивності, студії з вивчення цінностей. Основна увага західноєвропейських дослідників зосереджувалася на загальних аспектах трансформації свідомості громадян СРСР під впливом комуністичної ідеології. Саме завдяки працям західних вчених сформувалися ключові методологічні підходи до пояснення феномену «нової людини», почав використовуватися термін «Ното Sovieticus». Водночас регіональні версії радянського проекту трансформації суспільної свідомості, зокрема українська, представлені вкрай слабо. Дослідження авторів Центрально-Східної Європи активізувалися в умовах транзиту до демократії та антитоталітарних революцій кінця 80-х рр. XX ст., що зумовило критичний ракурс вивчення комуністичного суспільства. Спільним знаменником для поглядів центральноєвропейських дослідників стала констатація, передовсім, негативних рис «Ното Sovieticus», відображення його як суспільної аномалії за панування тоталітарної системи.

**Ключові слова:** «радянська людина», «Ното Sovieticus», свідомість, ідентичність, історіографія.

**Problem statement.** From the very beginning of the grand «Communism building» experiment, the problem of designing a new concept of a human as a supreme values bearer has come into view of the researchers. Chronologically, two inequivalent stages of the research process can be identified. While the history of the «new human» construction in the 1920-ies – beginning of the 1950-ies has been thoroughly covered by numerous researchers, the period from 1950-ies to 1980ies has only recently emerged from the «shadows» of Stalin's era.

It should be noted, though, that the Western scientists' concept of a late Soviet human type has been developed under the conditions radically different from those in the USSR. First and foremost, freedom of thought and speech have caused opinions diversity towards the matter of identity transformations under Communist regime. Second, many Western European and American researchers had to turn to alternative sources due to limited access to the archives during the Cold War. They would use source base updates from the official media, immigrants' surveys, and, in rare instances, were allowed a personal visit to the USSR. «The Archive Revolution» in the end of the XX century has created unique opportunities for the Western «homo soveticus» historiography and consequently increased the number of relevant publications. Third, the cultural distance between the Western and the Soviet society has influenced the research results to a considerable extent.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** «Homo Sovieticus» phenomenon has remained out of focus of dedicated northern American and western European historiographical studies and intellectual discussions. Still, some particular issues related to this topic were given attention by Michael David-Fox and Natalie Lass. The first mentioned scholar suggested the approach to English-American studies of the USSR history as the controversy to the theory of modernity and neotraditionalism.

The proponents of the «modernity» theory studied USSR through the perspective of a particular, yet, still generally global shift from agricultural to industrial society, whereas their opponents were trying to prove the unique cultural or even civilizational identity of the USSR, that resulting from Russian history (David-Fox, 2015).

The Ukrainian scholar H. Laas performed the all-rounder research covering the vision of public history of Ukraine of mid 1940s – early 1960s in the historiographical resources, conducted in English.

In her study she has managed to demonstrate the refinement of Ukrainian component in the western research, dedicated to Soviet Union studies, as well as their strengths and weaknesses in defining the social structure, language communication and deviation in the Ukrainian SSR of the late Stalin era and period of «thaw» (Laas, 2009).

**The publication's purpose** is to analyze the results of Western, Central European and American historiography discourse analysis regarding the phenomenon of a «new Soviet man» in the second half of the XX century.

**Statement of the basic material.** The problem of constructing a Soviet type of a human in Ukraine has been almost utterly neglected by Western academic discourse. Up to day, it has been addressed by just a few representatives of Ukrainian diaspora incorporated into European and American intellectual communities. Works by Bohdan Kravchenko and Serhiy Zhuk form one of such exceptional cases. The first author, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian studies researcher, published a fundamental monograph in English entitled «Social Changes and National Consciousness in Ukraine in the XX century» (1985) and focused primarily on social and ethnical population structures correlation to the state of mass consciousness. According to B. Kravchenko, Ukrainians and Belarussians had been chosen as an avantgarde of «Soviet people» construction process due to their cultural proximity to the Russians. The process of «Soviet man» construction, which was, in fact, just a disguised Russification, had acquired distinct social features. It was impossible to raise one's social status without mastering Russian language and, ultimately, cultural codes and identity (Kravchenko, 1997, p. 240–242). Therefore, B. Kravchenko could be praised as the first one to have shaped the Ukrainian version of «homo soveticus» construction process.

Serhiy Zhuk, a Dnipropetrovsk State University graduate, later a teacher in several American universities, has published a set of research papers in late Soviet Dniepropetrovsk region history. These investigations had been actually underpinned by the author's personal experience as a local history teacher and an amateur DJ back in 1977 – 1986. Based on the under-reported narrative and archive sources, his research depicts subtle aspects of a Soviet human type development process in Ukrainian province. Specifically, the author highlights the ambiguous role of ideology in the process of «homo soveticus» construction. By the end of the 1950ies, the majority of USSR citizens would treat official ideology as a kind of ritual only vaguely relevant to everyday life. On the other hand, even the Westernized youth known for its critical reception of Communism, had acquired and implemented clichés and speech patterns coined by official propaganda. These observations lead the author to the concept of Marxism-Leninism as a «discourse lens» shaping the patterns of the late Soviet identity construction (Zhuk, 2009, 2010, 2013).

The Western academic discourse focused at the Soviet system in general. Logically, the «New Man» as the product of this system has also attracted considerable attention of European and American researchers.

In 1955, Harvard researchers completed their five-year project in Soviet social system study. A group of scientists managed to collect over 33 thousand pages of content, 800 interviews, thousands of psychological surveys submitted by the immigrants from the USSR. Based on these data, the researchers tried to answer the question of how Soviet citizens lived, felt, reacted and accessed the regime. The result of the project was summed up in the

book «How does the Soviet system work», the Western nonfiction bestseller of the 1950s. The authors paid attention to the essential characteristics of the Soviet system (myth-making, plan, «workathon,» concentration of power, terror and forced labour) and reconstructed common Soviet perspectives upon the role of personality, satisfaction/dissatisfaction, respect for authority, an attitude to the West, manifestations of the Russian mentality in their social and national invariants (Bauer, Inkeles, Kluckhohn, 1956).

The well-known German journalist and political scientist, editor-in-chief of the magazine «Osteuropa», Klaus Menter visited the USSR during 1933 – 1936 and then in 1955. Unlike the most of «political pilgrims» of the interwar years (i.e., Romain Rolland and Bernard Shaw), he did not idealize the Stalinist system and tried to give a comprehensive assessment of social life transformations under the Bolshevik regime. In 1958 K. Menter summed up the results of his USSR travel observations in a book entitled «The Soviet Man». What makes this study stand out is the fact that it included not only 1930-related data, but also Menter's impressions from his trip to the USSR as Konrad Adenauer's staff correspondent in 1955. According to K. Menter, by the mid-1950s, the communists had failed to turn the Russians into a «Soviet cadaver» capable of thinking and acting exclusively the way the Party leaders wanted it to. The «Soviet man» in his interpretation was, above all, a man. He was more worried about his own welfare than about communism (Mehner, 1959, p. 447–449).

In the midst of the «Caribbean crisis» Prof. John Kosa's book «Two Generations of Soviet Man: A Study in the Psychology of Communism» was published. Based on a Socialist countries' immigrants survey, the author tried to trace the changes in the outlook of people affected by totalitarian regime. The key question posed in the work was whether the Communists had actually managed to create a «New Man». The research provided an affirmative answer to that question. According to J. Kosa, the formation of the «Red Superego» (a reference to Sigmund Freud) had been carried out systematically through such factors as work, encouragement/punishment, habits, propaganda, legalized manipulations and terror (Kosa, 1962).

In 1964, the philosopher R. de George published a paper devoted to the concepts of human being in Soviet philosophy and propaganda. He emphasized that Communism implied social importance as a key factor of personal assessment and overall treated a personality as an organ in a biological organism. Thus, natural human rights were disavowed, and humanism widely advertised by Soviet propaganda was proclaimed «the humanism of the future», that is, taking care of future Communist society's rights and needs while utterly neglecting the present day concerns (De George, 1964).

The first recorded use of the term «Homo Sovieticus» belongs to the Spanish author Fernando de Cambras. His work published in 1975 was an attempt to go beyond the ideological confrontation of the Cold War and to describe the life of ordinary Soviet citizens – «Ivans and Sonias» – in the mid-1970s (Cambra, 1975). Despite the semi-popular and rather essayistic than academic nature of the work, the term «Homo Sovieticus» coined in it has become an indispensable part of the Western discourse on human rights in the USSR.

The works of Geoffrey Hosking, a British historian, had significantly influenced the conceptual mapping of the Soviet man phenomenon. In his inaugural lecture in the School of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of London on 12 February 1987, Hosking provided a brief summary of «Homo Sovieticus» studies through the previous decades. «The New Soviet man», Hosking stated, didn't come out of the blue. The success of Communist experiment with human identity was granted by a number of prerequisites, i.e. the paternalistic nature of the Russian society (Hosking, 1987). His further publications considered the role

of trust/mistrust structures in shaping the type of personality capable of surviving under the conditions of the communist system, as well as the role of Russian people as the main supply for «Soviet people» design (Hosking, 2013).

In his work «Political Psychology» published in 1987, the American psychologist Dmitry Mikheev identified the primary and secondary features of the Soviet mentality. The primary features included:

- 1) perception of the physical and social environment as hostile to an individual;
- 2) attitude to life as a continuous struggle for survival;
- 3) adoption of the domination of the interests of society over the interests of an individual;
- 4) perception of power as the fundamental characteristic;
- 5) lack of faith in «higher powers» and life after death;
- 6) double standards for relatives and strangers.

The secondary features were the tendency to dominate; suspiciousness; perception of social justice as an equal distribution of both happiness and suffering; understanding democracy as a license for the reign of evil; longing for respect, not love or compassion, etc. (Mikheyev, 1987).

The American researcher Yinghong Cheng tried to derive the general formula of a «New Man» constructed in communist societies. The value of his work is undermined by his attempt to compare Soviet experiments with human identity to those conducted in the PRC and Socialist Cuba. The author treats the concept of the «new man» both metaphysically and empirically, tracing its roots back to the Age of Enlightenment with its ideas of progress and global changes in human nature. These theses have consequently evolved into a communist mutation. The comparative study of the Soviet, Chinese and Cuban regime proved that the «Soviet people», «good warriors of Mao» and «heirs of Che» were in fact the implementations of the same project (Cheng, 2009, p. 8–47).

In 2017, Maya Soboleva, a Marburg University researcher (Germany), published a synthesis of the «Soviet man» evolution history in terms of ethics. In her opinion, this process was non-linear, with three consequent qualitative stages to be defined:

- 1) 1930s – theoretical reflections on the nature of the «New Man»;
- 2) 1930 – 1950s – consolidation and development of the norm of Soviet morality;
- 3) 1960 – 1980s – transition from domination of ideology to moral theory and Marxist scientific ethics (Soboleva, 2017).

In our opinion, Soboleva's approach has considerably narrowed the scope of the «Soviet man» design project to the matter of Soviet philosophers' axiological ponderings. The totalitarian system influenced people not only through propaganda, but also through the wide range of economic, social, political, cultural and symbolic practices. To give but one example, considering 1930-ies, a period of most intense mass repressions and unprecedented social pressure, a mere phase of «theoretical consideration», means brutally ripping the «new identity» formation out of historical context.

The literal experiments on the human psyche in the USSR became the subject of attention in the works of the German scientist Volodymyr Velminskyi in 2017. He described the development of research in the field of electronics and psychology expected to have promoted the «new person» elimination. Velminsky's work is, in fact, not a coherent concept but a series of sketches on telepathy and hypnosis enthusiasts in the USSR: Oleksii Hastiev, Volodymyr Bekhtieriev, Ovanes Adamian, Velymyr Khliebnikov, Pavel Huliaiev and, of course, Anatolii Kashpirovskyi. The author failed to prove that these attempts had ever been practically used by mass propaganda; no influence on the human mind was proved as well (Velminski, 2017).

The psychological vision of a Soviet man was presented by American psychoanalyst E. Goldstein. In 1984, he summarized the results of professional communication with emigrants from the USSR and identified the main problems of their adaptation in the United States. The key challenge, according to Goldstein, was to change their set of values, specifically, their concepts of individual space, community, individual responsibility for one's own life (Goldstein, 1984).

In his work «Soviet Public Holidays», the German researcher Rolf Malte explores the way communist outlook was imposed on people through public events initiated by the regime. The author examines the Soviet public celebration scenery as a means of the «New Man» construction. The culture of public celebration never ceased to implement the patterns set by Stalinist regime even after Stalin's death in 1953. Among the innovations introduced by the post-Stalin era were regional and social diversification of public events and their further integration into the private human life. M. Rolf clearly demonstrated how the expansion of the ideology to the family and professional spheres had turned them into effective means of channelling communist ideas into public consciousness (Rolf, 2009).

Prof. Slava Herovych from Massachusetts Institute of Technology considered Soviet cosmonauts as ideal representatives of the generation of the «Soviet people» and their role in the social consciousness construction. He convincingly proved that the Soviet space program of the 1950 – 1960s served as a powerful means of inducing the masses into Communist ideology framework. The cosmonauts took the place of the «Chkalov Pilots» of the 1930s and were expected to embody the best features of the «builder of Communism». By comparing the status of Soviet cosmonauts and American astronauts, the researcher pointed out a significant number of interesting similarities in terms of technical training, public etiquette etc. (Gerovitch, 2007).

In terms of the Values History Studies, the problem of the «Soviet man» was explored by Western researchers in the context of post-Stalinist USSR, works by Ivor Wayne, Jan Feldman and Edward Cohn being front and center of the research process.

The first of the above-mentioned authors pioneered in the study of late Soviet values with his large-scale comparison of the USSR and the USA public views published in 1956. Based on the content analysis of the most popular magazines in both countries, he concluded that the Soviet system's idol was that of a committed worker loyal to the Party, while the American way of life exploited an idealized yet relevant to real life challenges image of a liberal American (Wayne, 1956).

