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**BUREAUCRAT'S PORTRAIT IN «THE ST. PETERSBURG TALES»
BY MYKOLA HOHOL**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to find out the degree of reflection of the diverse social characteristics of the Russian capital bureaucracy in the first half of the 19 century, through the lens of a specific literary illustration – «St. Petersburg stories» by M. V. Hohol (N. V. Gogol). The methodology of the study is consisted of methods of scientific criticism, historical-chronological, historical-typological, structural-system methods for the study of belles-lettres as a historical source and the presentation of intrinsic results. The scientific novelty of the research lies in the actualization of the St. Petersburg cycle of stories by M. V. Hohol as a fact of objective reality and a historical source in the history of bureaucracy; proving the likelihood of engaging fiction in the original arsenal of scientific studies on the basis of a prudent critical approach. The Conclusions.* Comprehensive long-term reform of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Russian Empire in the first half of the 19 century caused: significant changes in the quantitative and qualitative composition of the bureaucracy; professionalization of bureaucratic activity and corresponding changes in professional education; mental transformations related to the conscious attitude at the state level to the importance of the official mission; reducing the impact of family, clan ties, that is, patronage, on promotion of business ladders; the growing role of the bureaucracy in the development of the state. The characteristics of class bureaucracy as a special professional group with its own subculture illustrate the images of the Hohol titular adviser and collegial assessor, depicted against the background of the historical era, taking into account the peculiarities of public and private life of the inhabitants of the Northern capital. The specificity of their activities is determined by the functional responsibilities of the representative of each rank. The discovery and disclosure of literary genre-function techniques of the «St. Petersburg Stories» enables a multifaceted presentation of the image of the bureaucrat and the historical context of his life.

Key words: *official, rank, bureaucracy, Russian empire, titular adviser, collegiate assessor, M. V. Hohol (N. V. Gogol), «St. Petersburg stories», fiction.*

ЧИНОВНИЦЬКИЙ ПОРТРЕТ У «ПЕТЕРБУРГСКИХ ПОВЕСТЯХ» МИКОЛИ ГОГОЛЯ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є з'ясування ступеню віддзеркалення різнопланових соціальних характеристик російської столичної бюрократії першої половини XIX ст. через призму специфічного літературного ілюстражу – «Петербургських повестей» Миколи Васильовича Гоголя. **Методологію дослідження** склали методи наукової критики, історико-хронологічний, історико-типологічний, структурно-системний методи дослідження художньої літератури як історичного джерела. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в актуалізації петербурзького циклу повістей М. В. Гоголя як факту об'єктивної даності й історичного джерела з історії бюрократії; доведенні ймовірності залучення художньої літератури в джерельний арсенал наукових студій на ґрунті виваженого критичного підходу. **Висновки.** Комплексне багаторічне реформування бюрократичного апарату Російської імперії першої половини XIX ст. спричинило: суттєві зміни в кількісному та якісному складі чиновництва; професіоналізацію бюрократичної діяльності та відповідні зрушення у фаховій освіті; ментальні трансформації, пов'язані з усвідомленням ставленням на державному рівні до важливості чиновницької місії; зменшення впливу родинних, кланових зв'язків, тобто патронажу, при просуванні службовими сходами; зростання ролі бюрократії у розвитку держави. Характеристики класного чиновництва як особливої професійної групи із власною субкультурою ілюструють образи гоголівських титулярного радника і колезького асесора, зображені на тлі історичної епохи, з урахуванням особливостей суспільного й приватного життя мешканця Північної столиці. Специфіку їх діяльності визначають функційні обов'язки представника кожного чину. Виявлення та розкриття літературних жанрово-функційних прийомів «Петербургських повестей» уможлиблює багатопланове представлення образу бюрократа та історичного контексту його побутування.

Ключові слова: чиновник, чин, бюрократія, Російська імперія, титулярний радник, колезький асесор, М. В. Гоголь, «Петербургские повести», художня література.

The Problem Statement. In the spring of this year, there is the 210th birthday anniversary of M. V. Hohol (1809 – 1852), the famous Ukrainian writer, who «wrote in Russian and became a classic of Russian literature» (by I. Malkovych). Even during his lifetime, his literary work was the subject of an intense criticism – from an unequivocal admiration to an outright categorical rejection. The indiscriminate discussions always caused the appearance of the genres, the plots, the language, the methods, the techniques, the tasks and mission, the philosophical, religious, geographical contexts, the psychology, the existential motives of creativity, which resulted in a broad Ukrainian, foreign (including Russian) historiography, the film adaptation of works, the annual thematic conferences, the festivals and even a specific area in literary studies – Hohol studies. (Kolesnyk, 2009, p. 135).

Owing to M. Hohol's multifaceted creative heritage the research viability directions are inexhaustible. A special place belongs to the holistic cycle of the works, traditionally called «The St. Petersburg Tales». The specialists include: «Nevskiy Prospect» (1833/1834), «The Nose» (1832/1833), «The Portrait» (1834), «The Overcoat» (1842) and «The Notes of the Crazy» (1835). However, the author considered two more stories – «The Stroller» and «Rome» to belong to «The St. Petersburg Tales», which were different in style, presentation, emotions or the eventslocation. Pursuing the purpose of our research, stated in the title, let us dwell only on some of them, namely, those which most fully illustrate the image of the Russian Empire official in the literary context. It is about «The Nose», «Nevskiy Prospect», «The Notes of the Crazy» and «The Overcoat».

The stories emerged from M. Hohol's pen during the reign of the Russian Tsar Mykola I (Nicholas I) – in the 1830-ies – 1840-ies, and became a kind of the epoch embodiment, a figuratively aesthetic reflection of the reality and its comprehension by a specific person – a Ukrainian in the Russian context. According to M. Hohol's biographers, writing works was a

long and complicated process, accompanied by the story lines changing, rewriting some small or meaningful fragments, detailing them, clarifying the names, the surnames and other techniques of creating a bright background and a rich content. After reading the manuscript, the closest connoisseurs of M. Hohol's work the stories were separately published on the pages of the then popular St. Petersburg, Moscow magazines and almanacs. Even during M. Hohol's life-time, they were called «St. Petersburg» because of the main place of events – «North Palmira». During the Soviet times, the works were combined into a single collection, collectively called «The St. Petersburg Tales» (1934), and in 1938 the first academic collection of the works with a powerful scientific apparatus appeared, the commentary on the differences among the manuscripts, the editorials, and the censorships (Gogol, 1938; Mann, 2016). For almost a century, the story compendium slogan has remained unchanged, and the numerous re-editions and translations indicate the reader's interest in the works of Mykola Hohol, the brilliant master of the word.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. In the modern academic M. Hohol studies a lot of professional literary and critical studies, devoted to the «The St. Petersburg Tales» can be enumerated. In recent decades, in the context of the anniversary dates of M. Hohol's biography, there have been many sensational, speculative literary studies, provoked by the struggle in the academic circles for the right to the academic primacy of the original ideas (Kolesnyk, 2009, p. 135). Hence the attempts to «(de)mythologize» the plotlines of the stories, to achieve the recognition of the incredible interpretations of the author's intention, to comprehend the phantasmagoria of the stories, to reveal the art of space and time in the Russian imperial context, and etc. Most often, in such studies the following categories are used «the antichrist kingdom», «the mask», «the deformation of a man and world», «a little man», «a parallel world», «the vibration of meanings», «the madness and norm», and the others that mark the modern criticism directions of M. Hohol. Sometimes it looks so boldly interpretative that some experts rightly (and here we agree) declare the unjustified manipulative literary schemes, which depend on the «specific» erudition and concern of the researcher (Krivonos, 2004, p. 140).