In his seminal article published in 1989, Jan Feldman assessed the changes in Soviet public education policies during the «Perestroika». He noted that tolerance to the manifestations of individualism and personal initiative has considerably raised in comparison to the previous periods of the USSR history. At the same time, the preservation of the key communist values had made the author doubt the irreversible nature of the changes in social consciousness (Feldman, 1989).

The ambitious book of the American researcher Edward Cohn published in 2015 was focused on the methods of the AUCP-CPSU members upbringing from the late 1940-ies to the 1960-ies. The author considered the start of the «Khrushchev's Thaw» as a multidimensional reboot of the Soviet project, specifically, in the field of «correct outlook» imposing. The «light» version of values set took place of Stalin's dogmas, thus turning a devoted communist from social elite to mass phenomenon and replacing ideological indoctrination with mere «moralization». Numerous examples from the archival documents showed the ambiguity and

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complexity of the way the new version of communist values was introduced into society in the 1953 – 1965 (Cohn, 2015).

At the late 1990ies – early 2000s, the Western academic discourse had experienced the methodology crisis caused by the end of the Cold War and the «Archive Revolution» of the first years after the fall of the USSR. With the huge array of new sources introduced into the field, the old theoretical schemes demanded revision. The conversion to Identity History Studies proved to be one of the possible ways of adjusting the American and Western European research approaches to the call of the times. The idea was to reject the conventional assessment schemes in favor of treating Soviet citizens as the bearers of a certain identity. In her famous work «Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia», Sheila Fitzpatrick makes the first attempt to describe the «new Soviet people» in terms of self-identification practices. The author tends to revise the established scientific concept of Soviet society's class division. To her mind, such categories as «class,» «peasant,» «worker,» «intelligentsia,» «bourgeoisie» borrowed from and correlated to the Soviet sources, in fact never denoted the actual social status but rather squeezed it into the theoretical patterns of the Party's statistics. Numerous archival samples demonstrate the difference between the person's actual identity and his/her status in the Party documents (Ficpatrik, 2011).

Sh. Fitzpatrick gave a powerful impetus to the renewal of the Soviet history research. An evidence to that can be found in the collective monograph «Soviet and Post-Soviet identities» containing the concepts of the USSR self-identification practices developed by Ronald Suny (the ratio between Soviet and national identities), Andrew Jenks (Yuri Gagarin's cult), Catherine Kelly (mutual influence of religion and identity) (Bassin, Kelly, 2012).

Another variant of the response to the methodological crisis of the early 2000s was the establishment of a separate line in historiography: the history of Soviet subjectivity originating from Michel Foucault's ideas. The subjectivity is understood as: 1) a range of opportunities determining the personal world-view (Stephen Kotkin); 2) the way the person acts and thinks determined by a holistic self-image (Johan Helbeck); 3) the content of a person's outlook (Eric Nyman) (Pinskiy, 2018, p. 10–14).

One of the first works written about the late Soviet subjectivity was the study by Oleg Kharkhordin (University of Berkeley, USA) published in 1999. The author tried to find the answer to the possible contradictions between the Soviet collectivism and rapid raise of individualism determining the social picture of the 1990ies. Having conducted a retrospective analysis of identity development in the Russian culture, he turned to the Orthodox upbringing practices in the pre-Revolutionary Russia, and then to the Bolsheviks' contribution to these practices in 1920 – 1930ies. Based on the works of other USSR history researchers, O. Kharkhordin proved that the late Soviet intelligentsia had in fact inherited the upbringing practices implemented by Bolshevik elite in the interwar period (Kharkhordin, 1999, 2016).

Oleksandr Etkind, in his turn, tried to consider the category of Sowwor as one of the most outstanding features of those generations of intelligentsia that had managed to survive Stalin's repressions and to resume their creative activities in 1950–1960ies. The researcher employs the creative works of intelligentsia as a powerful sample of changes the fear of death could cause in human psychology, thus dooming the artists to painful and prolonged transformation of their world picture (Etkind, 2016).

Soviet people's common vision of the society they live in had become a focus of interest for the University of Berkley Anthropology professor Oleksiy Yurchak. His book «Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More» was inspired by a certain paradox in the



Soviet people's perception of the USSR: while expecting their state to last forever, they would at the same time be on standby alert in case it collapses. The author convincingly proves that such binaries as «state vs society», «coercion vs resistance», «official vs informal culture» fail to explain the actual world picture of an ordinary Soviet citizen. The main paradox of «Advanced Socialism» system laid in the fact that the accuracy of the official discourse reproduction raised proportionally to the changes in the system itself. Therefore, by deforming public consciousness, the Soviet elite would simultaneously erode the very basis of the system of total social control (Yurchak, 2005, 2014).

*Central European academic discourse*

The liberation from the control of the USSR of Central European countries created favourable conditions for the revival of critical studies of the communist society. The studios of the authors of the former socialist camp formed their own academic discourse based on the experience of the Soviet occupation of 1945 – 1990 and the subsequent transit to democracy.

Leszek Nowak – a well-known philosopher of the 1980s – tried to reveal the contradictions of social consciousness for socialism. Despite the generalizing title, his article dealt exclusively with the Polish experience of the death of socialism and the role of social consciousness in this process. The main contradictions defined by Nowak comprised the Polish United Labour Party's destruction due to another labor party («Solidarity») initiatives, and the wide dissemination of Catholic values by the church as a public institute that used to cooperate with the Government rather than with the society. Regrettably, Nowak failed to provide a solid factual background for his rather hypothetical ponderings (Nowak, 1992).

In 1995, the book «A Talk Between a Citizen and a Priest» was published by Polish scholars Adam Michnik and Jozef Tischner that summed up their reflections on the nature of the communist society. They sharply rejected the idea of the «Soviet man» as a victim of the totalitarian system. According to them, on the contrary, «homo soveticus» voluntarily renounced his own rights and freedoms, because they meant the burden of responsibility for their own decisions and actions. The rhetorical figures like «I was told». «I was not allowed to» were typical for this kind of personality (Michnik, Tischner, Żakowski, 1995, p. 593).

These theses were further developed by Jozef Tischner. To his mind, although the Soviet man was ideologically motivated, in fact, he was not a devoted communist, but rather a client of communism – i.e., the person controlled by the state and considering it at least normal and even desirable. The construction of «homo soveticus» identity was influenced by the following factors: work (the important thing was not the result of your work, but the process, participation in the activities of a certain group), authorities (taking responsibility for the decision; not necessarily likable but impossible to live without), self-assessment (confidence in its «normality», importance for society, expectations for the achievements to be recognized by the state via some symbolic actions or material praise). Similar values were shared to a greater or lesser extent by the whole society: «it is impossible to swim across the river of communism and not to get wet» (Tischner, 2005).

It should be noted that the general nature of the Soviet man phenomenon typical for the Communist society has caused debates in Central European academic circles. In his studies of totalitarian to democratic system transition, the sociologist Piotr Sztompka doubted the success of Communist social experiment. To his mind, at least three types of culture should be considered when dealing with USSR-like system:

- 1) Institutionalized culture of Plan Economy and totalitarian political system;
- 2) Folklore tradition developed through the centuries;

3) Modern Western culture emphasizing individualism, secularism, human rights and pluralism (Sztompka, 1996, 2000).

The official culture's influence, however powerful it was, shouldn't be overestimated for the sake of distorting the reality. It would be more reasonable to treat the results of the Soviet «New Man» project as those a) different from what the political elites expected; b) failing to disseminate the communist values to the extent presumed.

The philologist Joanna Korzeniewska-Berczynska analysed the phenomenon of the «Soviet man» in Russian and Polish journalism. The author tried to trace the genesis of the concept of «homo soveticus», the geography of its dissemination and the transformation of its meaning in the early 1990s. According to her observations, the concept of the «New Man» had emerged within the framework of the Soviet «anthropological Renaissance» with its aggressive propaganda of a superior everyman as a loyal group member totally devoted to the common idea, bearing no individual features and following AUCP canons. The essential features of this type of personality are:

1) passion for the notation and moralization, imposition of his own picture of the world combined with the understanding of his own dependence on the state: «we are slaves to the state, that's what we should all be»;

2) consumer psychology based on an interest in material goods;

3) escape from freedom – voluntary denial of rights and freedoms, unwilling to fight for them;

4) aggressive rejection of another point of view;

5) ability to survive under various historical conditions (Korzeniewska-Berczyńska, 1996).

Dorothy Pietrzyk-Reeves, a researcher from the Jagiellonian University, proposed an anthropological vision of the Soviet man. According to her, the communist system produced a one-dimensional (reference to G. Marcuse) type of person whose consciousness and thinking were simplified. With the world getting more and more complicated, such simplification led to the condition defined by D. Pietrzyk-Reeves as an anthropological mistake: the Communism formed a person unable to live in a modern world without Communism. Such dependency helped to control the population, but, on the other hand, imposed the burden of their provision on the state. This discrepancy has become the basis of the identity crisis in the Soviet-era society and subsequently led to the crisis and the collapse of the system itself (Pietrzyk-Reeves, 2010).

The University of Gdansk researcher Romuald Grzybowski highlighted the role taken by the Pioneer Movement in the process of the «New Man» creation. Having studied V. Lenin's and J. Stalin's pedagogical doctrines, he dated the final stage of «homo soveticus» formation back to the second half of the twentieth century. The political elites of the USSR strived to create a group-oriented workaholic loyal to the communist party. «The Soviet Man» would distinguish himself through total credence to the government and strong belief that the government takes care of common people (Grzybowski, 2018). It should be marked that the author's conclusions are based mostly on official Soviet public education documents. To our mind, the actual state of affairs was much more complicated that demands more complex research methods and diversified source bases.

Vileus Ivanauskas, a researcher at the Lithuanian Historical Institute, investigated the role of the Russian language in shaping the Soviet system of values among Lithuanians. He showed in detail that the spread of communism in the occupied Baltic republics meant, de facto, the planting of the Russian national project in the late Soviet version (Ivanauskas, 2007).

Elsa Kania, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences at the Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznan, Poland), continued the reflections of O. Zinoviev and Y. Tishner on the «Soviet

man.» The author critically revised the existing approaches to its definition in Polish and Russian scientific circles and emphasized such distinctive feature of Central European discourse as insisting upon the external nature of «homo soveticus» phenomenon imported to the region following the Soviet occupation. According to E. Kania, the term «Soviet man» was based exclusively on negative personality traits and would often distract the researchers from studying the actual identities of the second half of the 20th century, which were the synthesis of human self-identification, collective self-consciousness, existing system of values (Kania, 2012). To our mind, the author's remark is quite appropriate, since it outlines the cognitive value of the concept of «homo soveticus» in the study of the late Soviet history.

The Lithuanian experience of studying the communist type of personality drew attention of Laima Venkūskienė, a scholar at the History Department of the Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas, Lithuania). With the help of the local periodicals, she outlined the typical vision of the «Soviet man» as a «grey mediocrity» intimidated and assimilated by the mass. Under the Communist regime, any personal changes were treated not as a matter of external influence but rather as a certain disease caused by and progressing under totalitarian regime. It is worth mentioning that the article brings forth the correlation between the Sovietization and national identity, thus positioning «homo soveticus» as a «spiritual migrant» bearing weak connection to the territory of residence (Venclauskienė, 2016).

In 2014, the conference «Transferring the Soviet New Man: East Central and Southeast European Perspectives» held by the Babeş-Bolyai University (Cluj-Napoca, Romania) marked the interest in the topic and the further development of the regional academic discourse in the field (Transferring the Soviet New Man, 2014). The discussion concentrated mostly on various communist elites' attempts to adjust the «Soviet Man» concept to local traditions, on the influence Central European countries' social structure had upon these processes, on regional varieties of the Communist human type.

Wojciech Wozniak, a sociologist from the University of Lodz (Poland), investigated the «new Soviet man» discourse practices in the Polish society of the 1990s. He came to the unexpected conclusion that the term «homo soveticus» was often used to mark not only the devoted communists and their surroundings, but marginalized society groups as well. During the «shock therapy» these segments of society suffered most in social terms, however, the ruling elites neglected their interests, explaining the difficulties of the transition period «civilizational incompetence» of the «Soviet people.» The researcher quite reasonably called for the separation of the ideological commitment to communism and dissatisfaction with reforms during the transition to a market economy without reducing them exclusively to the concept of «homo soveticus» (Wozniak, 2005).

Zbigniew Wojnowski focused on the theme of identities in the USSR in 1945 – 1991. The author stood in solidarity with the views of Western researchers on the resumption of the Soviet project after 1953. According to him, the authorities perceived the national question as the important element of control over the population and became the participant of the construction of national identities. According to the plans of central elites of the USSR, they should have become «national in form, socialist in content». Such controlled, ethnically based identities should undermine regional, clan and religious identities and serve as the intermediate form to the unified «Soviet citizen» (Wojnowski, 2015).

Estonian linguists Martin Ehala and Anastasia Zabrodskaia studied the connection of the language issue with identities in the late USSR and after 1991. The key idea of their work was the assertion about the plurality of identities in the Soviet society which were formed

including those based on the language of communication. The Russian language served as a medium for the transmission of the Soviet version of culture and hence communist values (Zabrodskaia, Ehala, 2015).

**Conclusions.** Thus, the Western science has managed to construct an influential academic discourse around the «Soviet man» problem. The Western European and American researchers have focused primarily on general aspects of USSR citizens' consciousness transformations under the influence of the Communist ideology, thus shaping out the key methodological approaches to the «new man» phenomenon and coining a specific term, «homo soveticus», to designate it. At the same time, regional versions of the Soviet project aimed at public consciousness transformation, specifically the Ukrainian one, still lack thorough investigation.