Since the reign Catherine II, it has become fashionable to write about bureaucracy not only in the fiction, but also in the press (Mironov, 2000, p. 204). After the great reforms of the second half of the XIXth century the authorities' activities and the management were forever in the field of the society view, a local self-government (Shumilov, 1991, pp. 185–189). The officials in the classical Russian fiction are quite noticeable. Suffice it to mention, the works of O. I. Herzen, F. M. Dostoyevskiy, M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, L. M. Tolstoy, A. P. Chekhov and the others. In the XIXth – and early XXth centuries it was actively developed with the desire to expose the peculiarities of the imperial Russian bureaucratic apparatus functioning, metaphorically exaggerating its shortcomings and exposing, in B. Myronov's opinion, the flaws of the supreme power, as well as of the society, a man. (Mironov, 2000, p. 173). Let us also point at the active study of a bureaucratic image as a social phenomenon in the professional historians environment. During recent years in Ukrainian historiography, in our opinion, most of this is written by the famous researcher V. Shandra and her followers (Barmak, 2006; Hlyz, 2015; Degtyarev, 2015; Iesluu, 2018; Shandra, 2005). On the basis of the archival documents and a broad regulatory framework, regulating the bureaucracy of Russia activities, the above-mentioned scholars (V. Shandra and her followers) were able to illustrate the vertical axis and horizontal links of the management system with the local material, to reveal the functional role of the individual officials, to show the characteristic features of the current office culture and the archival affairs, linking their own research studios with other fundamental discourses of the imperial history. Therefore, using literary works as a historical source, it is important to relate them to the content

of authoritative scientific studies, as well as to those studies that focus on the peculiarities of studying the background of fiction writing (Bogdanov, 2011; Zayonchkovskiy, 1978; Mironov, 2000; Moryakova, 1993; Nikolskiy, Filimonov, 2008; Pisarkova, 1995; Fedosyuk, 2012).

The Purpose of the Research. For us, «The St. Petersburg Tales» is of a primarily interest as a source from the history of bureaucracy, although there is no unanimous opinion on the involvement of the literary works in the source arsenal in Ukrainian or foreign historiography. The essence of the counterargument lies in the fact that fiction is always eloquently «woven» from various subjective observations, impressions, experiences and interpretations (often allegorical) of the reality plot or the fictional plot. This issue confuses supporters of the objective reproduction of the past (Sokolov, 2004). In another context, the interpretation of the literary works as a historical source is based on the thesis that, despite their fiction style, they are themselves an objective fact of the reality, and therefore can be unconditionally considered the way they are. Recognizing their right, we consider it justified to correlate the polysemantic texts of fiction by a comparative involving of other sources, to consider the events, depicted in the stories, as the «game of difference» between them and to reconstruct the past.

The Statement of the Basic Material. To comprehend M. Hohol's works as the source, it is important to find out the author's intentions through his life history and the cultural and historical context of St. Petersburg environment as the «document of the era». He comes from the province and a nineteen-year-old boy arrives in St. Petersburg in 1828. For M. Hohol, it was the time of an active creative search, the self-identification and self-affirmation. The family education, the private lessons in Poltava and Nizhyn gymnasium of Higher Sciences were left behind. After finishing gymnasium, he could continue the path, made for generations, and give himself up to teaching, or getting a rank in Poltava region. But M. Hohol made a fateful decision – to change his place of residence in order to find himself in another sphere.

He was not destined to become «a high rank official» in the capital. M. Hohol's bureaucratic career began as a collegiate advisor in the ministry of divisions / apanage. His rank in the ministry turned out to be unprofitable and he got tired of the routine quickly, gray monotony of his professional duties. Having worked in the ministry for almost a year and a half, he left the service, gaining an important life experience and being even more inspired by the literary work that was later embodied in «The St. Petersburg Tales». In other words, M. Hohol was well aware of the everyday life of the officials, especially of the initial levels hierarchy, according to the «Rank Table» of 1722. The tales themselves can be confidently viewed as reflected by M. Hohol's autobiography. In this «parallel scenario», – the unexpected activity and actions that the author came up with the characters, and some of them subsequently took place in his life.

It should be noted that the stories became the debut works of the early M. Hohol's «first» St. Petersburg period of creativity, which he later declared in a letter to M. Pohodin programmatically: «When I wrote my immature and imperfect experiments [...] I wrote them only to try [...] my strength and to get to know whether my pen (feather) was kept in a right manner» (Gogol, 1952, p. 76). In spite of a humble appreciation of their literary value, we can attest to the position of those critics, who believe, that in early works Mykola Hohol emerges with a well-formed artistic and aesthetic concept, organically written through style, content and word.

For the Empire, the first half of the XIXth century became a special time. Almost a century of the bureaucracy development since the entry into force of the «General Regulation» (1720) and the «The Instruction on Ranks» changed the conditions the Russian officials life and service, which became an important prerequisite for a rational organization of power and modernization of the society from upper authorities (Mironov, 2000, p. 163).

A clear division of functions, the job competencies and hierarchical subordination of officials were determined by these and other departmental documents during the XVIIIth century. The civil service itself became an honorable privilege, be in ganobligatory duty previously (Mironov, 2000, p. 163). The peculiarity of the official evolution in the first half of the XIXth century was the activity professionalization, education and a narrow specialization of competences. Before the reforms of the 1860-ies, as noted by B. Myronov, the civil service in Russia became the main place of the career aspirations realization by clever and educated people, capable of taking care of the public interests, earning a living and thinking of the state welfare (Mironov, 2000, p. 169).

An important precondition for the rapid development of the civil service as the institution we consider the competent composition of the heads, for whom education, experience, business qualities, the ability to make management decisions in crisis conditions were of a primary importance. The patronage ties between the bureaucracy were significantly weakened, although not eradicated completely. Reforming the system of the state institutions, improving their functioning organization, increasing the civil service requirements, the officials behavior and discipline affected the management effectiveness. Against this background, the Russian officials gradually approached the ideal type of a bureaucrat, justified by M. Weber, the bureaucracy became progressive, and professional historians, together with lawyers, declared a steady progressive society movement to the rule of law in the XIXth century (Mironov, 2000, p. 174).

So, the beginning of the reign of Mykola I (Nicholas I), the suppression of the constitutional monarchial, the republican movements of the nobility, a powerful codification of the Russian law, the management modernization, the approaches professionalization to the service personnel support, the ultimately important economic phenomena, the emergence of an everyday life quality standards, raising the everyday work quality, improving the changes in the culture of life, the styles in interior design, the architecture and other characteristic features of the current political, economic life of the country, the society, formed a special aesthetics and vision of St. Petersburg that captivated and inspired M. Hohol to write about the consequences of «peering into and vision» of the capital's colouring (Katalkina, 1998, p. 2). The critics recognized the first St. Petersburg works as a worthy start of the writer, calling them a successful «form of time» (Karimova, 2011, p. 3).

«Nevskiy Prospect» is considered to be the basis for the perception of the whole cycle of stories, its compositional and spatio-temporal framework. The action takes place in the capital of the Russian Empire – crowded St. Petersburg. Although the main plot line of the work does not concern the bureaucracy, however, some observations from their lives are presented in the form of interesting, multifaceted sketches about the representatives of the higher world and their «apprentices», St. Petersburg resident of M. Hohol era. The archetypal image of the capital was fleshed out by the glorious singing of Nevskiy Prospect, that lives its diverse life, and M. Hohol became one of the first authors of «St. Petersburg text of Russian literature» (according to V. Toporov).

Among the crowd of «pale» and «bureaucratic» worshipers of the capital center of the Russian Empire – «Big prospect», the face and character of which changes like a picture in the kaleidoscope, depending on the time of day and season, from the continuous human flow M. Hohol «snatched» the official and painted a picture of the external impressions, generated by contemplation (and peeping). Nevskiy Prospect is powerfully «fed» with the round-the-clock and year-round hustle and bustle, created by quietly or quickly moving people, the carriages and phaetons, heading to offices, homes, clubs, salons, cafes, or other attributive attributes. The author

reproduced the hustle and bustle of the city brilliantly. The concentration of the central quarters of the state institutions in the city implied a number of trajectories movements, made by the officials.

That is why, it was possible to meet mainly the lower-ranking official son foot at the avenue – the collegial registrar, the provincial and collegiate secretaries, the titular adviser (the XIVth–IXth grades), as well as the upper classes, but in much smaller numbers up to the Emperor himself. The experts note that before the free from the people terrorism, the Russian sovereigns also had a habit of strolling daily in the central part of the city, in particular, along the Palace embankment, and the common people could «beat their foreheads». Therefore, the number of those who «polished»(strolled) Nevskiy pavement, according to M. Hohol's visual impressions and tenacious observations, corresponded to the proportions of the officials of different classes. At the time of writing the story this proportion was the following: 26 (clerks, who could not have a class rank and noble status): 61 (officials of the XIVth – IXth grades): 11 (officials of the VIIIth – VIIth grades): 2 (officials of the IVth – Vth grades) (Mironov, 2000, p. 207). In general, according to statistics, the number of metropolitan officials increased rapidly during the first half of the XIXth century: from 5011 (in 1804) to 13019 (in 1832) (Tablitsy, 1836). This was due not only to the development of the government imperial system, but also to the comprehensive development of the state. However, the number of the officials per 1,000 population of the Romanov Empire in the 1850-ies was 2, while in France it was 4,6. (Mironov, 2000, p. 203).