Consequently, a focus upon primarily negative features of «homo soveticus» as a social anomaly induced by totalitarian regime has become a common denominator for the Eastern and Central European research discourse alongside with the emphasis on the external nature of values imported to the region following the Soviet occupation. At the same time, recent publications indicate a critical reconsideration of the term «Soviet Man» and attempt to go beyond the discursive frames set by the end of the twentieth century.

The significance of the approaches of Western and European historiography is the formulation of critical view on the artificial concept of «Soviet Man» and the utopian nature of its construction.

The prospect for further research is the comparison of Western, Soviet and Ukrainian discourses of the phenomenon of the «Soviet Man».

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**«TO PRESERVE IMPOSSIBLE TO DESTROY»: 1991 SOVIET UNION REFERENDUM ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS HOLDING IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the article is to analyze the political circumstances in which the preparation and holding of the Soviet Union referendum in 1991 on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR took place as prerequisites for the containment of disintegration processes in the Soviet Union and its preservation as a union state. To describe the actions of democratic forces to block the holding of a referendum on the territory of the republic, to investigate the efforts of the new political parties and the «People's Council» opposition parliamentary bloc, aimed at achieving political consensus with the communist majority of parliament and the conduct of the national plebiscite in the Ukrainian SSR as a means of protecting republican sovereignty. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systemicity, scientific objectivity, as well as the application of general scientific (analysis,*

synthesis, deduction, induction, generalization), so specialhistorical (problemhistorical, historicalsystemic, problem chronological, historical and typological) methods. **The research novelty** of the study is the attempt, for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, to consider the political processes that took place in the Ukrainian SSR around the March 1991 plebiscite on the reform of the Soviet Union, the signing of a new Union Treaty and the preservation of the Soviet regime, as well as to study the activities of the political forces of the republic to strengthen political and economic independence of the republic. **Conclusions.** In December 1990, the Soviet leadership, concerned about the sovereignty processes in the union republics, succeeded in political and legal measures aimed at reforming the state political structure of the USSR. The legal instrument that would legitimize the existence of a union state was the Soviet Union referendum in March 1991. The political transformations of Moscow Center caused a sharp political debate in the Ukrainian society between supporters of the preservation of the USSR and supporters of Ukraine's state independence. The proposed version of the Union Treaty by M. Gorbachev was strongly criticized by the anti-communist opposition and received full support from the Communist Party leadership. In order to defend their own political initiatives, democratic forces resorted to mass protests in the republic and the formation of a broad anti-Kremlin front at the All-Union level. Under the influence of democratic forces, the vector of public opinion in Ukraine gradually shifted towards supporting real sovereignty of the republic. Because of the opposition of the conservative part of the parliament, a democratic parliamentary opposition was unable to block the holding of a union referendum on the preservation of the «renewed federation» or to hold a poll in its place concerning the full state independence of Ukraine. In parliamentary polemics, a political compromise between the democratic forces and the «sovereign communist» part of the communist majority of parliament was achieved in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. Holding a parallel republican poll minimized the political and legal consequences of the results of the March referendum in 1991 for the political life of the republic. Despite the support of the majority of the referendum members for the idea of preserving the USSR, the results of the Republican plebiscite have shown the desire of Ukrainian society to increase the state status of the Ukrainian SSR.

**Key words:** Soviet Union, Soviet Union referendum, Union Treaty, sovereignty, «renewed federation», People's Council, parliamentary opposition.

### «ЗБЕРЕГТИ НЕ МОЖНА ЗРУЙНУВАТИ»: ВСЕСОЮЗНИЙ РЕФЕРЕНДУМ 1991 Р. ЩОДО ЗБЕРЕЖЕННЯ РАДЯНСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ І ЙОГО ПРОВЕДЕННЯ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ РСР

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати політичні обставини, за яких проходила підготовка і проведення Всесоюзного референдуму 1991 р. на території Української РСР як передумови для стримування дезинтеграційних процесів в Радянського Союзу і його збереження як союзної держави. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системності, наукової об'єктивності, а також застосуванні як загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, дедукція, індукція, узагальнення), так спеціально-історичних (проблемно-історичний, історично-системний, проблемно-хронологічний, історично-типологічний) методів. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у спробі вперше в українській історіографії розглянути політичні процеси, що відбувались в Українській РСР докола березневого плебісциту 1991 р. щодо реформування Радянського Союзу, підписання нового Союзного договору і збереження радянського режиму, а також дослідити заходи політичних сил республіки для зміцнення політичної і економічної самостійності республіки. **Висновки.** У грудні 1990 р. радянське керівництво, занепокоєне суверенізаційними процесами у союзних республіках, вдалось до політико-правових заходів, спрямованих на реформування державно-політичної структури СРСР. Юридичним інструментом, який би легітимізував існування союзної держави, мав стати березневий всесоюзний референдум 1991 р. Політичні трансформації московського Центру спричинили в українському суспільстві гостру політичну дискусію між прибічниками збереження СРСР і прихильниками державної незалежності України. Запропонований М. Горбачовим варіант Союзного договору зазнав різкої критики з боку антикомуністичної опозиції й отримав повну підтримку керівництва КПУ. Для відстоювання власних політичних ініціатив демократичні сили вдалась до масових акцій протесту в республіці й формування широкого



антикремлівського фронту на всесоюзному рівні. Під впливом демократичних сил вектор громадської думки в Україні поступово зміщувався у напрямку підтримки реального республіканського суверенітету. Через протидію консервативного крила парламенту демократична парламентська опозиція не змогла заблокувати проведення союзного референдуму щодо збереження «оновленої федерації», або провести замість нього опитування щодо повної державної незалежності України. У ході парламентської полеміки у Верховній Раді України було досягнуто політичний компроміс між демократичними силами і «суверен-комуністичним» крилом комуністичної більшості парламенту. Проведення паралельно республіканського опитування мінімізувало політико-правові наслідки результатів березневого референдуму 1991 р. для політичного життя республіки. Незважаючи на підтримку більшістю учасників референдуму ідеї збереження СРСР, результати республіканського плебісциту засвідчили прагнення українського суспільства до підвищення державного статусу Української РСР.

**Ключові слова:** Радянський Союз, всесоюзний референдум, Союзний договір, суверенітет, «оновлена федерація», Народна Рада, парламентська опозиція.

**Problem statement.** In December 1990, the Soviet leadership, concerned about the measures of the national republics to improve their state legal status, took decisive steps to curb disintegration processes and create the preconditions for reforming the Union state. The Fourth Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR adopted a constitutional and legal reform, which transformed the Soviet Union into a «renewed federation of equal republics», and appointed a referendum on the future of the Soviet Union (Ob obeshchei kontseptsyy, 1990, p. 3). On 16 January 1991, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR included question in the bulletin for a secret ballot on a referendum the, «Do you consider it necessary to preserve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics, in which the rights and freedoms of a person of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?» The referendum was scheduled for 17 March 1991. These decisions of the Union deputies sharply aggravated the political debate in the Ukrainian society regarding the state prospects of the Union, which soon formed the form of a protracted confrontation between the supporters of the preservation of the Union in the virtually unchanged form and supporters of the real realization of sovereign rights by the republic.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** Nowadays in Ukrainian historiography there are no studies devoted to the analysis of political and legal aspects of the preparation and holding of the Soviet Union referendum in 1991 on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. A number of fundamental scientific works on the history of Perestroika relate mainly to the analysis of the general political processes of the republic's social life in 1988–1991. Some tendencies in the development of the political situation in the country on the eve of the popular plebiscite and the republican poll were highlighted in the monographs of O. Haran (Haran, 1993) V. Lytvyn (Lytvyn, 1994), O. Boiko (Boiko, 2002). In the works of M. Mykhalchenko and V. Andrushchenko (Mykhalchenko, Andrushchenko, 1996), T. Batenko (Batenko, 1996), V. Derevynskyi (Derevynskyi, 2011), written in the genre of political biography, where against the background of political activity of L. Kravchuk, B. Horyn and V. Chornovil, separate pages of the political confrontation of the party and democratic forces concerning the transformation of the national state system of the union state and strengthening of the sovereignty of the republic are considered. The regional aspects of the activities of the opposition forces during the referendum period are most widely reflected in the monographs of O. Muravskyi (Muravskyi, 2011) and F. Turchenko (Turchenko, 2009).

**The publication's purpose** is to analyze the political circumstances in which the preparation and holding of the Soviet Union referendum in 1991 on the territory of the

Ukrainian SSR took place as prerequisites for the containment of disintegration processes in the Soviet Union and its preservation as a union state.

**Statement of the basic material.** In January-March 1991, both in Ukrainian society and in the republican parliament, there was a heated debate about two issues: the draft of the new Union Treaty and the Soviet Union referendum.

The draft of the new Union Treaty (the so-called presidential version of 25 November 1990) (Soyuznyi dogovor, 1990, p. 1–2) actually kept the same powers of the Union Center that it had during the period of undivided domination of the administrative command system. The proposed draft of the Treaty and the question put forward at the referendum were unconditionally supported by the leaders of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the conservative communist majority of the Verkhovna Rada (Hurenko, 1991, p. 1–2). One of its leaders, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CC CPU) Anatolii Savchenko, declared, «The Union Treaty is a key prerequisite for the realization of the interests of the republic development. Except for the reactionaries and obscurantisms, no one in the world wants to weaken the USSR» (Savchenko, 1991, p. 7). The direction of the leadership of the CPU to Moscow Kremlin on the future of the Union State was subsequently confirmed by the Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada Leonid Kravchuk, «Hurenko (the first secretary of the CC CPU – *Author's note*) tended to a rigid scheme that included the same Soviet Union, only slightly painted and with a different name» (Kravchuk, 2002, p. 80).

The variant of the Union Treaty proposed by M. Gorbachev was strongly criticized by the anti-communist opposition, since almost all of its legal norms contradicted the Declaration on State Sovereignty (adopted on 16 July 1990 – *Author's note*). Representatives of the Democratic Politics subjected to reasoned criticism all the main provisions of the Union Treaty draft concerning the prospects of state, economic and legal or military construction, as well as the relations between the subjects of the future federation and the participation of the republics of the Union in international relations.

The legal instrument, which, according to Moscow plan, would legitimize the preservation of the union state and would confirm the Kremlin variant of the Union Treaty, was to be the Soviet Union referendum (Pro orhanizatsiiu i zakhody, 1991, p. 79).

Strongly denying the idea of a referendum, the democratic community underlined its legal insolvency and emphasized the fact that the Ukrainian side did not participate in the preparation of the Union Treaty draft or in the process of its approval. «The very fact of holding a referendum without coordination with the republics is disrespect for them. The Center looks at us as vassals», emphasized Oleksandr Yemets, chairman of the Commission on Human Rights (Yemets, 1991, p. 2). Deputy Speaker of the People's Movement of Ukraine Mykola Porovskiy sharply spoke out against the referendum, who stated, «The referendum is an attempt by the Center to impose republics and peoples not only an old but a worse version of the unitary empire» (Porovskiy, 1991, p. 89).

In their numerous speeches at the session and at the sessions of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, deputies from the non-communist minority, argued the legal unlawfulness of a referendum. Deputies V. Shyshkin, I. Zaiats, V. Nosov and others stated that the issue of the referendum artificially united a number of problems, in particular, the preservation of the «renewed federation» and the guarantee of human rights and freedoms, in order to achieve the result acceptable to the Kremlin leadership. The conclusions were also agreed by the head of the parliament L. Kravchuk, who stated, «Previously, I had a conversation with the deputies Kotsuba, Shyshkin, Nosov. ... I could not refute their legal evidence. I did not succeed!» (Kravchuk, 1991, p. 17).

Not being able to block the holding of the Soviet Union referendum on the preservation of the «renewed federation» (this was done by the parliaments of the three republics of the Baltic, Armenia, Georgia and Moldova) because of opposition from the conservative part of the parliament, or to hold polls on the full state independence of Ukraine (the latter was proposed by people's deputies, and at the same time, by the leaders of opposition parties and organizations Levko Lukianenko, Viacheslav Chornovil, Stepan Khmara, etc.), a non-communist minority in parliament was forced to seek political maneuver, which would level out, or at least minimize the political and legal implications of the projected victory of the Center, and keep the chance to continue the struggle for independence of Ukraine.

In this situation, the only possible option was to reach a compromise with separate deputies from the communist majority of the parliament (the so-called «sovereign communists» – *Author's note*), who also did not suit the version of the Gorbachev project, which, according to L. Kravchuk, «gave us the status of novices». The manifestation of the parliamentary compromise could have become a variant of the referendum question that was prepared by the leadership of the Verkhovna Rada. Thus, according to the suggestion of the Presidium, citizens had to make a choice between the «renewed federation» and the «Union of Soviet sovereign states»; however, this project did not find approval from the deputies. The attempt to «stamp» the initiative of the Center in the parliament failed, and the communists, orthodox from the pro-Kremlin group «For Soviet sovereign Ukraine», actively called for it, and they lacked enough votes. However, this time the «sovereign communist» fraction of this group declined to give legitimacy to the Union referendum on the territory of the republic. Such political games could testify to only one thing: in the ranks of the parliamentary majority there was a split regarding the future status of the republic as part of the «renewed» USSR.

A compromise formula for the direct expression of the will of the people proposed by the People's Council (Pavlenko, 1991, p. 2), the parliamentary opposition bloc, and which was finally adopted by the Verkhovna Rada, a proposal was made to conduct a national poll in parallel with the Union referendum on the transformation of the USSR into the «Union of Soviet sovereign states on the principles of the Declaration on State Sovereignty» (Pro provedennia referendumu, 1991, p. 129). Arguing this decision of the Verkhovna Rada L. Kravchuk declared, «There is their right, there is our right. There is a war of laws. ... Therefore, we should not interfere in the formulation of that bulletin (Union one – *Author's note*). But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that our sovereign rights are violated and they do not want to take us into account» (Kravchuk, 1991, p. 17).

The bulletin, approved by the Verkhovna Rada, stated, «Do you agree that Ukraine should be part of the Union of Soviet Sovereign States on the principles of the Declaration on State Sovereignty?» That is, if the Soviet Union referendum was to determine whether the USSR was to be a «renewed federation», then the Republican poll should give an answer to which Ukraine sees the future Union Treaty.

The questions put to the referendum and the nationwide poll caused a sharp political debate in the republic, simultaneously highlighting their ambiguous perception in the opposition camp. If the opposition's reaction to the «Gorbachev» bulletin was consolidated, then the decision to hold the republican plebiscite became a «stumbling block» and revealed serious contradictions in the state of the opposition political apparatus. Thus, the head of the Ukrainian Republican Party L. Lukianenko suggested not supporting any formulation, or boycott the referendum. The head of the URP faction in the parliament believed that the figures in the referendum were only indicators of the mood of the population and called for demonstrating that «among these sentiments there is

also one that demands full independence of Ukraine», therefore, the referendum boycott would be the best solution (Lukianenko, 1991, p. 3). The leader of the Radical fraction in the parliament, S. Khmara, also called for a «boycott of the referendum on imperial treaty» and an indefinite political strike.

The head of Lviv Regional Council, V. Chornovil, who did not support the issue of the republican bulletin, and at the same time proposed to hold regional plebiscite and to invite citizens to support the idea of complete state independence of Ukraine, took a realistic position. The initiative of the chairman of Lviv deputies was supported by the delegates of the Galician Assembly – a body set up to coordinate the activities of the Councils of the three Western regions of the republic (Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine – CSAPO of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 32, c. 2899, p. 114). However, a people's deputy from Rivne region V. Chervonii expressed warning about the initiative of the Galician resident, «An additional Galician bulletin is not necessary... In Volyn, I'm not talking about the Great Ukraine, this idea will not find a support» (CSAPO of Ukraine, f. 1, d. 32, c. 2899, p. 108).

The Democratic Party of Ukraine also offered citizens to answer «No» to the question of the union bulletin. At the same time, the Democrats noted that inevitable transitional period was necessary to achieve state independence; therefore they supported the idea of the Commonwealth of Independent States as a new formation on the USSR and called for the approval of the Republican Initiative (Zaiava Demokratychnoi partii Ukrainy, 1991, p. 2). A similar argument and the identical answer to all questions were proposed by the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine (Referendum, 1991, p. 1). Also the faction of non-partisans in the People's Council expressed its position. Members of the faction appealed to the referendum participants to leave «No» in the Moscow bulletin and approve the issue of the Verkhovna Rada bulletin. «The answer «Yes» in the Ukrainian bulletin», as it was noted in the appeal of the faction, «completely does not guarantee Ukrainian statehood, but opens the way to it and gives us a chance ... to fight Ukraine as a state» (Yak holosuvaly, 1991, p. 1).

The outcome of the broad political debate in the republic was summed up by the parliamentary opposition coalition, which, on the eve of the referendum, adopted a consolidated statement and called for «No» to be answered to the «unitary state» under the guise of the «renewed federation», and proposed «to support the idea of a sovereign states community in which our republic could continue to fight for complete independence» (Zvernennia, 1991, p. 2).

For organizational agitation preparation of democratic forces for a referendum, a number of public organizations and political parties the Committee «Referendum: Sovereign Ukraine» was created on 19 February 1991. The Committee included the Party of the Democratic Revival of Ukraine (PDRU), the Democratic Party of Ukraine (DemPU), the People's Movement of Ukraine (PMU), the Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society, the Green Party of Ukraine (GPU), the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP), the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (SDPU), Ukrainian society «Memorial», etc. O. Yemets was elected Chairman of the Committee. In its statement, the Committee noted, «Preservation of the USSR as a renewed federation may mean: preservation of the current «equal» disability of the republics; preservation of the current, but somewhat renewed, totalitarian administrative command system; the use of military force against republics which do not want to be in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics», and strongly called on Ukrainian citizens to say «No» to the question of the All-Union Parliament (Zaiava Komitetu, 1991, p. 2).

In an effort to secure the widest public support of their demands, the opposition acted as the initiator and organizer of numerous rallies, demonstrations and pickets, the motto of which was the slogan «Union – No!» On 10 and 16 March 1991, in many cities of Ukraine, there

were political actions «No» – to the question of the Union referendum». In order to explain the position of the people's opposition on the future will of the citizens, numerous propaganda and information groups conducted mass events, which called for the rejection of the question of the Soviet Union referendum and support the formulation of the republican parliament. In particular, on 9 March 1991, rallies organized by the Democratic Odesa bloc in the oblast center and Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy took place, in which people's deputy O. Yemets spoke (Yemets, 1991, p. 54). People's deputies participated in similar rallies: V. Filenko – in Kharkiv, V. Kolinets and L. Horokhivskiy – in Ternopil, M. Holubets – in Kremenets, M. Porovskiy – in Rivne region.

The scale of the protest actions of the opposition caused a great concern to the leadership of the Communist Party. In his speech on television, the leader of the Ukrainian Communists, S. Hurenko, said, «The distinction between supporters and opponents of the preservation of our multinational state is becoming clearer. Many citizens have not yet been determined. It is for this part of the population that is targeted at various kinds of political actions, that, in recent times, are held by those who are trying to tear Ukraine away from the Union» (Hurenko, 1991, p. 3). As countermeasures against opposition rallies, the Communist Party of Ukraine proposed to the communists of Ukraine, Russia and Belarus to hold a joint action «Unity». At the same time, the Communist Party regional committees received instructions to organize rallies in support of the Center's initiatives, in particular under the slogans «For Unity and Civic Consent, the Integrity of the USSR» (State Archive of Kharkiv Region – SAKhR, f. P. 2, d. 207, c. 722, p. 7–8, 11).

Thus, the Soviet Union referendum on the future of the USSR took place on the wake of a political confrontation in the republic, which, however, not only affected the participants, but most likely, increased the participation of society in the poll. Altogether 31.5 million people came to the referendum on polling station, which was 83.5% of the number of voters included in the lists. 70.2% of them voted for the preservation of the Union as a renewed federation (76.4% in the USSR). Residents of different regions of the republic reacted diametrically opposite to the question of the bulletin. So, if 85–88% of voters voted in the Donetsk, Luhansk, Mykolaiv, Crimean regions, for the preservation of the Union, then in the west of the republic (in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions) only 16–19% supported the preservation of the «unified and indivisible» USSR. The residents' opinion of the Ukrainian capital was distributed almost equally, however, the majority wanted changes in the Soviet state political structure, and therefore only 44.6% of Kyivans supported the proposal of Moscow Center. The Republican poll found much more supporters among the inhabitants of the republic, since 80.17% of the citizens who participated in the voting voted for broader sovereign rights of the Ukrainian SSR (Central State Archive of the Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine – CSAHAA of Ukraine, Kyiv, f. 1, d. 28, c. 120, p. 5). Only in Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk regions the majority voted «against», since local political forces focused on the full state independence of the republic. The results of the local poll in three Halych regions were fully predictable – 88.0% of the inhabitants of the region voted for the independent status of Ukraine (Protokol zasidannia, 1991, p. 1).

Prejudging comments from Moscow on the results of the referendum, well-known Ukrainian scholars, lawyers and scientific organizations stated in the press about the legal, logical failure of the referendum issues, their political tendentiousness. «Question of the Soviet Union referendum cannot be considered sociologically correct, and the received answers – reliable», this is exactly the conclusion from the analysis of the results of the referendum made by the Group of sociological research led by prof. V. Ossovskyi.

In assessing the results of people's will, representatives of two political camps differed in their emphasis. Again, as after the March 1990 elections, both the opposition and the ruling party

considered the results of the referendum as their victory. The Democratic community claimed that the Republican poll crosses the results of the union bulletin. In turn, the secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine S. Hurenko hastened to declare that «during the referendum the idea of the Union won» (Dmytrenko, 1991, p. 1). The Republican sovereignty of the communist leader saw no attributes of self-government, in particular, the national army or Ukrainian money, since «neither one nor the other determined the main direction of solving urgent socio economic problems» (Hurenko, 1991, p. 1). The essence of the current moment was rather thinly outlined by People's Deputy O. Suhoniako, «Politically, if desired, the results of the referendum can be interpreted arbitrarily: both as Gorbachev's support, both as a support of Kravchuk, and as support for the independence. But their essence lies in the fact that they are ambiguous, as the ambiguous situation in the empire itself. And this ambiguity cannot be held on for a long time: either the center will suppress national liberation movements by force, or an organized, agreed upon republics, dismantling of the empire should take place. There is chaos in the middle» (Suhoniako, 1991, p. 3).

It was precisely around the issue of the referendum and the Union Treaty that the final dividing of the two main parts in the Communist Party was completed: «orthodox» (conservative) and «sovereign communist» («national communist»). Subsequently L. Kravchuk recalled that at the turn of the 1990s «a group of people who sought greater political independence for Ukraine was formed in the depths of the Communist Party of Ukraine. And the number of those tired of «younger brothers» feeling, the silent performers of another's will, was imperceptibly, but steadily growing» (Kravchuk, 2002, p. 55). Gradually, part of the party state establishment, on the one hand, as a result of national democratic processes, aroused the awakening of political consciousness on the one hand, and on the other, under the influence of sovereignty steps of other republics, in particular, Russia, a sense of «republican secrecy» was formed. Thinking of the tendencies of weakening the Center, and having felt the «taste of power», the republican state party apparatus sought to secure as much freedom as possible in accepting initially administrative and subsequently political decisions (Kuzo, 1994, pp. 32–33). This was done by party soviet leaders of all levels, under certain conditions, potential allies of democratic forces in ensuring the sovereignty of the republic. The exact nature of this interdependence, referring to the deputies of the People's Council, was defined by O. Moroz, «The situation will force us to cooperate, because the contradictions concerning Ukraine's sovereignty will be strengthened, they will demand that the communists be not only internationalists, and the anti-communists to re-examine their intentions» (Moroz, 1993, p. 73).

Although, in general, the participants of the Soviet Union referendum in Ukraine supported the idea of the «renewed Union», but the positive answer to the question of a republican consultative poll (on joining the Union on the basis of the Declaration on State Sovereignty), confirmed the desire of the absolute majority of the inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR to increase the state legal status of the republic. The results of the referendum provided the Ukrainian leadership with a broad field for political maneuver in relations with Moscow Center, and in particular, allowed to postpone the final decision on signing a new Union Treaty, which envisaged the creation of a unified federal state.

**Conclusions.** In December 1990, the Soviet leadership, concerned about the sovereignty processes in the Union republics, managed political and legal measures aimed at reforming the state political structure of the USSR. In order to determine the parameters of the device of the «renewed Union», a draft of the new Union Treaty was prepared. The Soviet Union referendum should have become a legal instrument that would legitimize the existence of both Soviet power and the Union state itself. The political transformations of Moscow Center led to a sharp

political debate in the Ukrainian society between supporters of the preservation of the Soviet Union in a virtually unaltered form and supporters of Ukraine's status as a state. The proposed version of the Union Treaty by M. Gorbachev was strongly criticized by the anti-communist opposition and received full support from the Communist Party leadership. The democratic community stressed the non-participation of the Ukrainian side in the process of drafting the Union Treaty and argued the legal inability of the forthcoming referendum. Under the influence of democratic forces, the vector of public opinion in Ukraine has gradually shifted towards supporting real sovereignty of the republic. In order to defend their own political initiatives, the popular opposition has resorted to mass protests in the republic and the formation of a broad anti-Kremlin front on the all-Union level. In the opposition political environment there were different approaches to tactics of action during the Soviet Union referendum and the Republican poll offered by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR. The elaboration by the democratic forces of a consolidated position on the political dilemmas that the March plebiscite had to resolve drew up a significant part of its participants in support of Ukraine's state prospects. The achievements of the same political compromise between the «sovereign communist» part of the Verkhovna Rada and the democratic parliamentary bloc minimized the political and legal consequences of the results of the March referendum in 1991 and laid the foundation for further struggle for the sovereign status of Ukraine.

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**HISTORICAL MEMORY ABOUT SECOND WORLD WAR  
IN THE CONTEXT OF THREATS OF GOVERNMENT IN UKRAINE**

**Summary.** *The aim of the research* – the character of the Second World war historical memory formation in Ukrainian society and its influence on the process of the state building in Ukraine was determined. **The research methodology is based** on the principles of historicism, the objectivity of systematic, scientific, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, scientific abstraction) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-system) methods and methods of political science (behavioral, cultural, anthropological). **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography, on the basis of analysis of the content of scientific and individual journalistic publications, the means of forming historical memory of the Second World War in Ukrainian society are determined, the influence of formation of such historical memory on the process of modern Ukrainian state formation is determined. **Conclusions.** On the eve of and during the Second World War, the attainment of the goals by the belligerent parties involved massive manipulation of ethnic values, historical memory. Founded on the basis of mobilization of people in the war, such manipulations inevitably influenced the nature of the organization of propaganda campaigns, and eventually and coverage of the researchers of the events of the war. Formed predominantly in the winner's camp, the results of manipulations by the consciousness of citizens for a long time «traveled» with scientific works in the form of dies. Their generation was most often driven by ideas about civil obligations, the assessment of the goals and nature of the fighting and the role of individual countries in its rebellion, as well as the allied relations between the countries participating in the war. In view of this, the assessments of the Ukrainian population's participation in the Second World War were largely conditioned by the inclusion of its lands in different states (and, consequently, the difference in the assessment of civil obligations), the change in the alliance's priorities of the USSR and Germany during the war and the specifics of the views of senior management. It is these states about the goals and objectives of ethnopolitics. The policy of memory of the Second World War until recently was used by the Russian Federation as an obstacle to the development of Ukrainian statehood, as well as a means of mobilizing part of

Russian citizens to conduct hostilities in Ukraine. In addition, in Ukraine, the memory of the war as a tragedy of mankind, which must be avoided in the future, is being formed.