Describing the general image of the capital official, referring to the sources and works of the colleagues, it should be noted that the higher bureaucracy of St. Petersburg at that time by 93% consisted of the hereditary nobility representatives (44% among the bureaucrats). The higher bureaucracy representatives had a higher education and a decent level of a financial support (Mironov, 2000, p. 205–206), that made them «noble from an educated society» and wealthy by Russian standards. The experts note that until the revolution in 1917, the high official ranks remained the prerogative of those, who had privileges from birth (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 103). Thus, according to statistics, in 1903, 100% of governors and 93.7% of vice-governors were family nobles (Zayonchkovskiy, 1978, p. 213).

The lower classes officials (the XIVth – the IXth grades) came from all the strata of the population – the impoverished nobility, the townspeople, the peasants, the clergy, the merchants, the perpetrators. Those officials had a different level of education (secondary, elementary, rarely higher education), lower fees for the service, which due to the fall of the paper money rate and the rise of prices in the early XIXth century, significantly decreased as compared to the time of Catherine's II reign. However, during the 1830 – 1850-ies the nominal and real standard of Russian officials living of all ranks increased markedly. According to the national index, among the «clerks» of St. Petersburg, apart from the Russians, there was a high percentage of the Germans (up to 30%), which historically evolved since the time of Peter's I reign (Knappe, Petrovskaya, p. 45). This category of the officials was characterized by an exceptionally responsible attitude to the duties and a clear realization of the management tasks.

In M. Hohol's story the territorial time travel in the central street of St. Petersburg begins with the mentioning of a rare morning drowsy official, who «will pass by with a briefcase under his arm, if the road to the department lies through Nevskiy Prospect» (Gogol, 1970, p. 129). One should say that from 1739 the working hours for the clerk were fixed, and accordingly he had to be in the service from 7 am till 2 pm daily, except for Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays, which, incidentally, there were 21 in the middle of the XIXth century (Mironov, 2000, p. 306). If necessary, the working hours could be extended from 4 pm till 7 pm, or individual tasks could be carried out at home (Mironov, 2000, p. 166). The researchers note that the emperors often

practiced being present at the beginning of the working day (Mironov, 2000, p. 166). So, that «rare official», mentioned by M. Hohol, most likely, rushed to the service at 7 o'clock in the morning, although in the text, we find hidden remarks of another time of the working day beginning.

The situation at the avenue changed at noon, «from two till three in the afternoon» – «the most blessed time» when the officials' working day was over. At that time, the «brothers officials» grew noticeably in number at Nevskiy Prospect, according to M. Hohol. Those who served under the guidance of ministers, governors, other officials, for example, the special-duty officials (from the VIth grade), or the representatives of a foreign board, who differed from «other brothers officials» by «the nobility of their occupations and habits», a remarkable dandyism, the epitome of which, for M. Hohol, were sideburns – «the only ones, with extraordinary and marvelous necktie art, [...] velvety, satin, black, like sable or charcoal, but alas, belonging to only one foreign collegium» because the other officials had the right to wear, «to the greatest trouble», only red sideburns (Gogol, 1990, p. 13). The allegory on «the red sideburns» symbolizes the depth of the chasm between those, who occupied the highest rank, «wonderful positions and services» that «exalt and delight the soul» and see «the subtle treatment of their superiors», and those, who cannot even dream of the different colour sideburns status (Gogol, 1990, p. 13). It was an «exhibition» time for «all the best works of a human being» (Gogol, 1990, p. 14), that is, the officials of the generality class. Their life movement lines did not intersect with their subordinates, even at Nevskiy Prospect, because for them there was a different promenade time – at 3 o'clock pm, when the «spring» suddenly came and everything was covered with green vice-uniform (Gogol, 1990, p. 15). The walks-about of the low ranks clerks, the officials in the «world» is described in detail by M. Hohol. To convey the colour of the author's speech, we submit the text unchanged: «Hungry titular and other advisers try their best to accelerate their the tempo of their walks. Young college registrars, provincial and collegial secretaries hasten to take advantage of the time and walk through Nevskiy Prospect with a posture that shows that they have not been sitting at all for six hours in attendance. But the old collegial secretaries, titular advisers are walking quickly, tapping their heads: they are not there to deal with the passers-by; they have not yet completely separated themselves from their concerns; in their heads there is a jumble (yerplash) and a whole archive of the initiated and unfinished affairs; they see a folder with papers or the full face of the office ruler instead of the signboards» (Gogol, 1990, p. 15). Again, in detail we find a variation of the differences between the bureaucracy – «hungry» titular and other advisers, registrars, secretaries versus «a fat face of the office ruler»; between the bureaucratic public of different age – young «servants», who seek to rise to the highest rank, as evidenced by the slim line of the posture, and the representatives of the older generation, whose hopes have not been fulfilled and who are no longer concerned with the external conditions of life. Indirect M. Hohol's remarks on changing the participants of the «walks about» along Nevskiy Prospect, give the grounds to conclude that there are variations in the working time duration of the higher and lower ranks officials, and simple mathematical calculations «lead» us to finding its beginning at 9 o'clock am and until 3 o'clock pm, the time when the avenue got green from the uniforms.

The twilight completes the artistic, ethical and aesthetic sketches of the day at Nevskiy Prospect. This time is marked with an emotional, passionate M. Hohol's assessment. The young officials, relieving themselves from the service, seek to satiate the heart with amorous pleasures, and then «collegial registrars, provincial and collegial secretaries walk slowly» only to meet the dreamy beauty and «look under the hat of a beautiful lady» (Gogol, 1990, p. 15). The author notes that the collegial registrars, titular and out-of-town councilors will not meet the seniors at dusk, because they spend the evening mostly at home, because they have a family, and, moreover, «the

German cooks, living in their houses, cook very well». The senior officials can afford having a German cook (Gogol, 1990, p. 16). The unjustified hopes of the youth for the career advancement changed into the humble attitude of the officials towards the life reality, with the peculiar to the age, the rejection of maximalism and the satisfaction of a fair bit – delicious suppers and quiet evenings in the family circle.

Only once in «Nevskiy Prospect» it is mentioned about the officials of the Vth-IVth grades – a state advisor and a truestate advisor, who have served «this rank for forty years of work» and belonged to the middle class of the society (Gogol, 1990, p. 30). In general, there are very few higher-ranking officials, depicted in literature, while the image of a petty official has become the most favourable for the literary plots.

The brief notes on bureaucracy in the context of Nevskiy Prospect life during the day allow us to get acquainted with many moments of the general urban landscape, extrapolated to the life of a particular stratum. Behind the worthy artistic depictions of the grand style of the era are the real everyday autobiographical observations, which we consider to be a historical source for the metamorphoses of the Empire, which developed on the basis of the conservative monarchy.

Therefore, in the above-mentioned stories, M. Hohol wrote about the time, synchronous with his own life. At that time everyone, who wanted to have a high rank, had to climb the career ladder, earning the service status, regalia and honor in the name of the country. This path was different and depended primarily on the origin, the connections with the «significant person» (according to M. Hohol), education, a personal experience and diligence in the field of work. When the poor and without origin person had to start from zero, hoping for high ranks, it was an in vain affair, though purely theoretically this could happen (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 103). But there were those few, who «have been blessed with the special title of bureaucrats by an enviable fate» (Gogol, 1990, p. 13). It is also important to realize that for many members of the lower classes, a rapid promotion remained an unfulfilled mission, leading to humility and «expulsion» of such thoughts from the head, satisfaction with small opportunities and, consequently, the creation of small needs. However, the researchers note that during the first half of the XIXth century there was a noticeable recession from many conventions and approaches, inherent in the formation of the administrative apparatus in the previous time. The officials generally began to belong to the privileged noble stratum, since any class rank up till 1845 provided a personal nobility, and from the VIIIth grade – an ancestral nobility. The rank acquisition ran through the tenure of office. The officials of the 1st class office (the children of hereditary nobles) received a class rank in 2 years, the 2nd class (the children of personal nobles, merchants of the first guild, clergy) – in 4 years, the 3rd class (the children of «servants», merchants of the second, third guilds) – in 5 years, the IV class (the children of the locals and the people, who left the tax stratum) – in 12 years (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 104). The lowest rank, mentioned by M. Hohol in «Nevskiy Prospect», there was a collegial registrar, which was equal to the army rank of ensign. It was possible to become a collegial registrar only after passing the exam according to the programme content at county school. Like other ranks, it guaranteed protection against a corporal punishment and a direct address in the form of «your nobility» (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 105). In general, to all officials from the XIVth to IXth grades, i.e., starting with a collegial registrar and a titular advisor, this is exactly how it was necessary to address (Stepanov, 2004).

For lower-middle-class students, the collegial registrar's service was prolonged, depending on education, for up to three years, and for the descendants of wealthy parents, this post remained a fleeting episode (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 105). Three years in the status of a collegiate registrar allowed to rise on one stage and to obtain the rank of the provincial secretary, who corresponded

to an army lieutenant. There was no high opinion on this rank in the society, and it was possible to obtain it even by a person of an unprivileged origin. The public opinion on the provincial secretary is marked by the scornful tone of the storyteller. No wonder M. Hohol, commenting on the collegiate registrar, the provincial secretary in «Nevskiy Prospect», remarks on their young age, trying to emphasize additionally the irrespectable status. According to Russian researcher V. Bogdanov, for a person, who originated from a priest's family, even without education, it was possible to become a provincial secretary in seven years of service, and to the one, who had education – in three years (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 106). In order to change the rank of the XIIth grade to the Xth grade, it took three years of service. The rank of a collegiate secretary was equal to that of an army staff-captain, and it was possible to achieve it only for graduates. However, it was the collegiate secretary, the real career as a clerk began (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 106).

The transition from a collegiate secretary to a titular advisor of the IXth grade (the highest among the lower ones) also took place in three years and corresponded to an army captain. The word «titular» meant nominal, that is, invalid (Shepelev, 1991, p. 132) and indicated the non-independent activity of the advisor, a kind of candidacy. He occupied an intermediate vacancy – no longer a secretary, but not yet a full-fledged, autonomously acting advisor. In Hohol times, the titular advisors occupied the vacancies of a senior assistant chief of staff in the ministries departments, the senior assistant secretaries, the recorders, the registrars, the translators in the senate, the bailiffs, the postmaster assistants, the county treasurers, the accountants, etc. In provincial institutions, titular advisers could apply for the positions that provided for some independent activity. However, undoubtedly, every employee was responsible for his actions before a colleague of the highest rank, obeyed him and guided by the bureaucratic attitudes, taking care of the state interests and the official corporation. The functional powers of each institution were also clearly defined and regulated by the laws and the regulations. The official's service subjected not only to the job descriptions, but also to the authority of the specific managerial level office.

The graduates from higher education institutions or those, who had given the decades of life and received the appropriate years of service, were eligible to serve as a titular advisor. After the Decree of August 6, 1809 «On the rules of production in the ranks of civil service and about the tests in the sciences for production in college assessors and statutory advisers» the availability of education for the titular advisor became an obligatory condition (Voropanov, 2013).

Although, it should be noted, it was always possible to occupy the vacancy of a titular advisor not according to the rules, but for special services. By 1845, the rank of the IXth grade was the last before the one, which gave the right to a noble dignity. Since 1856, this limit was raised up to the IVth grade – a true statutory advisor. Overcoming it, proved to be impossible for the majority of those, who wanted to occupy this rank. This led to the appearance of the image of «an eternal titular adviser», derisively called then «titular», «shtulyar» (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 108). St. Petersburg was «flooded» with lonely, poor titular advisers, and Nevskiy Prospect – with green viceroys. O. Darhomyzhsky's romance, written on the poem by P. Weinberg, in 1859 ran: «He was a titular advisor, she was a daughter of a general; he timidly confessed in love, she drove him away», gained an enormous popularity in the urban environment of the XIXth century and not only because of the theme of the mesal alliance, but also through the reflection of the recognizable realities of the bureaucratic world (Zayonchkovskiy, 1978, p. 71). The image of the titular adviser is most clearly depicted by M. Hohol in his works: «The Overcoat» and «The Notes of the Crazy». This fact obliges us to dwell on these works in detail.

The plot of the well-known M. Hohol's «The Overcoat» is about the life of a forty-year-old «titular», «a little man» – Akakiy Akakiyovych Bashmachkin, who served in the N ministerial

department (Gogol, 1990, p. 137). This official «cannot be said to be very remarkable, of allow stature, somewhat rippled, somewhat reddish, somewhat even blind in appearance, with a small bald spot on his forehead, with wrinkles on both sides of his cheeks and complexion, which is called hemorrhoid», and as for the rank he was «what is called the eternal titular adviser, at whom, as we know, various writers joked, who have a laudable custom to suppress those, who cannot bite» (Gogol, 1990, p. 137). M. Hohol casually pauses on the origin, pointing, among other things, to the mother's nepotism with the chief of staff in the Senate, who apparently promoted A. Bashmachkin's service. A detailed description of the appearance and line age of his father, grandfather, and even brother-in-law, who had one pair of shoes all year round, changing only a couple of times a year of the sole, the author probably wants to emphasize the insignificance of the image in a public opinion. As hot supplement of the moment of birth, when Akashi made one grimaced, allegedly «anticipating that there will be a titular advisor» (Gogol, 1990, p. 138), emphasizes the tragedy and fatality of a predetermined fate.

From the first pages of the novel, M. Hohol forms an idea of the titular advisor service content. Guided by the diminishing importance of A. Bashmachkin by a deliberate avoiding the story of his adulthood, the author resorted to describing his service activity in a kind of «a solitary cell», where there were many people and no one, who showed respect and interest for him. «Akakiy Akakiyovych is depicted as a doomed marginal, one of the people from the unknown times, because no one remembered how he was enlisted, and the time stopped because he was always «seen in one place, in the same position, in that of the same post, by the same official for writing, so that they later made sure that he was, apparently, born in the world already quite ready, in a uniform and with a bald head on his head» (Gogol, 1990, p. 138). The complete disregard for A. Bashmachkin's presence can be seen by the author's note that even the guards never got out of their seats when he passed them, did not look at him and «did not show [...] any respect» (Gogol, 1990, p. 138). Attractive was the power of those, who dominated him, also showed the irrepect for the Bashmachkin: «the bosses treated him somehow coldly despotic», and «the young officials laughed and grinned at him, as much as the clerical wit allowed; they told different stories compiled about him; about his mistress, a seventy-year-old woman; they said that she was beating him; asked when their wedding would be; they rolled pieces of paper on his head, calling it snow» (Gogol, 1990, pp. 138–139). A sad phrase of Akakiy Akakiyovych himself to all the offences sounds many times: «Leave me, why do you offend me?» (Gogol, 1990, p. 139). The harried titular advisor is unable to become familiar with his colleagues, and the famous phrase «how much in a human is inhuman» characterizes the complex psychological atmosphere (Gogol, 1990, p. 140).

His job responsibilities consisted in rewriting the documents. The titular adviser was not fed up with the simple role of a scribe as it was unnecessary to occupy the ranks. On the contrary, he loved his work, «lived in his rank», «served zealously», «served with love» (Gogol, 1990, p. 139). Rewriting the documents in an equal handwriting was a kind of therapy against the oppression and the evils of life, for in this he saw the opportunity to escape to another «diverse and pleasant world» (Gogol, 1990, p. 139). Akakiy's Akakiyovych insightful miniature description of the daily exercises as the titular advisor skillfully emphasizes the official's attitude to the duties: «The pleasure was expressed in the face of his; some letters were his favourites, when he wrote them he changed: he laughed, and winked, and helped by his lips, so that in his face, it seemed, it was possible to read every letter that brought his feather-pen» (Gogol, 1990, p. 139). The author's reflection is amplified by the conclusion that if, in accordance with his dedication, the awards were awarded, then A. Bashmachkin could not have served as a statutory advisor, but «not in a

buttonhole» and «a hemorrhoid in the loin» (Gogol, 1990, p. 139). According to the the department director's will, he was offered to try himself as a compiler of the documents. However, Akakiy Akakiyovych was unable to «change the main title of the document [...], some verbs from the first person to the third [...]. Since he was left to rewrite the documents forever» (Gogol, 1990, p. 139). Rewriting remained the only «science» of his life.