Reforming the policy of memory in relation to the Second World War in Ukraine is taking place in the framework of European integration and integration into the world community. Instead, in Russia, the policy of memory is increasingly associated with the sacrifice of Victory, with the simultaneous rejection of any alternative assessments of events of the time that was characteristic of the Soviet Union. Ukraine gradually departs from the Soviet modeling of historical memory of the Second World War. Instead, the RF is actively using manipulations with historical memory to strengthen its position in the informational confrontation with Ukraine and to unite its own people around the idea of «Russian peace».

**Key words:** historical memory, Ukraine, the Second World war, hybrid war, the policy of memory.

## ІСТОРИЧНА ПАМ'ЯТЬ ПРО ДРУГУ СВІТОВУ ВІЙНУ У КОНТЕКСТІ ЗАГРОЗ ДЕРЖАВОТВОРЕННЮ В УКРАЇНІ

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – визначити характер формування історичної пам'яті про Другу світову війну в українському суспільстві та його вплив на процес державотворення в Україні. **Методологія дослідження** заснована на принципах історизму, об'єктивності системності, науковості, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, наукова абстракція) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів і методів політичної науки (біхевіористичний, культурологічний, антропологічний). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії на основі аналізу контенту наукових та окремих публіцистичних публікацій визначено засоби формування історичної пам'яті про Другу світову війну в українському суспільстві, визначено вплив формування такої історичної пам'яті на процес сучасного українського державотворення. **Висновки.** Напередодні та у ході Другої світової війни досягнення цілей воюючими сторонами передбачало масштабні маніпуляції етнічними цінностями, історичною пам'яттю. Закладені в основі мобілізації людей на війну, подібні маніпуляції неминуче впливали на характер організації пропагандистських кампаній, а з часом і на висвітлення дослідниками подій війни. Сформовані переважно у таборі переможців результати маніпуляцій свідомістю громадян тривалий час «мандрували» науковими працями у вигляді штампів. Їх породження найчастіше зумовлювалося уявленнями про громадянські обов'язки, оцінками цілей і характеру бойових дій та ролі окремих країн у її розпалюванні, а також союзницьких стосунків між країнами-учасниками війни. З огляду на це оцінки участі населення України у Другій світовій війні багато в чому зумовлювалися включенням її земель до складу різних держав (і, відповідно, різницею оцінок громадянських обов'язків), зміною союзницьких пріоритетів СРСР та Німеччини у ході війни та специфікою уявлень вищого керівництва саме цих держав про цілі і завдання етнополітики. Політика пам'яті про Другу світову війну і досі використовується Російською Федерацією як перешкода на шляху розбудови Української державності, так і засіб мобілізації частини громадян Росії на ведення бойових дій в Україні. Водночас, в Україні формується пам'ять про війну як про трагедію людства, яку необхідно уникати у майбутньому.

Переформатування політики пам'яті щодо Другої світової війни в Україні відбувається у руслі євроінтеграції та інтеграції до світового співтовариства. Натомість в РФ політика пам'яті все більше пов'язується із сакралізацією Перемоги із одночасним відкиданням будь-яких альтернативних оцінок тогочасних подій, що було характерним ще для Радянського Союзу. Україна поступово відходить від радянського моделювання історичної пам'яті про Другу світову війну. Натомість РФ активно використовує маніпуляції із історичною пам'яттю як для посилення своєї позиції у інформаційному протистоянні із Україною, так і для згуртування власного населення навколо ідеї «руського міра».

**Ключові слова:** історична пам'ять, Україна, Друга світова війна, гібридна війна, політика пам'яті.

**Problem statement.** State-building is a complex long-term process aimed at creating and building a state, which, among other things, includes the formation of a policy of memory. The policy of memory is focused on the definition of historical events as the dominant and the

characteristics of such events in accordance with the goals and objectives arising from the need for consolidation of society. The process of historical memory formation in the modern world is closely linked with interstate relations and quite often represents an arena of confrontation around the assessments of historical facts, events, phenomena, etc. The influence of the policy of memory on patriotic education determines the social significance of such confrontation.

The geopolitical location of Ukraine on bipartite civilizations has determined the severity of the confrontation between European and Russian identities due to a number of political and economic factors. A significant place in the preservation and transfer of historical memory has taken place in relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, which inevitably influenced the process of state building of both countries. The peculiarities of the historical development of Russia and Ukraine have caused the Russian Federation to pay special attention to the policy in the sphere of Ukrainian historical memory formation.

After the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine began to build its own policy of memory, proceeding from the goals of the state's national security. At the same time, the collapse of the Soviet Union was painfully perceived in the territory of the Russian Federation. Part of the senior leadership of this state considered the collapse of the Soviet Union as one of the most tragic pages of the twentieth century history. The strengthening of imperial ambitions of the Kremlin has determined the growth of various forms of pressure on Ukraine by the Russian Federation. One of the means of such pressure was the so-called historical policy, focused on the formation of pro-Russian views in Ukrainian society.

The Second World War takes in Russian historical consciousness an extremely important place. Therefore, the «battle for brains» in this fundamental question had not only an «abstract» character, but always had a political significance (Senyavskiy, Senyavskaya, 2009, p. 301).

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** As a source of research, the content of publications that was published, the authors of which covered the events of the Second World War, influencing the formation of historical memory of the Ukrainian population. In addition, the source of the research was the legal acts in the sphere of state policy of memory, adopted in Ukraine and the Russian Federation, as well as the materials of statistical research, the content of public statements by politicians, and individual publications in the periodical. Which to some extent reflect whether they influenced the formation of historical memory in Ukrainian society.

**The publication's purpose.** The historical memory formation about the Second World War character in Ukrainian society and its influence on the State-building process in Ukraine.

**Statement of the basic material.** An important means of external influence on Ukrainian society was the formation of historical memory of the Second World War with the use of appropriate content. It was on the basis of the «analysis» of the events of this war that the «proof» of the spread of «popular opposition to the enemy» (without analyzing the causes and nature of the collaboration). Other examples are «the sudden attack of Germany and the USSR», «betrayal by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists of the interests of their own people» in the framework of Soviet discourse, or «the split of Ukrainian society» as a result of the «fascisation of Ukraine» within the framework of Russian-centric discourse.

Specifics of the Second World War as «the place of memory», the process of formation of collective memory of war, etc. provided a wide field for manipulations with historical memory. According to P. Nora, «places of memory» are «remnants» of the past, but besides «memory places» – are «an extreme form in which there is a comorbid consciousness in history that simultaneously ignores and needs it». P. Nora noted that «places of memory»

are a past that is lost by us, but still lives in the consciousness of a social group, but may disappear forever, namely, the «memory of location» will turn into a story that will no longer be supported collective memory (Nora, 1999, p. 26).

The myth making from the history of the Second World War in the context of the long neglect of the so-called oral history during the period of the USSR's existence was including various things. The attempts to unbiased analysis of the events of that time in the writings of Ukrainian post-Soviet historians, adjusting the assessments of the events of the war depending on the interests of the political elite at various times. In addition, the efforts of political technologists to artificially create «the places of memory» were closely intertwined in the discourse on the Second World War and had a significant impact on Ukrainian society.

The Second World War was the most massive military conflict that mankind knew – has caused enormous human casualties, material losses, as well as a territorial division of the world in favor of the winners. The ability of the Second World War, as a place of memory, to preserve the memory of large groups of people proved to be extremely stable. At the same time, ambiguous perception (both objectively formed and artificially imposed) of parts of events and phenomena associated with the war has formed a vast field for manipulation with historical memory.

Perhaps the most critical change was the formation of a memory of the war in the USSR, whose army acted as an ally of the Wehrmacht in the war against Poland, with great difficulty won in the Soviet-Finnish war, and then suffered many devastating defeats in the beginning of the German-Soviet war. Moreover, the use of parts of the Red Army during 1939 – 1941 was determined by secret Soviet-German agreements.

The analysis of military action by theaters during the Second World War was common in Western historiography. However, Soviet historians tried to falsify the participation of the USSR in the war during the 1939 – 1941, when the Soviet Union was actually an ally of Germany. Recognition of this fact would be contrary to the formation of ideas about the USSR as a consistent fighter against fascism. In addition, the emphasis of Soviet historiography on the German-Soviet confrontation was to suppress close cooperation not only at the beginning of the Second World War, but at also during the 1920s – 1930s when there were several powerful training centers for the German army in the USSR.

The presence of the USSR in the camp of winners dictated the need for the formation of memory not about German-Soviet cooperation, but about the German-Soviet confrontation. This was one of the important reasons for the definition of the German-Soviet war as the «Great Patriotic War», with the formation of the memory of the Second World War through the prism of determining the causes and analysis of hostilities as «Great Patriotic War». The consequences of the confrontation were predominantly given in the context of the analysis of the victory over fascism or Nazism, which contributed to focusing attention on the German-Soviet war and pushed aside the opposition to other theaters of hostilities. In the Soviet historiography, the USSR's stay in the victor's camp was as great as just the myth about «victory in the war with Germany» and «economic victory of socialism» despite the large-scale assistance of the Allies to the anti-Hitler coalition.

At the same time, thanks to the ideological confrontation of the 1980s and 1990s, the USSR, and then its descendant – the Russian Federation) – found themselves in moral isolation, manifested in the deliberate diminution of the role of the Soviet Armed Forces in the events of 1939 – 1945 (Lysenko, 2011, p. 10). Therefore, for the Soviet leadership in principle it was important to form an idea of the German-Soviet front as a one-on-one confrontation in the

war, where the Red Army played a decisive role in winning the Victory. As early as March 1943, US ambassador to Moscow U. Stanley noted at a press conference that the Russian authorities want to hide the receipt of assistance from the outside apparently in order to convince their people that the Red Army is fighting alone. Perhaps such a mythologization was needed not only to «explain the past» (to prove the necessity of existence and advantages of the command economy, collective farms, etc.), but also in order to mobilize the population of the country for the future. At least until the death of Stalin, the question of the possibility of a new world war was considered, and only after it, the Soviet leaders declared the readiness and opportunity to negotiate with the capitalist countries on all contentious issues.

In this context, it is important that the participation of the USSR in the war against Germany in the world was generally perceived as a «Russian war against the Germans» (Vert, 1967, p. 774; Deyton, 2000, p. 688). This was one of the factors contributing to the glorification of the participation of Russians in the war, which, accordingly, influenced the formation of ideas about the resistance of the enemy of the peoples of the USSR, headed by the «great Russian people». It was the German-Soviet war, and not as predicted by the Soviet-German strain, led to the rejection of the idea of confronting world capitalism through a victorious war on the enemy's territory.

The conditional motives caused by defeats on the front lines of the war forced the appeal of the ideological weapon, Pan-Slavism, which, in particular, was based on a thesis on the exclusiveness of the historical development of the Slavic peoples, which had been tested in the time of the Russian Empire existence.

In August 1941, the First All-Slavic Congress was held in Moscow. Among its organizers were many outstanding writers, scholars, artists from the Slavic states and the republics of the USSR. The congress called for a Slavic cultural association and cooperation. At the same time, Pan-Slavism was also a means of increasing influence in the postwar Central and Southeastern Europe. But the ideas of pan-Slavism, however, looked rather pale at the background of the Polish government's struggle to emigrate or participate in the war on Germany's side. Therefore, against the backdrop of Pan-Slavism, the glorification of the Russian factor gradually became increasingly apparent and the need to unite all forces to repel the enemy. However, there were other reasons that forced the Soviet leadership to resort to such a glorification (Messendzher, 1957, p. 679; Zelmayer, 1957, p. 539).

One of these reasons was the ambiguous position of the USSR population to engage in hostilities against Germany and its allies. Investigating the attitude of the population towards the war led to the fact that in the Ukrainian scientific discourse the definition of the confrontation between Germany and the USSR in 1941 – 1945 as a «German-Soviet» rather than «the Great Patriotic War» began to become more widespread. The reason was the conclusions of scientific studies on the number of deserters from the Red Army, the positive perception of the part of the citizens of the German invasion, the spread of cooperation (Hrynevych, 1992, p. 16; Nikolaiets, 1997, p. 169–175; Nikolaiets, 1998, p. 61; Nikolaiets, 2004, p. 334). The topic of collaboration was one of the most painful both for the former Soviet and for the modern Russian leadership. Nevertheless, even Russian researchers were forced to admit that the longer the war was delayed, the more a tumultuous new revolt against the outdated civil war was felt – a spontaneous protest against Bolshevism (Zubov, 2009, p. 154).

However, the resistance to Moscow leadership was not only limited to the «protest against Bolshevism». During the war, the opposition to Russian chauvinism, imperial principles of the construction and existence of the USSR was clearly demonstrated. Already on June 30, 1941 in

Lviv was proclaimed the renovation of the Ukrainian state. This step of the OUN was a challenge to the German occupation authorities and led to the arrest of leading members of this organization. In this way, Hitler demonstrated that the renovation of Ukrainian statehood was not among his plans. Solidarity with A. Hitler in this matter also revealed the Moscow leadership. As T. Gunchak noted, in Russia the denigration of all past and present competitions of Ukrainians to be free in their independent state is a matter of state policy (Hunchak, 2011, p. 17).

At the same time, during the Second World War, not only the struggle for the restoration of Ukrainian statehood was a threat to the existence of the Soviet empire. The fierce struggle also differed from the confrontation with the Polish Army Krayova, which, unlike the UPA, received international support. The activity of the underground detachments was on the territory of the Baltic States, and the fighters of the Muslim groups fought against the Red Army, motivated by pre-war Soviet politics in the field of religion. At the same time, for the Soviet leadership, the struggle of the Russian liberation army, which was the most numerous among the armed units of the collaborators, was a massive threat. The glorification of the participation of the Russians in the war was also caused by the defeat at the beginning of the German-Soviet war. The appeal to the victories of «Russian weapons» in the years of the Russian empire seemed to be a very compulsory step in view of the very essence of the Bolshevik coup and the events of the Civil War. Therefore, the Stalinist leadership began to selectively update the historical memory associated with the history of the Russian Empire. The process of glorifying the participation of Russians in the war went so far in Soviet times and was so positively perceived by the post-Soviet Russian society that the President of the Russian Federation, V. Putin, allowed himself to assert the possibility of winning the victory without the participation of the Ukrainian population.