He spent his free time the same way: rewriting the documents, when he deliberately took home the work. Almost ceremonially after dinner, A. Bashmachkin «took out a jar of ink and rewrote the papers, which he brought home» (Gogol, 1990, p. 140). However, not the content and «not the beauty of the syllable» evoked the special feelings in him, but the evidence of the respect for the rank, the addressee, an important or new person featured in the document. After several hours of the evening correspondence, A. Bashmachkin was able to sleep with the sole thought: «Will the God send to rewrite tomorrow?» (Gogol, 1990, p. 141). The limitation of a human interests is emphasized by Akakiy's Akakiyovych renunciation from all the usual carnal pleasures of the «bureaucratic circle» – walking along Nevskiy Prospect, visiting the theatre, the evening conversations with «his brother» or with pretty ladies (Gogol, 1990, p. 141). The humble diminution of the needs additionally expresses the sole sense of life, the system of values – the service to the department, rewriting.

A. Bashmachkin's measured life was destroyed by a humble dream of the necessary – a new overcoat, which is absolutely necessary for St. Petersburg's northern frosts (Gogol, 1990, p. 141). The overcoat became the meaning of his existence, the embodiment of the attributes of power, wealth, a social status (Karimova, 2011, p. 5). In six months the dream was destined to come true owing to incredibly hard savings, a moral abuse and even starvation in order to raise the amount needed to order a new overcoat at the tailor's. The appearance of Akakiy Akakiyovych at service in a new outerwear was the culminating event of life, «exactly the biggest festive holiday» (Gogol, 1990, p. 154). For the first time and finally he was noticed by the colleagues, who suggested even organizing a party at their own expense to commemorate the event. For a moment, A. Bashmachkin felt he was the master of the situation and a «significant person». However, the solemn completion of «mingling in the society» did not happen, because on the same evening he was beaten by street thieves and stripped of his brand new overcoat. It was the beginning of the end. The efforts of the abused person, who asks a «significant person» in the general's rank for protection, who «can promote the case», (Gogol, 1990, p. 154), who asks a quarterly or investigator to help to find the abusers and the overcoat were unsuccessful. The finale of this story is notorious – not accepting the loss, Akakiy Akakiyovych, fell ill and died prematurely. Though, the deeply religious M. Hohol concludes the story with the appearance of a ghost, allegedly reincarnated A. Bashmachkin by F. Kafka, who pulled out of the passerby overcoats and calmed down only when he removed his clothes from the «significant person».

The disease diagnosis of «an eternal» title counselor – a lonely life in need, the black and white weekdays, a cruel reality, an unbearable burden to meet the expectations of the environment, the hidden desires, the unfulfilled dreams, the arrogance of unfriendly neighbors, a clown service in the department. The body inferiority «depicted» by the author at the beginning of the story does not look so spooky as the mental deformation of A. Bashmachkin as a result of buying and loss of the overcoat. The Soviet critics always emphasized the futility of a man's material desires and their malice. However, in our opinion, everything looks simpler. Refusing from many of the joys of life, in order to end his suffering, Akakiy Akakiyovych had to enjoy a moral satisfaction and finally experience the corresponding emotions. Only against the background of dreams of the overcoat did he have the vigorous hopes of arranging his own life, «as if some other person

were present with him, as if he were not alone, and some pleasant girlfriend of life agreed to go along with his life path» (Gogol, 1990, p. 147). Subconsciously, the overcoat is associated with something very desirable, a tool for obtaining the unattainable. The dreams and a sense of being, awakened by imagination, the last hopes for change for the better fell apart.

From the pages of P. Annenkov's memoirs it is known that the a real story became the plot of «The Overcoat», which was told in one society, where M. Hohol was present (Annenkov, 1928, pp. 61–62). It was also about an official, who dreamed of a gun. After acquiring it, he lost it later and died of the sorrow. The participants of the evening party recall that everyone was very pleased with the story, except for M. Hohol, who was frankly upset. For several years, with breaks and rewriting of the individual fragments, the story was created, which came to light in 1842 with the blessing of M. Pohodin, the historian. A realistic portrayal of the reality of the titular adviser was made possible by the author's life experience. The life line of M. Hohol himself seemed to have been broken, when the author suddenly got ill and passed away, leaving after himself as small inheritance. The novel of L. Tolstoy «The Death of Ivan Ilyich», published in 1886, is similar to the novel «The Overcoat». The German philosopher M. Heidegger considered «The Overcoat» to be the harbinger of all existentialism in the XXth century philosophy and literature. We do not know if he was familiar with M. Hohol's work. However, the easily recognizable phrase of Eugene-Melgior the Marquis de Voegue about the life experience of more than one generation of a small and, above all, a lonely person: «We all came out of M. Hohol's Overcoat», – sounds right and announces the emergence of the existential knowledge of being.

The story about another petty St. Petersburg official, a titular adviser, a rewriter of the documents, who «revised and checked the papers», – Oksentiy Ivanovych Popryshchyn, was painted by M. Hohol in «The Notes of the Crazy». However, the story explicitly states that O. Popryshchyn served as the staff chief, which means that he should have been an out-of-court advisor (the VIIIth rank) and should have been addressed to with the phrase «your nobility». However, it is well known from the context that his chief was the out-of-court advisor, who originated from different ranks. This circumstance created the discomfort of communication between a noble-born but impoverished titular adviser O. Popryshchyn and not a noble-born, but with a university diploma, chief. A university diploma, mostly of a law faculty graduate, really became a sign of an educated bureaucracy at the time. The law diploma for an official of such a class was an obligatory condition for an official promotion, though until the XIXth century a practical experience remained the only source of the competence formation. (Mironov, 2000, p. 164).

The novel is complex in the socio-psychological, personal biographical, aesthetic dimensions and causes a lot of discussions from a complete admiration to a complete rejection. The novel is a diary of the main character. Initially, O. Popryshchyn, talking to himself through the notes, talks about the service, and then he begins to communicate with hallucinatory interlocutors – Mudgie, the director's daughter dog, where the main character served in the department. And then, the main character received the letters from the dog with whom she corresponded. In the end, he clearly «realized» himself the King of Spain with a corresponding «set of thoughts», which at the end of the novel lose all meaning and turn into a compendium of the unfinished phrases, drawn from the stream of consciousness of the maniacal ideas.

Oksentiy Ivanovych Popryshchyn, like A. Bashmachkin, is a deeply lonely elderly man. Every day Maura, a house maid cleaned his boots, cooked his meals, led a simple household, and sent him to work. However, unlike Akakiy Akakiyovych, O. Popryshchyn was categorically dissatisfied with the work in the department. The benefits of the department were only in the

«nobility of service» for him, aclerical purity, the mahogany tables and the form of a polite address – «you» (Gogol, 1990, p. 173). The head of the department was of a low opinion concerning the subordinate's virtues, calling him a cash-strapped zero (Gogol, 1990, p. 176). The relations with the head of the department did not develop and he did not hide his negative attitude towards O. Popryshchyn, he sincerely criticized O. Popryshchyn's work and constantly asked: «What is it, brother, in your head always such a jumble? You sometimes rush about like a madman, sometimes you confuse things so much that the devil himself will not make it out, you put down a small letter in the title, you do not put down either a date or a number» (Gogol, 1990, p. 173). With an ironical undertone Oksentiy Ivanovych, explained the head's attitude towards him by one emotion – envy, caused by the fact of a daily staying at the director's office, where he (the head of the department) often repaired the feather pen for «His Excellency» (Gogol, 1990, p. 173). On the deep conviction of the titular advisor, «it is, of course, some clerks and even serf people can write something; but their writing is mostly mechanical: no commas, no full stops, no syllable» (Gogol, 1990, p. 175), only the nobleman can write correctly, and therefore Oksentiy Ivanovych considered the remarks of the head, who was not equal with him in origin, extremely humiliating.

Oksentiy Ivanovych's dreamed service place was the provincial government, the civil or government chambers. The measure of certainty in his correctness was the officials' opportunities, who go far beyond the humble expectations to get rich at the «jew-treasurer's» in advance (Gogol, 1990, p. 173). The formula of happiness is «calculated» by a titular advisor from the service experience of his colleague and «brother» by rank, but, at the provincial government, where «he leaned against the corner wall and wrote» and «a dress-coat on him is ugly, his face caused the desire to spit, but look at what country house he hires [...] a gold-plated porcelain cup and don't bring it to him», but give» a couple of trotters, or yeast, or three hundred rubles». He looks so quiet, he talks [...] delicately [...], and then he will take so much from you that he leaves only one shirt» (Gogol, 1990, p. 173). Therefore, for Oleksiy Ivanovych, the opportunity to take bribes is not only a source of a material wealth, but also an identifier of a successful career as a bureaucrat.

According to B. Myronov, in the history of bureaucracy the bribery is a difficult and controversial topic (Mironov, 2000, p. 166). This is due to the fact that for a long period, up to 1764, the time when the official claim for service was introduced, there was a special system of remuneration, covering different types of payment for services, incl. the bribe to express some honor, a gift, a treat, feeding, other «mechanisms» of expedited record keeping and a favourable resolution of the issues, without the law violations (Pisarkova, 2002). Therefore, the bribery played an important social function, complementing not only the article of the material profits of the officials, but (paradoxically) the lawful performance of the cases. That lasted until the great reforms of the second half of the XIXth century at least. It should be also noted that the possibility of bribery diminished sharply and directly in accordance with the hierarchy of the official's rank, who had a decent payment and was not tempted by any chances to be given a bribe. At the same time, the official salaries of the XIVth – IXth grades officials were low. In particular, the titular advisors received 75 rubles in silver per month (Oklady denezhnye). This fact caused their rather modest living conditions. Thus, M. Hohol's hero A. Bashmachkin, a capital official, had the annual salary of 400 rubles per year, taking into account all his merits (Gogol, 1990, p. 141). Their poverty indicated the following fact – it was unlikely that all Russian officials could be blamed for bribery, and therefore sometimes dreamed of the additional sources of income and the ranks where it was possible.

The desire to get some superiority, to rise above the others, to become an upper class official formed the top in the value hierarchy of O. Popryshchyn. According to Oleksiy Ivanovych, he had

every reason for this. Almost every note contains the official's value traits: «I am the official, I am of a noble origin», «I can't stand a lackey milieu», «I am a nobleman», «I am fond of going to the theatre», «Only a noble man can write correctly». That's why the lifeline had to pass according to the defined strategic positions: «we will be a colonel, and [...] if the God gives the chance, then we will be come something more» (November, 6) (Gogol, 1990, p. 177), «I'd like to become a general: not to get the rank only, no, I'd like to become a general to see them flattering me and doing different things for me» (November,13) (Gogol, 1990, pp. 193, 196), «Why am I a titular advisor and why should I be a titular advisor? Maybe I'm some kind of a count or a general, and I only seem to be a titular adviser? [...] Can't I be granted right now the Governor-General or the Quartermaster, or some?» (December, 3) (Gogol, 1990, p. 196). The delusions of grandeur overcame «myopia» and, finally, «there is a king in Spain. He is found. I am this King» (2000, April, 43) (Gogol, 1990, p. 197). The dates in the notes of the appetite growth concerning the rank, the status indicated not only O. Popryshchyn's autumn-winter mental illness progress, but also of a clear desire to get out of the eternal title advisor «pants» finally.

There are phrases of steadily increasing expression: «Yes, I spit on him [the chief]». The phrases are the signs of Oksentiy Ivanovych's wishes and the irreconcilable conflict, not only with himself but also with his milieu» (November, 6) (Gogol, 1990, p. 177), «I spit on you both [the chief and the department's head]» (November,13) (Gogol, 1990, p. 196), and I spit on all the «clerical bastard staff» (March, 86. Between day and night) (Gogol, 1990, p. 198). Against the background of his career progression, his attitudes toward the colleagues changed dramatically, as well as toward those, whom the titular advisor had recently admired. So, in the initial notes the idol appears to be «the very education», the state official, «not of our brother level» (Gogol, 1990, p. 175) – the head of the department. However, in the last notes, radically contradictory views were expressed in the acutely outspoken and cynical, pretentious phrases. And now the director is just «a cork, a simple cork, and nothing else more» (Gogol, 1990, p. 198). And all the clerical staff, «all the seclerical staff, all these, who shout and try to join the court yard, heralding they are the patriots and etc.», so they «will sell their father and mother for the money, ambitious men, those betrayed the Christ!» (Gogol, 1990, p. 199). A convinced dissatisfaction with things and denying humility in life, confirm O. Popryshchyn's desire for change for the better. The last hope of the career growth by getting married to the department director's daughter, was completely defeated. This fact catalyzed further the disease of Oksentiy Ivanovych. Pretending to be insane, M. Hohol speaks through the hero of the story, exposing the unattractive defects of Russian bureaucratic apparatus, violating the taboo of the ruling officials' morals. Moreover, in proportion to the complication of the disease, the titular advisor consciously perceived the flaws of bureaucracy more clearly, which further creates a sense of phantasmagoria.

Among the confused reflection, caused by O. Popryshchyn's disease, we can «read» his vision of the reasons for his status as an eternal titular advisor and the inability to grow in his career – «there is no wealth, no prosperity – that's the problem» (Gogol, 1990, p. 177), and the orphanage because he grew up without a «bureaucratic father». Deprived of the conditions to become the one he wanted, the unfulfilled desires meant the end of life for O. Popryshchyn – «there is no place on the Earth for him!» (Gogol, 1990, p. 202). From the inconsistency of one's own requests and capabilities, a man dies, and to resolve this contradiction seems to be an incredible affair. As V. Bohdanov notes, the figures of titular advisors-losers are often depicted in Russian literature (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 108). The advisors-losers were the retired bailiff «a scoundrel» and «a goose» Poyarkov in the novel, written by P. Melnykov (Melnikov, 1897, p. 47–48), a literary prototype of A. Bashmachkin – Makar Dyevushkin, the middle-aged official, in «The Poor» and

Semen Marmeladov in «The Crime and Punishment», written by F. Dostoyevskiy and the others. The latter considered M. Hohol's novel «The Overcoat» to be brilliant due to a perfect image of the titular advisor (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 108). Let's also agree with colleagues that there are less «grotesque» characters among literary characters, but this is rather an exception.

The mode-of-life scenes increase the effect of the «titular advisor's» image perception. The wardrobe of the titular advisor was not of a fashionable style or an artistic and aesthetic sophistication. His modesty is conveyed in general and in detail. So, Akakiy's Akakiyovych old-fashioned overcoat «was not green but of a reddish-flour color», in some places it was so worn out, that «the cloth [...] had holes and the wadding was worn out too», and the collar of the overcoat, humiliatingly called a home female dress by the colleagues – a cowl, «got less and less each year because it was used for other parts of clothes» (Gogol, 1990, pp. 140, 142). Even the unpretentious and far-fetched trends of Bashmachkin's familiar tailor – Petrovych, make us speak of a dress as a «poor clothing», «the matter is quite rotten» (Gogol, 1990, p. 142). Only before the official's death «there passed a light guest in the image of the overcoat, that made the poor life more alive» (Gogol, 1990, p. 158). The theft of the «light guest» became an insurmountable deep traumatic shock for Akakiy Akakiyovych, undermined his health and a relative mental stability. That was the reason for his death, leaving a modest inheritance – «a bunch of goose feathers, ten white government papers, three pairs of socks, two-three buttons torn from the trousers and [...] a cowl» (Gogol, 1990, p. 158).