At the same time, modern Ukrainian researchers emphasize that the Soviets from the very beginning did not have much Russian experience: it was an exclusively international «machine for building a new world», for which any nations and ethnic groups are only material for such a construction (Horbulyn, Vlasiuk, & Kononenko, 2015, p. 132).

G. Kissinger, who served as US Secretary during the 1960 – 1970s in his study «The World Order. Reflecting on the nature of the nations in the historical context», evaluating the expansionist plans of the Russian leadership, noted that Russia's policy «for centuries was guided by its own special rhythm, carrying out a continuous expansion on the lands that covered almost every climate and civilization, and interrupted from time to time, except from the need to adjust its internal structure according to the scale of the tasks – and only in order to return again as a tide that breaks down the shore. The circumstances changed from Peter the Great to Vladimir Putin, but the rhythm remained unchanged» (Kissindzher, 2017, p. 320).

As is well known, the mechanism of formation of historical consciousness has a pronounced social character. The national factor is the prompt factor here, which usually serves as an expression of the interests of the social. Actual historical memory and is the basis for the historical consciousness of a community (Masnenko, 2002, p. 54).

The collapse of the USSR opened the way for the involvement of post-Soviet historians to reassess the events of the war. At the same time, the halo of «winners» in the war did not want to refuse the leadership and political and scientific elites of the Russian Federation, which had a significant imprint on the formation of Russian or Russian-centric discourse on the war. Moreover, the formation of historical memory of the Second World War turned into one of the means of spreading the «Russian peace» – the cultural-historical idea of the international, intergovernmental and intercontinental community, united involvement

in, and the commitment to Russian language and culture. Russian historian and ethnologist V. Tishkov frankly said that it is «Russian and Russian-language Russian or Soviet culture that unite and construct this world alongside historical peace» (Tishkov, 2007). Thus, the importance of the role of Soviet historical memory for the design and spread of the «Russian peace» was confirmed. Moreover, in Russia in the «image of war» there is cultivated such an important element as «the image of the enemy» (Senyavskiy, Senyavskaya, 2009, p. 308).

Scientific discussions around the definition of the role of the USSR in fueling the Second World War and the spread of cooperation were much more painful for Russian society than for the Ukrainian one. The half-nature of the political and economic reforms of the 1990s led to the fact that, at the turn of the millennia, the Russian ruling circles once again outweighed the authoritarian tendencies that, among other things, were outlining the encouragement of nationalist ideas. This was due to the fact that the memory of the war again became an official propaganda, and the «archival revolution» was replaced by the repeated rigid secrecy of a number of documents, some of which at that time were already published. With such a change in the «state order», the authors showed off, which justified the policy of the Stalinist leadership, including in the pre-war period. In addition, the apparent shortage of skilled specialists and qualitative research on the history of war has affected, as a result of which the lacuna, which was formed in the literature, began to be filled with unprofessional studies of various levels and works of journalistic nature (Mints, 2011, p. 5).

Developing in parallel with the restoration and development of the Ukrainian state, Ukrainian historiography was simultaneously compelled to respond to the challenges of time. One of them was a change both in the study and in the conduct of the policy of memory, which took place against the backdrop of the development of the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Estimates of the Second World War events gradually arose as a factor in the formation of the national and civil identities of Russia and Ukraine.

In the Ukrainian discourse on the war, there remained a place for pluralism, de-ideologized position and unbiased assessments. However, this kind of formation of the discourse on the war was vulnerable to information influences that pursued the protection of Russian interests in Ukraine. Back in the late 1980s, the Communist Party of Ukraine, relying on the memory of the Second World War, which was formed in the USSR, revived the accusations against political opponents in the form of allegations of «rehabilitation of the Bandera», «the refusal to build a communist society with a return to the non-socialist path of development». Moreover, the association of the national revival of Ukraine, first of all with nationalism and chauvinism, took place under the influence of the All-Union leadership. Responsible employees of the Communist Party, opposed the activities of the National Movement of Ukraine, emphasized the support of any informal non-governmental organizations if their activities were aimed at supporting perestroikam (rebuilding), and not nationalism, chauvinism and extremism (Gribenko, 1989).

The long absence of parades in honor of Victory, Russian scientists explained as the defeat of the USSR in the Cold War. Western countries allegedly imposed Russia a defeated role and encouraged an increase in the number of claims to Russia both from the countries of the former socialist camp and from the states that were formed in the post-Soviet space. In such conditions, Russia's interests, according to some Russian researchers, largely consisted in maintaining, as much as possible, the work of those elements of the system of international relations, which guaranteed the security. And this system was created precisely in the Soviet era and, mainly as a consequence of the Second World War (Senyavskiy, Senyavskaya, 2009, p. 300).

Significant intensification of the efforts of the Russian Federation, aimed at using the historical memory of the Second World War for the implementation of domestic and foreign policy goals, has taken place since the late 1990's. Ukraine has become an important object of realizing such goals. The most vulnerable in this situation was the East Ukrainian population and, first of all, the Donbas, encumbered, in the words of L. Nagornyi, «Soviet Identity». The analysis of the mass media reports of Donbass suggests the active participation of a large part of the analytical publications in the formation of images of historical memory used within mobilization technologies to support the local electorate of political forces that are positioned as defenders of the interests of the region (Marchenko, 2010). Gradually, in a political struggle with competitors, pro-Russian forces began to actively use the theses of «split» of Ukraine. One of the personages of such «split» was to remind of the events of the Second World War.

In the 2004 election campaign, the markers of «split» for the first time took shape in the political-technological scheme, a chain of associations that linked the political opponent to a specific region and at the same time unacceptable for the Donbas: Western Ukraine – OUN-UPA (Bandera) – Ukrainian nationalism – fascism – V. Yushchenko.

On April 21, 2008, at a meeting of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko clearly pointed out the main threats in the information sphere: «The greatest threat to national security is the information expansion of foreign countries. Due to this information and psychological campaigns on various issues are held in the information space of Ukraine» (Zhmakyna, 2008). The Head of State stressed that the subject of these influences is primarily the themes of national unity, territorial integrity, language, religion and culture, European and Euro-Atlantic integration. And already on July 8, 2009, the Presidential Decree approved the Doctrine of Information Security of Ukraine. The document stressed that one of the main real and potential threats to Ukraine's information security is the dissemination of distorted, inaccurate, and biased information in the global information space that is detrimental to the national interests of Ukraine (Pro doktrynu, 2009).

Perhaps it is precisely because during the period of 2005 – 2009, Russian and pro-Russian media criticized Yushchenko in the context of analyzing the events of the Second World War for the so-called «rewriting» of history «with the imposition of» ideals of Western Ukraine «and fascist stereotypes». The last thesis was exaggerated in connection with the so-called artificial transformation of «Ukrainian national fascists into fighters for independence» (Ivanov, 2010b). S. Bandera contacted with representatives of Germany and the anti-Soviet activities of the OUN and UPA were subjected to criticism. Critical remarks were also made to the address of Ukrainian integral nationalism, the main provisions of which were declared identical to the ideas of the German National Socialists (Ivanov, 2010a).

A significant resonance in the Ukrainian society caused the appointment of V. Yushchenko the title of Hero of Ukraine, S. Bandera. On the pages of the pro-Russian media, it was argued that the awarding of S. Bander's title to the Hero of Ukraine «fully subscribed to the course of the revival of fascism by President V. Yushchenko» (Polskyi shlahbaum). There were even suggestions on bringing V. Yushchenko to court in this regard (Gordeeva, 2010). Assigning the title of Hero of Ukraine to S. Bandera was assessed as the next step of the President «to deepen the split of Ukraine» (Dubovoy, 2010). In the meantime, Russian and pro-Russian authors, on the pages of their publications, welcomed the decision of the Donetsk Regional Administrative Court of April 2, 2010, as well as the decision of the Donetsk Appeal Administrative Court of June 23, 2010 on the recognition of the illegal decree of President of



Ukraine V. Yushchenko on the appointment of S. Bandera's title «Hero of Ukraine» (Butenko, 2010).

In some cases, collaborating with the Nazis, all Western Ukrainians were accused in stressing that during the reign of V. Yushchenko the heroes who fought in the Red Army were not paid any attention, while the society was imbued with the cult of S. Bandera and R. Shukhevych. This, according to the authors of the articles, questioned «the whole history of the war against Germany». In the wake of such allegations, there were also publications, the authors of which protested against the «fascisation of the Donbas», indicating that the announcement by the city councils of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk in the territories under their jurisdiction on the days of May 8 and 9, the days of sorrow for those who died in the Second World War, testify to that they are enemies of great victory (Sychev, 2013).

With the process of «fascisation» of the Donbas, they also tried to link the activities of the OUN on the territory of the region during the Second World War. Moreover, condemning the cooperation of the collaborators with «Germany located in Europe», the «European choice» of modern Ukraine was criticized with a focus on negative images of such cooperation. Statements that «the Ukrainian people fought against Ukrainian nationalism, which was inflicted by the German invaders», accompanied the capture of the «nationally conscious» Ukrainians and that the «heroization of the defeated» UPA soldiers remains only a continuation of «Gebbels' propaganda» (Kornilov, 2013). The pro-Russian authorship of cooperation was called the testimony of the civilizational split of Ukraine through the position of the Western-Ukrainian population, for which the supporters of the OUN and the UPA fighters remain the fighters for Ukraine's independence (Ivanov, & Romanko, 2013).

In 2013, after the adoption by the Polish Sejm of the decision to recognize the Volyn events of 1943, «ethnic cleansing with signs of genocide» in the press of the Donbas, attention was intensified to cover the assessment of relevant events. In the vast majority of publications, the traitors of 1943 relied solely on the «Ukrainian fascists» who fought in the UPA. Gradually, in the coverage and appraisal of the actions of Ukrainian insurgents in Russian-centered discourse, more and more visible manipulations became apparent regarding the impact of the UPA on the course of events. On the one hand, the emphasis was placed on the fact that they fought «on the side of the fascists», as well as the fighters of the «Nachtigall» and «Roland» battalions, and the scale of this struggle seems to confirm the massive support of Germany's actions. However, the role of the USSR's actions of 1939 – 1941 was suppressed, which caused a sharp increase in the influence of the OUN. On this occasion, T. Snyder spoke eloquently. He noted that «Ukrainian nationalism was one of the consequences of the war in Eastern Europe. In the interwar Poland, Ukrainian nationalism was a small force ... and Ukrainian nationalists were released from Polish prisons precisely because in 1939 Germany captured Poland. When in 1939 Germany and the Soviet Union, by joint effort, seized Poland by destroying the Polish state, they thus destroyed all the legal political parties, among them the legal Ukrainian parties that at that time were much more influential than the Ukrainian nationalists» (Snyder, 2017).

In the context of the analysis of the events of the war, pro-Russian mass media also covered the activities of the «modern embodiment of Ukrainian fascism» – «Svoboda» (Liberty) (Mikhaylova, 2013a). Western Ukrainians were predominantly positioned as «national patriots» led by the «neo-Nazi» «Svoboda» (Liberty) party (Dmitrievskiy, 2013), which raises the possibility of «normalizing relations» with Russia (Semenov, 2013). Attention is drawn to the fact that in some publications, even one of the elements of Ukrainian national clothes – embroidery, was called a means of «propaganda of fascism», since on the eve of the

Victory Day there was a voyage march on which young people carried portraits of S. Bandera and R. Shukhevych (Gordeeva, 2013).

In publications posted during 2013 in the «Donetsk Crige» newspaper, Galicia was generally called the basis of fascism in Ukraine, which in many cases «lives on its own laws without recognizing public holidays», and «the unity of the state is destroyed by fascist ideology, controlled by fascists of the masses – media, school, church» (Poskrebyshch, 2013). It was amazed that in Ukraine, the «neo-Nazi groups» had full freedom of action, and the work of the parliament was discredited by the presence of a «frankly fascist party» (Mikhaylova, 2013b).

With the growth of contradictions between Russia and Ukraine in conditions where the supreme leadership of the Russian Federation did not leave hopes for the realization of their own imperial ambitions, in Russian historiography, actions directed against the Soviet regime, increasingly began to be branded exclusively as actions of the «fascists» regardless of the ethnicity of individuals who did them. Against this backdrop pushes the idea of «fascising Ukraine» and through the implementation of the course on European integration. Restriction of Russian influence, European integration was introduced at the beginning of the implementation of the plans of «Russian spring» precisely because of the prism of the spread of fascism in Ukraine. According to T. Snyder, Russian foreign policy was based on dividing the history of the USSR into two parts: a good part that is Russian, and a bad one that is Ukrainian. The researcher explained that Russia's task was to impose on the broad sections of society the idea that «liberation is a Russian, a collaboration is a Ukrainian» (Snyder, 2017).

At the end of February 2014, Russia began to increase its military presence in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in spite of agreements with Ukraine, and in early March, contrary to international law, Russian troops blocked Ukrainian military units (Pogransluzhba Ukrainy, 2014). In substantiating its actions, the Russian side has repeatedly pointed to the need to protect Russians living in Ukraine from «Ucrofascists».