The reflections of Bashmachkin, the titular advisor, on the life important size «choice» for him seem rather dramatic and exhausting: «to buy new trousers, to pay the shoe-maker an old debt for making new heads to old calves [...] to order three shirts and two pairs of underwear, which is considered to be impolite to mention here» or to spare this money and order a new overcoat in a remote distance from Nevskiy Prospect, and hence, a cheap atelier studio (Gogol, 1990, p. 146). Therefore, for Akakiy Akakiyovych the choice in favour of clothes renewal was incredibly brave. The miserable life of the XIth grade official forced him to save on everything for almost a year, ousting even very modest «liberties» from an everyday life: «not to drink tea in the evenings, not to light [...] the candles, and if anything is needed to be done, to go to the hostess's room and work at the candle-light; walking along the streets, to step as easily and carefully as possible on stones and slabs, almost on tiptoe, so as not to rub out soles too soon; to give the laundress as rare as possible to wash the laundry, and so as not to have it worn out, every time after coming home, to take it off and put on a cotton coat, very old and spared even by time» (Gogol, 1990, p. 147). The accentuated attitude of A. Bashmachkin to the old things emphasizes how the little man of the new great era of the Russian Empire lived and what precious for the little man was.

A devastating split of personality and the appearance of another titular advisor – Oksenti Ivanovych Popryshchynis very briefly described as if from the words of Fijie dog, but in fact, it was a self-reflection. He appears ugly, an absolute «tortoise in a sack», just like in the overcoat of an old style and a low quality woolen cloth (Gogol, 1990, p. 174) and «hay» instead of hair on the head (Gogol, 1990, p. 191). O. Popryshchyn, like A. Bashmachkin, dreamed of his «overcoat» – «a fashionable dress-coat made by a tailor, and [...] a tie» (Gogol, 1990, p. 177). The personification of the hatred of his life was cut by him his overcoat, and the final denial of the precarious existence a royal suit, «sewn» by his own hands in a murk state (Gogol, 1990, p. 199).

The envy for the life «winners» – the senior ranks, is present in every novel of the cycle, but in «The Overcoat» and «The Notes of the Crazy» it can be identified in almost every small sketch. Therefore, the titular advisor's filthiness increases even more because of the well-being of his superiors. A bohatyr appearance, a golden chain, boots at 30 rubles price, the bookcases, the

«mirrors and porcelain», a general's uniform, trotters, overcoats with a beaver collar, the lanterns, the candles, the card tables, French perfumes, batista handkerchiefs, the coach, the house, the tube, gastronomic items, warmth of the wife and children, the family tenderness and adultery, the subordinates' submissiveness and the opportunity to induce them – these candid M. Hohol instructions for existence of a «parallel world» are presented in the novels on purpose to reveal another dimension of life.

An interesting marker of success was the location of the story characters' dwellings. Indirectly, we learn that most of Oksentiy Ivanovych's colleagues lived in the first five-storeyed building of St. Petersburg (Gogol, 1990, p. 175), located in the city center near the Catherine Canal, the so-called the house of I. Zverkov, built in 1827. The house is known for the fact that in 1829 – 1831 M. Hohol also lived there on the fifth floor (Vasiliev, 2015). The titular advisor of a noble origin, O. Popryshchyn, lived in a remote place from Nevskyi Prospect, since he reached it on foot, but we do not find the exact address in the novel. His way to the department ran through Meshchanska, Piddyacha Streets, Lantern or Carpenter's lanes, the so-called «The middle of St. Petersburg's streets and alleys» (Vasiliev, 2015), adjacent to Sinna (Hay) Square. It is possible to determine where Akakiy Akakiyovych lived only through the general remarks, but most likely it was the outskirts of St. Petersburg. It is known that he had to cross five or six streets on his way to the department (Gogol, 1990, p. 141), and the way to a dinner party to the assistant chief of the staff indirectly indicates that he lived «in the best part of the city» so it was not very close to Akakiy Akakiyovych, because the closer Bashmachkin approached his colleague's house, the more alive were the streets, more enlightened and crowded with people. The audience was also correspondent: «the ladies, beautifully dressed, the men with beaver collars, [...], the scorchers in crimson velvet hats, with varnished sleds, with bear blankets, [...] carriages with goats», the bright shop windows, the lanterns (Gogol, 1990, p. 150). On the contrary, returning home from the party, a spacious, crowded part of the city gradually retreated and stayed far behind, instead «there stretched the deserted streets, which even [...] were not merry in the afternoon, and even more so in the evening», which later became «even more deserted and more secluded: the lanterns began to flash less often [...] there were wooden houses, the fences; nowhere the only soul; only one snow gleamed in the streets, but sadly blackened low huts with closed shutters» (Gogol, 1990, p. 152). This urban landscape was coming to an end with a description of the outskirts, which was a terrible wasteland (Gogol, 1990, p. 152). Therefore, the residence location of the different classes of officials becomes another clue to the perception of the officials' vision of the metropolitan bureaucracy of the imperial Russia.

In the novels M. Hohol created the worship of the rank particularly successful. The beliefs of the lower ranks in the necessity and importance of the upper classes' constant worship are implemented in their every thought and action, in general, in the model of behaviour. The «superiors» of this world create a shade that houses the collegial registrars, the secretaries, the titular advisors, and other bureaucrats of the elementary classes of «influence». In «The St. Petersburg Tales» one can find a lot of scenes, when due to the unfolded plots and the individual lapidary phrases, there was described the relationship between the chief and his subordinates. Thus, the «significant person», depicted in «The Overcoat» was so imperious that «ten officials, who made up the whole governmental mechanism of the office, were already in fear; saw him from afar, he left the case and waited for standing, while the chief came across the room», but «his ordinary conversation with the lower ones was austere and consisted of almost three phrases:» «How dare you? Do you know who you are talking to? Do you understand, who is in front of you?» (Gogol, 1990, p. 152). It is interesting that in a very different way the general treated his colleagues and at that time he

was «still a man as follows, a very decent man, in many ways not even stupid» (Gogol, 1990, p. 155). The potential grandeur of the «significant person» was amplified by the attraction to the ceremonies, namely: «He made the lower officials meet him on the stairs, when he came into office; that no one dared to appear directly to him, and that everything was in a strict order; the college registrar would report to the provincial secretary, the provincial secretary – to the titular or any other person, and in such a way, the case would come to him», because» so in St. Russia everything is infected with imitation, everyone is teasing and corrupting his superior» (Gogol, 1990, p. 154). Under these sketches there lies another reforming detail of a bureaucratic life – the relations transition between the ranks from the personal plane to the formal and rational one (Gogol, 1990, p. 167).

A similar scene is described in «TheNotes of the Crazy» when Oksentyi Ivanovych, during his last visit to the department, critically contemplates the bow of the chief to the waist before the director and the fuss of «office cladding» before him (Gogol, 1990, p. 198). Even metaphysical looks of O. Popryshchyn's desire, being already in a very crazy state, of giving up any worship because «no signs of subduing are needed!» (Gogol, 1990, p. 198). And, conversely, the usual traditional thing is the wish of the titular advisor in a common sense, the newly appointed chief of a small office, to shield himself from his subordinates, to have a separate room for himself and to place the chaplains with red collars at the door to emphasize the ceremony of visiting the office, where «an ordinary desk could hardly be placed» (Gogol, 1990, p. 154). Another indirect scene is about the attitude to the senior ranks, related to the donation for Bashmachkin, in order to compensate the damage, caused by the theft of a new overcoat. The collection of «a little sum of money» was explained by the recent donations made by the office to have the director's portrait made and «some book, suggested by the chief of the department, who was a friend of the writer» (Gogol, 1990, p. 154). The director's portrait and the book, written by the director's friend, but an unknown author, became more important for Akakiy's Akakiyovych colleagues than his suffering.

Small gastronomic sketches of the meals, which also depended on the salary, distinguish the way of the titular advisor's life because «everything depended on the amount of the received salary and as well as one's own wish» (Gogol, 1990, p. 140). Therefore, in Akakiy Akakiyovych's dinner table was extremely monotonous and consisted of the soup with sauerkraut, a piece of beef and onions, and he ate it all «with flies and with all that the God sent at that time», and drinking tea after eating (Gogol, 1990, p. 140). His colleague of the highest rank – the assistant clerk, had a better dinner – a mixed salad, cold veal, paste, pastry, champagne (Gogol, 1990, p. 151). The department's director had a different meal. Quite an ordinary thing on his table there were different kinds of meat, including wildfowl, the capers and herbs sauces, the cereals, a wide range of bread in abundance, vegetable dishes, in addition exotic vegetables, such as artichokes, tea, coffee with cream, etc.(Gogol, 1990, pp. 184–185). Unlike the widespread gastronomic canvases in M. Hohol's works, «The St. Petersburg Tales» are not typical of it. However, even the small and insignificant notes about the possibilities of the novel characters become indicative and increasingly «draw» the reader into the era and the mode of life of the official «titulyaska».