In such conditions, the memory of the Second World War was also used in the Ukrainian-centric discourse. In the Ukrainian media, the Russian Federation initially was characterized as «unlawful increase in the number of troops in the Crimea», but gradually the characteristic changed to «military aggression of Russia», «imperial ambitions of the Kremlin», «an attempt to annex the Ukrainian territories». Moreover, increasingly, V. Putin's actions and statements began to be compared with Hitler's actions (Semenov, 2014). Unofficially, the name of the Russian president was increasingly distorted by saying that he was «Putler» and thus creating the preconditions for identifying Russia's actions with the actions of fascist Germany.

Continued to use the theme of «fascisation» of Ukraine in their interests and Russian propagandists. In the first half of 2014, the Ukrainian leadership seemed to be a «junta» that illegally seized power or «fascists», the struggle with which allegedly continues the traditions of Soviet warriors since the Second World War. Such a character was also reported by the media of the terrorist entities of the DPR/LNR. During 2014, a large part of such reports contained topics on combating fascism for the unity of the population in countering the spread of the «brown plague» and «nationalism». Such propaganda, among other things, was aimed at ensuring the success of the infiltration of Russian agents of various levels and military mercenaries into the Ukrainian territory and their further active efforts to destabilize the situation in Ukraine.

Evaluating the relationship between Russian actions and Ukrainian nationalism, T. Snyder noted that «Ukrainian nationalists and nationalism were the cause of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933; Ukrainian nationalism was one of the causes of the terror of 1937 – 1948 in the USSR.

Ukrainian nationalism was one of Stalin's reasons for mass deportations of the inhabitants of Soviet Ukraine after the Second World War. And Ukrainian nationalism was the reason for Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2014» (Snayder, 2017).

Under the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the conflict of Russian and Ukrainian-centric discourses intensified. The use of the formed images of historical memory of the Second World War became even more important. In Ukraine, for example, billboards with the inscription «We won against Hitler, we will win against Putin», were also distributed. At the same time, a similar slogan was followed by a number of Ukrainian civil society organizations (with the same slogan at one time opponents of the Putin regime in Moscow). Researchers focused on the participation and huge losses of Ukrainians in the war. Yes, it was argued that among those who raised the flag of Victory over the Reichstag along with Georgian M. Cantarius and Russian M. Yegorov was Ukrainian O. Berest. And they ensured their advancement under the enemy's fire by the gunmen of the department of the native of Zaporozhye region Sergeant P. Shcherbiny. It was a response to Russian propaganda, which sought to focus on Ukrainian collaborators, thus justifying allegedly an armed invasion of Russia to confront «Ukrainian fascists».

In order to ensure the effectiveness of the neurosemantic hypertexts, which included the most significant for those subjected to suggestion, words and phrases by Russian secret services widely used surveys of the Ukrainian population through print media and the Internet. More often such a survey included answers to certain questions, excluding the possibility of expressing alternatives to suggested thoughts or judgments. And because of the difficulties of their own re-education, those who are more prone to such psychocoding have become the elderly with Soviet identity.

And in 2018, in the report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation «Nazism – a dangerous challenge to human rights, democracy and the rule of law» it was argued that «in February 2014 and the coming to power in Ukraine of nationalist forces, the course of Historical revisionism has become crucial for the official policy of Kyiv. The deliberate distortion of the events of the Second World War, the justification of the Nazi assassin, the humiliation of the value of the feat of the Soviet people in defeating Nazi Germany, the indulgence of modern manifestations of xenophobia, nationalism and neo-Nazism – all this is an integral part of modern historical politics, which is embodied in the area's leadership. «The authors of this document stressed that» in the context of the current Russiophobic course as moral benchmarks, apologists of Ukrainian nationalism are being imposed on society». Among such apologists again was S. Banker, R. Shukhevych, Y. Stetsk and A. Melnyk. At the same time, the authors of the report strongly disapproved the fact that the images of the UPA soldiers are used in Ukraine with the parallel of their struggle with the Soviet authorities, just as now the Ukrainian servicemen oppose the «Russian aggression» in the Donbass (Doklad MID Rossii, 2015).

The accusation of «neo-Nazism» against the current leadership of Ukraine was an important means of aggression against Ukraine in the information war that aggravated under the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war in the Donbass. Expressions like the replacement of historical memory with «neo-Nazism» have become quite common in Russian-centered discourse (Gulevich, 2016). At the same time, in the Ukrainian media, despite the absence of a section on neo-Nazism in the Russian Federation in the above-mentioned report of the Russian Foreign Ministry, repeatedly argued the participation of Russian neo-Nazis (for example, soldiers of the Kornilovtsy battalion) in the war on the Donbass on the side of the terrorist groups «DNR/LNR» (Na vostoke voyuyut, 2014).

Another burst of accusations of the Ukrainian leadership in the «fascisation» in Russian mass media took place also in connection with the providing of Tomos on autocephaly to the Orthodox Church of Ukraine. It was argued that the Ukrainian delegation gave a tribute to Tomasa's «Bandera songs». A correspondent for the Russian Channel named after the signing by Tomos of the Ecumenical Patriarch Vorpholomy in Istanbul in January 2019 of the representatives of the administration of the President of Ukraine «Bandera Nazis» (Chervonenko, V. & Khomenko, 2019).

In this context, there was a kind of confrontation in the field of rulemaking. On May 5, 2014, the President of the Russian Federation signed the federal law «On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation» approved by the State Duma, which introduced a criminal liability for encroachments on historical memory regarding events that took place during the Second World War. The federal law introduced a criminal liability for the rejection of the facts established by the verdict of the International Tribunal for the trial and the punishment of the main war criminals of the European countries, the approval of the crimes specified by the sentence, as well as for the dissemination of knowingly false information about the activities of the USSR during the Second World War (Federalnyy zakon, 05.05.2014).

In November 2017, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a law on amending the Law of Ukraine «On the Status of War Veterans, Guarantees of Their Social Protection», according to which the reference to «the Great Patriotic War» was deleted from the text of the document, instead of which the term «Second World war». The Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemned such a decision, stressing that it is a manifestation of the policy of the Kiev authorities, aimed at forcibly wiping out the historical past of their country (Sosnina, 2017). However, already on December 6, the Verkhovna Rada adopted as a basis and in general the draft Law «On Amendments to the Law» On the Status of War Veterans, Guarantees of Their Social Protection «on strengthening the social protection of the participants in the struggle for Ukraine's independence in the twentieth century». The law provided the status of a participant in hostilities to persons who participated in all forms of armed struggle for Ukraine's independence in the twentieth century as part of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of Ataman Taras Borovets (Bulbs), the Polissya Sich, the Ukrainian People's Revolutionary Army (UNPA) the armed fugitives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and in accordance with the Law of Ukraine «On the Legal Status and Honoring the Memory of the Independence Fighters of Ukraine in the 20th Century, recognized as fighters for the independence of Ukraine in the 20th century» (Verkhovna Rada, 2008). In the previous version of the article from March 13, 2018, it was allowed to provide the status of a participant in hostilities «to the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who participated in hostilities against the Nazi invaders in the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine in 1941 – 1944 that did not commit crimes against peace and human beings and rehabilitated in accordance with the Law of Ukraine «On the Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repression in Ukraine».

In spite of this in a conversation with P. Nora one of the Russian correspondents asked him to determine the effectiveness of measures of modern Russian leadership in the form of an intensive information campaign that propagates memory tones associated with the Second World War (for example, St. George's ribbons). In response, the researcher stressed that such actions, in his opinion, to create a «place of memory» is impossible (Nora, 2010). However, it was possible to justify the aggressive policy in the eyes of a large part of the population of the Russian Federation and mobilize a part of the citizens for a war against Ukraine.

**Conclusions.** Thus, even before and during the Second World War, the attainment of the goals by the belligerents involved large-scale manipulation of ethnic values, historical memory. Founded in the basis of mobilization of people in the war, such manipulations inevitably influenced the nature of the organization of propaganda campaigns, and eventually and coverage of the researchers of the events of the war. Formed predominantly in the winner's camp, the results of manipulations by the consciousness of citizens for a long time «traveled» with scientific works in the form of dies. Their generation was most often driven by ideas about civil obligations, the assessment of the goals and nature of the fighting and the role of individual countries in its rebellion, as well as the allied relations between the countries participating in the war.

The policy of memory of the Second World War until recently was used by the Russian Federation as an obstacle to the development of Ukrainian statehood, as well as a means of mobilizing part of Russian citizens to conduct hostilities in Ukraine. In addition, in Ukraine, the memory of the war as a tragedy of mankind, which must be avoided in the future, is being formed.

It should be noted that the reformation of the policy of memory in relation to the Second World War in Ukraine takes place in the framework of European integration and integration into the world community. Instead, in Russia, the policy of memory is increasingly associated with the sacrifice of Victory, with the simultaneous rejection of any alternative assessments of events of the time that was characteristic of the Soviet Union.

In future studies, it is necessary to determine the duration of how long the Ukrainian society will retain the powerful influence of the events of the Second World War on the formation of the historical memory of the population. In addition, it is necessary to determine the effectiveness of such an impact on different population groups. At the same time, it is necessary to develop a set of measures that would accelerate the formation of the perception of the holiday of 9 May in Ukrainian society not as much as Victory Day, but as a Day of Conciliation. This would contribute to the formation of a belief in the unpredictability of the war as a means of resolving conflict situations.

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## MODERN VISION OF NATIONAL TRAGEDY

**The Encyclopedia of Holodomor in 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine / Introductory word is written by Yevhen Nyschuk; Preface and the author's text are written by Vasyl Marochko. Drohobych: «Kolo», 2018. 576 p.**

## СУЧАСНА ВІЗІЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ТРАГЕДІЇ:

**Енциклопедія Голодомору 1932 – 1933 років в Україні / Вступ. слово Євгена Нищука; Передмова, авторський текст Василя Марочка. Дрогобич: «Коло», 2018. 576 с.**

In 2018 Drohobych publishing house «Kolo» published the «The Encyclopedia of Holodomor», the author of which is Professor Vasyl Marochko. In the introductory word it is marked that the above-mentioned Encyclopedia is «the first information, reference and memorial publication in Ukraine», an important «commemorative form of spreading the knowledge on the famine calamity of the Ukrainians» (с.4). Being academic both in the form and content, memorial and institutional in its aim, the encyclopedic publication is the first one in Ukrainian and foreign histo-

riographic discourses. The originality of the Encyclopedia is caused not only by the author's highlighting of the reasons, the circumstances, the socio-demographic consequences of Holodomor, the intellectual reflections of Western scientists, the discussions among the Ukrainian and Russian researchers, the peculiarities of the legal and political assessment, acquiring of the memorial status of the national tragedy and recognition of it as the genocide. The originality of the Encyclopedia is also caused with the formation of the vocabulary part, the interpretation of the very concept of the structural, compositional form of the book, its arrangement.

The slogans, i. e., the names of the encyclopedic articles, over a thousand, reproducing the events and phenomena of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine, are problematically thematic over the chronological framework of Holodomor. The slogans relate to the historical, political, legal, socio-anthropological, statistical-demographic, administrative-territorial, personal, memorial practices. The presented material informs the reader. The author's point of view is essentially presented through an objective coverage of the events and phenomena, based on the archival sources, the periodicals, the scientific literature, and witnesses' memoirs.

In the Preface, the author noted that the «Encyclopedia of Holodomor», written by him, is the logical conclusion of a long-term scientific research work, which lasted from 1989, i. e., for thirty years. The memorial, academic edition, taking into account a huge number of works, the archival documentary editions, the collections of memoirs of the eyewitnesses of the tragedy, was in the intellectual space, especially after the period, when Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine recognized Holodomor – the genocide of the Ukrainian people (2006). The thematic impact on the way to the generalization of the phenomenon of Holodomor was the publication of the first in Ukraine a scientific, historical chronicle<sup>1</sup>, of the events and phenomena that reveal it. Another point is the author's format of the encyclopedic edition, the preparation of which required a professional readiness, an academic responsibility and a fair intellectual ambition of the author. The above-mentioned qualities are realized, because «The Encyclopedia of Holodomor» is a historiographical and bibliographic fact, which was widely presented in the mass media, among the researchers and the museum workers in Ukraine.

To review any thematic informative and reference publication, especially encyclopedic, is difficult, since they have a well-established structure and the plot composition. «The Encyclopedia of Holodomor», written by Professor V. Marochko, did not become an exception. The Encyclopedia was compiled on the basis of the alphabetical order, i. e., from the letter «А» to «Я» (Ukrainian alphabet letters). Each of the letters is distinguished by the number of slogans (articles) presented, and their unevenness in the aspect the slogans amount is due to the historical linguistic peculiarities, because there are very few names and events on the letter «Й» (a Ukrainian letter). However, the letter «К» is presented with a number of articles, but they are not significant. The plot-structure composition of the publication, judging by the formal list of the available articles, covered about thirty problematic, thematic blocks. They are presented quite logically and gradually, taking into account the memorial and academic coverage of Holodomor in accordance with the relevant priorities: the organizers of the Holodomor-genocide (Y. Stalin, V. Molotov, L. Kaganovych, P. Postyshev, S. Kosior, V. Chubar, H. Petrovskyi and the others); the grain procurement according to the sectoral principle (in the collective farms, the state farms, the peasant households); the methods and forms of a systematic deprivation of bread and food (the repressions, the plans for the households, the black boards, the towing brigades, etc.); the reflections of the political and public figures of the West (the US presidents – F. Roosevelt, R. Reagan, D. Bush; the political activists, politicians of the European countries – E. Errio, J. Movinkel, T. Initser, E. Ammende, O. Bochkovskyi); the Ukrainian and foreign researchers (historians, demographers, sociologists,

<sup>1</sup> Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine: Chronicle / V. Marochko, O. Movchan. Kyiv: Publish. House «Kyiv-Mohyla Academy», 2008. 294 p.

ethnographers, statisticians); creative artistic intellectuals (writers, artists, film directors, journalists); the foreign diplomats of those tragic years (American, German, Italian, Polish, Latvian, Japanese); the food of hungry people («Balanda», «Varyvo», «Zatyruha», «Vyrishalnyh», etc.); the international scientific conferences; Western and Russian periodicals; Russian historiography; the international aid committees; the territorial administrative units (villages, village councils, districts, regions); the regional offices; the forms of resistance and survival (the names of peasants convicted of non-fulfillment of the plan to the court and the appeals against the grain procurement policy). The number of articles, their thematic variety and content highlight and reveal the causes and consequences of Holodomor in Ukraine. The one-volume edition of the Encyclopedia of Holodomor is finished, academic in content, but does not exhaust the depth and magnitude of the tragedy of the Ukrainian people. The author, judging by the nature of the presentation of the material, avoided the emotional component, but adhered to the principle of historicism. The absolute majority of the article titles comes from the terminology of those years («saboteurs», «experts», «tverdozdavtsi», «contractants», etc.).

The terms «famine», «holodovka», «Holodomor», «starvation catastrophe», «genocide», «Holodomor-genocide», «terror by starvation», which are key to the contemporary historiographical and memorial discourses, are scientifically grounded and historically adapted to indicate the chronology of their appearance and the etymological significance. In «The Encyclopedia of Holodomor» the names of the victims of Holodomor (more than 100 people) are mentioned; the attention is focused on the causes and the place of death. Logically, the question arises about the reasons for the author's approach to their choice, since in 2008 the memorial edition «The National Book of Holocaust Memorials of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine» established more than 900 thousand victims named. Of course, it is very difficult to compile them in a separate volume, and the martyrologist, i.e., a list of the dead from Holodomor, may become the most adequate form of a memorial perpetuation. In the Encyclopedia, according to the author's explanation, the personal victims, in addition to the memorial component, certify the place, the time and the cause of death from starvation, i.e., the territory and the circumstances of the committing of the crime.

The notion of «Holodomor Victims» appears in the Encyclopedia as «...a historical social-age group, the dead and the victims of the artificial famine, a normative-legal category» (p. 139). Such interpretation, which is not the intellectual property of the author, as fixed in the Law of Ukraine of November 28, 2006 on the recognition of Holodomor, the genocide of the Ukrainian people, should direct the researchers, who are involved in the identification of the number of victims, but are limited only to the statistical and demographic records of the dead in 1932 – 1933. The historians have long discovered the causes of the artificial famine, which included Stalin's grain procurement policy. The discussions on Stalin's personal motivation, the possible presence of his personal order to destroy the Ukrainians physically, in our opinion, are too deductive. The question of revealing of the intent and, moreover, the actions with the intent, as envisioned by the UN Convention on the Genocide of 1948, is difficult for lawyers and historians. The author of the Encyclopedia of Holodomor dared to find out the intent in the grain procurement policy of the Soviet Party authorities. The article «Bread procurement in the Ukrainian SSR» (p. 486) introduces a new interpretation – «the actions of the officials with the intent to deprive people of food», in addition to the content list of the phenomenon itself (the centralized and decentralized forms of grain harvesting, the fulfillment of the state obligations, the administrative and repressive methods of bread depriving). The action of the authority structures was realized by means of the forms and methods of a systematic and consistent seizure of bread and other food products, and the intention to consciously and arbitrarily establish the natural size of the so-called «plan for the household» (p. 333). The action was intentionally and legally fixed in the decrees of the Soviet Party bodies. The main decrees are presented in the Encyclopedia of Holodomor (p. 347, 348).

The term «artificial famine», which arose in February 1932, has gained in the historiography of a wide-spread usage, especially among Western scholars until the late 1980-ies. In the reviewed Encyclopedia, the definition of «artificial» appears as a «functional synonym for the Holodomor-genocide of 1932 – 1933» (p. 522), not the usual antipode of a natural disaster, which led to the mass starvation, but was deliberately organized by the officials.

The articles in the Encyclopedia about the famous socio-political figures (M. Rudnytska, S. Rusova, R. Lemkin, M. Kots, L. Lukyanenko, I. Drach), the researchers (V. Hryshko, D. Solovey, O. Pidhainyi, R. Konkvest, D. Meys, V. Manyak, I. Shulha, M. Shytyuk, V. Danylov, I. Zelenin), Western journalists (G. Johns, M. Maggeridge, N. Bassehes, V. Chamberlain, G. Williams and the others), the artists (O. Dovzhenko, M. Rudenko, Ye. Sverstiuk), in addition to their individual reflections on the very phenomenon of Holodomor, represent a peculiar functional and memorial martyrologist of people who sincerely spoke the truth to the world. Among them there are the priests (A. Sheptytskyi, Mstyslav (Skrypnyk), L. Husar, Filaret). In their prayers and appeals the Ukrainian peasants, who died of artificial famine, were mentioned. Each article of the reviewed publication has a memorial status, as it shows the names of the righteous, who saved the peasants from starvation. In the articles the creators of the Holodomor-genocide are named. Each article perpetuates the collective memory of the victims, fixes the personal conscience and the ideological preferences of the scientists, the diplomats, the politicians, who interpreted the causes and consequences of the tragedy differently. «The Encyclopedia of the Holodomor» included the leading Ukrainian and Western historians, who, organizationally and intellectually, joined this academic-memorial problem (Mark von Hagen, O. Subtelnyi, L. Lutsyuk, H. Kuromia, R. Kushnezh, Y. Mytsyk, V. Smolii, S. Kulchytskyi, Yu. Shapoval, R. Serbyn, H. Boryak, Sh. Fitspatryck, L. Hrynevych, H. Yefimenko, O. Stasiuk, Vasyl Danylenko, H. Kasyanov, V. Kondrashyn, V. Kosityk, N. V. Vert, A. Hratsiosi, E. Chinnela, P. Cherneha, N. Lapchinska, O. Miller, M. Ivnytskyi and the others), as well as the statistics workers and demographers (A. Khomenko, O. Asatkin, Yu. Korchak-Chepurkivskyi, M. Ptukha, O. Volovyna, N. Levchuk).

In the article «The Territory of the Holodomor», which is a generalization of administrative, geographical, social and anthropological boundaries of the spread of the Holodomor, the intensity of mortality and starvation of people has been highlighted. It concerns the regional level, the number of affected areas, the villages and the village councils (p. 423). The detailed statement of the causes and socio-demographic implications appears in articles on the specific areas in the Ukrainian SSR. The territorial aspect is added with certain materials about the areas in each of the regions, but they do not exhaust the problem of illumination of the intensity of famine, mortality. There is a clear need to prepare a separate section on the distribution of the Holodomor in the administrative, territorial boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR in 1932 – 1933, but with a unified form of presentation of the material in each article (the population, the village councils, the villages, the mortality rates, the forms of starvation, the survival, the total losses).

Taking into account the modern information and technological world, the encyclopedic format of highlighting and interpretation of the historic past, particularly tragic, acquires an intellectual interest and applied value. Generalizing the information about the past, its exhaustiveness, the academic and correctness of the given material, its cognitive and social relevance is a requirement of time, a scientific reflection on global and regional challenges. We agree with the author that any encyclopedic edition should inform the coming and present generations, and not persuade the opponents. We share and support the hope for the appearance of such encyclopedias in the regions.

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**THE EPISTEMS OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION AND PEDAGOGY.**

**Review on the monograph:**

**Mykola Haliv. Ukrainian Historical and Pedagogical Narrative**

**(mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> – late XX<sup>th</sup> century): epistemological principles. Drohobych: Posvit, 2018. 620 p.**

**ЕПІСТЕМИ ІСТОРІЇ ОСВІТИ ТА ПЕДАГОГІКИ.**

**Рецензія на монографію: Микола Галів. Український історико-педагогічний наратив (середина XIX – кінець XX ст.): епістемологічні засади. Дрогобич: Посвіт, 2018. 620 с.**

The results of studies of epistemological principles of the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative of the mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> – late XX<sup>th</sup> century presented in the monograph by M. Haliv are characterized by the relevance and completeness of the theme, the correctness of the chronological boundaries, goals and objectives of the study. It is particularly necessary to emphasize the scientific novelty of the problem, as a quite successful attempt to analyze the epistemological foundation of scientific-historical and pedagogical knowledge in the historical and pedagogical sciences is made for the first time. The epistemology of historical and pedagogical knowledge in the monograph is presented as «knowledge of historical and pedagogical knowledge», «secondary reflection» on the thinking of the researcher and historian of pedagogy, who forms knowledge. The latter in the scientific space is presented mainly in the form of narrative as a way of knowledge being in the form of text.

The structure seems logical, considering both the objectives of the study and the concept for structuring scientific knowledge on source-like and beyond source-like one. The monograph covers seven Parts, each of which contains from two to four Chapters. In the first Part M. Haliv declared theoretical and methodological bases of the research: general scientific, concrete scientific and instrumental-applied. The general scientific level is based on the combination of basic epistemological foundations of analytical and narrative philosophy of history and axiological, synergetic, paradigmatic, hermeneutic, sociocultural, civilizational and phenomenological approaches. Concrete scientific level of the presented by narrative, imagiological, biographical and prosopographical, synchronico-diachronic, limological (regional), systematic and comprehensive approaches, as well as by the combination of the principles of historicism, scientific character, objectivity and multifactority. The instrumental-applied

level is represented by the application of general scientific, interdisciplinary and special historical research methods.

The categorical thesaurus used in the monograph has methodological significance. That is why the author explained his use of such concepts as «epistemological principles» and «Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative». According to M. Haliv's definition, the epistemological principles are episteme defining constructs underpinning knowledge: ideological-philosophical, political-ideological, socio-cultural, scientific-interdisciplinary and disciplinary in itself (historical-pedagogical). For a more complete definition of this concept, he compared it with the term «episteme», which was once proposed by the historian and philosopher M. Foucault. At the same time, M. Haliv considers the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative as an imaginary cultural and scientific phenomenon, which was reconstructed on the basis of the mass of biographical, historiographical facts, constructed on the basis of continuity, cumulativeness, paradigmatic character, holistic character, coherence, functionality and circumscribed by the territorial and identity markers.

Historiography of the problem is revealed quite fully. The author noted the lack of research of epistemological principles of the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative, and therefore led the work that concerned historiography and methodology of the history of pedagogy, carried out its classification. The classification of the source base of the study («specific text», «large text», «cultural and historical context») is of great interest. However, we should note that in his work M. Haliv used mainly the works on the history of education, schools, and less – from the history of pedagogical ideas.

The second Part reveals the ideological-philosophical principles of the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative. Applying paradigmatic approach and the concept of «thinking style», M. Haliv explicated romantic, positivistic, Neo-Romantic and Neo-Kantian, Marxist principles of historical and pedagogical narrative of Ukrainian scientists of the middle XIX<sup>th</sup> – the end of the XX<sup>th</sup> century. The Chapters on the influence of the philosophical ideas of Neo-Kantianism and Marxism on historical-pedagogical researches are characterized by a particularly deep analysis.

The third Part of the monograph is devoted to the analysis of political and ideological principles of the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative. M. Haliv revealed the role and discourses of liberal, conservative, socialist and nationalist ideas in the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative. I want to note a detailed analysis of the influence of conservative and socialist postulates in the texts of Ukrainian historians of pedagogy.

In the fourth Part the author analyzes the socio-cultural visions as episteme of Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative. It should be noted that M. Haliv somewhat limited the concept of «socio-cultural identity», including civilizational, national, religious and social identities in its sphere of meaning. In our opinion, the socio-political identity of the historian of pedagogy also belongs to the group of socio-cultural identities. Obviously, the author separated them because he relied on the traditional and perhaps somewhat outdated demarcation of the concepts «politics» and «culture».

The fifth Part was called «Synthesis of interdisciplinary scientific knowledge in the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative». Here the author shows the manifestations of historical, pedagogical, philological, philosophical, theological, legal and other epistemes, which the researchers of the history of pedagogy introduced into their narratives. In one of the Chapters he shows their vision of the actual historical and pedagogical science, its subject, tasks and problems.

M. Haliv described the knowledge source as a structural part of the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative in the sixth Part of the monograph. The author analyzed the interpretation of the concept of «source» by Ukrainian historians of pedagogy, pointed to the ways of using source information in their narrative, described their use of techniques of external and internal criticism of sources, revealed the understanding of the concept «fact» by various Ukrainian scientists who studied the past of education and pedagogical thought.

In the seventh Part, M. Haliv highlighted the instrumental and methodological arsenal of cognitive techniques used by Ukrainian historians of pedagogy in the study of historical problems. The author has shown their attitude to such principles of research as historicism, objectivity, scientific character, holistic character. In addition, he revealed the ways of argumentation that scientists used in their works (empirical, theoretical, contextual reasoning), noted violations of the logical principle of D. Hume. This part was concluded with a description of the most frequently used methods of studying the pedagogical past: genetic, comparative, typological, systemic, psychological, etc.

Serious is the volume of processed historical and pedagogical sources (more than thousands of items), what gave M. Haliv the opportunity to represent the epistems of Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative on a wide historiografic-source material. The monograph ends up with conclusions summarizing the results of the large-scale research conducted by the author.

Despite the positive characteristics of the work, there is a certain drawback. In my opinion, M. Haliv paid too little attention to the works of those Polish historians of pedagogy, who in the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> – first half of the XX<sup>th</sup> century (before World War II) actively worked in Ukraine and created significant historical and pedagogical narratives (A. Vanchura, S. Kot, etc.). The author attributed them to the Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative and justified this approach properly. However, the works of these scientists are mentioned in the monograph only incidentally, illustratively.

In general, I believe that the monograph of Mykola Haliv «Ukrainian historical and pedagogical narrative (mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> – late XX<sup>th</sup> century): epistemological principles» is a serious scientific study carried out on the basis of the use of modern methodology, and its novelty and logical conclusions are doubtless. Of course, this «narrative of the narrative» is one of the most significant and important phenomena in the history of pedagogy of Ukraine in the early XXI<sup>st</sup> century.

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