The family institute is depicted in a quite interesting way. At the time of writing M. Hohol's life experience is not burdened with the family ties or deep family responsibilities. With no house of his own and having other social oppression, M. Hohol couldn't even think of making a family. It is the very circumstance that determines the marriage horizon of his main literary characters. They are all unmarried, though they are surrounded by many family people, happy and unhappy couples. A mercenary marriage, depicted in the novel, is a noticeable motive for the relations of the bureaucracy with the opposite sex. Oksentyi Ivanovych looked at the department director's

daughter, dreamed of getting into her boudoir, where there was «paradise on earth», but only until he was a titular advisor. When fantasies «made» him a general, getting married for him seemed to be superfluous, because the supremacy of the title over the director promised the greater pleasure (Gogol, 1990, p. 191). But Akakiy Akakiyovych, because of the doom to be eternally in the rank of atitular advisor and a desperate hopelessness of his own existence, just in the new overcoat thought about various French things and the relations with womanhood (Gogol, 1990, p. 150). However, the novels are devoid of details of officials' marriage plans, with no apparent desire to pursue the dreams, which may further testify to the author's avoidance of the topic. Although there is a lot of well-known speculation about M. Hohol's attitude towards women, let's leave it to the experts. We will note another important concept related to the marriage and written out by the storyteller – the use of family, family ties, patronage to promote their own children. Therefore, the son of a «significant person» served in the office (Gogol, 1990, p. 160).

The integrity of the official's image is also complemented by the notes on the attitudes towards the duties performance. If Akakiy Akakiyovych is perceived by the reader as a model copywriter who «made no mistake in writing» (Gogol, 1990, p. 139) and an impeccable employee, who only once did not come to the department because of the loss of his overcoat, and then death, then Oksentiy Ivanovych allowed himself not to go to the service for three weeks, because «hell with him [...] I will not rewrite your nasty papers» and somehow for the sake of «joking went to the department» (Gogol, 1990, p. 198). At the same time the complete ignorance of the authorities' anger clearly illustrated the fact that in reality a clear system of disciplinary or administrative punishment, penalties in such cases did not exist and for the most part in Russia the right of condemnation was used. Even at the end of the XIXth century, after the judiciary and other reforms in the legal system, lawyers often noted the helplessness of the administration concerning the undisciplined officials, considering the situation a topical task of the administrative justice (Korkunov, 1909, pp. 402–403).

The «Caucasus» collegiate assessor was the hero of M. Hohol's novel «The Nose», who for a greater significance was called exclusively by a military rank, – major Kovalyev (Gogol, 1990, p. 54). The collegiate assessor belonged to the VIIIth grade, which the nobles acquired after 4 years, and the others – owing to 12 years of a perfect service. The attractiveness of the grade consisted in the following: until 1845 it guaranteed the right to receive an ancestral nobility. After the Decree of August 6, 1809, the applicants for the rank were required to have a higher education, or to pass the appropriate exam. The note that Kovalyev was a Caucasian collegiate assessor needs explanation. After Georgia's annexation to Russia, the government, attempting to create the Romanov administrative unit in the Caucasus, actively engaged young officials to serve in the region, promising them the lenient requirements and a short term of a collegiate assessor rank, and, accordingly, a noble title with a small noble estate (Bogdanov, 2011, p. 109). M. Hohol's remark that «the college assessors, who receive this title with the help of the academic certificates cannot be compared to those [...] that were made in the Caucasus» (Gogol, 1990, p. 54), – is quite fair. In the notes to the text, the author remarks that the rank of the assessor «could be obtained much easier thanks to the incredible abuses of the administration» (Gogol, 1990, p. 54). So, Kovalyev arrived in the capital in order to get a high-ranking service of a worthy collegiate assessor – «the vice-governor, or – executive in any prominent department» (Gogol, 1990, p. 54).

The collegiate assessor looked very different in an everyday life and in solving important matters for himself. He walked along Nevskiy Prospect every day; visited confectioneries, hair dressing salons, theaters; in clothing he liked white starched collars and lace shirts; wearing

many seals of «cornelian, and with coats of arms, and those on which it was carved: Wednesday, Thursday, Monday and so on» (Gogol, 1990, p. 54). And the only thing from the outside that indicated a hasty appointment, except at a young age, there were the sideburns that did not correspond to the status and showed origin, because they were such, «what can still be seen in provincial and county land surveyors, architects and regimental doctors, also senders of different police duties and generally all those men, who have full, rosy cheeks and play boston very well» (Gogol, 1990, p. 55).

Unlike the images of titular advisers depicted by M. Hohol, the major's apartment was located there, where «everyone will show» – on Sadova Street (Gogol, 1990, p. 54), that begins at Nevskiy Prospect. Having a much better material fortune than a titular advisor, the college assessor was already more free to think about the marital relations and was not even against making love to a lady for whom a good dowry was given and who had «two hundred thousand capital» (Gogol, 1990, p. 55).

Kovalyov bowed to those from the higher world as well. Knowing, for example, a court-yard advisor, he always called him a lieutenant colonel. In the small phrase of M. Hohol, that the major did it with the emphasized kindness to make a characteristic desire to do a good deed to the senior rank, magnifying publicly (Gogol, 1990, p. 58).

The external attributes for Kovalyev were extremely important, because thanks to them, the assessor was going to get a position. Therefore, when the anguish occurred and he lost an important «detail» of his face – his nose, there were no limits to suffering until he «it was found» on the face, because «without a nose a man – a bird is not a bird, a citizen is not a citizen» (Gogol, 1990, p. 63). However, unlike Akakiy Akakiyovych, having losses, Kovalyev wasn't at a loss, he didn't fall into the psychologically exhausting emotion. The plot is with a nose, according to the experts, gleaned from folklore, which is rich in such stories. M. Hohol used this plot to dress the folklore heights in in new literary form.

Between the two absurdly satirical events, the main plot unfolds – the nose is not only a part of the face, but at the same time a noble of a high rank, since «he was in a uniform, sewn with gold, with a large standing collar; he had suede pants; the sword at the side», and «on the hat with the plume it could be concluded that he was considered in the rank of a statistic advisor» (Gogol, 1990, p. 55). The rank of state advisor (the Vth grade) was considered very honorable and reached only by persons of a noble origin. Separated from the face, the nose had an independent life and for three ranks surpassed its ruler, starting to serve «on the scientist part» (Gogol, 1990, p. 57). For the hero of the novel, the rank of a Caucasian collegiate assessor was the peak of opportunity. But his nose, with his major's patronage, was able to fly higher.

The author emotionally describes Kovalyev's vagaries related to the search of the nose – visiting a newspaper expedition and a private bailiff. Not so ambitious as in «The Overcoat» there appear «piety departments», but their employees are depicted invariably great lovers of gifts. The bribe is a prerequisite for the successful consideration of any issue in the office of the bureau and this belief dominated in the mind of the petitioner. Therefore, for example, the whole front room in the house of the bailiff is filled with sugar heads, «which were brought by the merchants because of friendship» and in general, «the private was a great encourager of all arts and manufactures, but he preferred the state appropriation to everything» (Gogol, 1990, p. 62), and the very hero occurred in the situations when «the hand began to pocket» (Gogol, 1990, p. 61).

There is quite interesting Kovalyev's movement as soon as the nose is returned. It turns out that he was not limited to the daily route: the places of residence and the services. Chronologically, it looked like this: a pastry shop, where a cup of chocolate was usually served; a hairdresser, where

the sideburns were carefully aligned; the department, where he sought to obtain a lieutenant-governor or an executive position; the house of an authoritative and influential collegiate assessor and promising, bright Nevskiy Prospect. The thirst for power moved the major along this route of «consuming» life experiences. Kovalyev worried over his nose, first of all, to be able to realize successfully the benefits of the rank and file the dream.

Therefore, the image of the collegiate assessor is written in the best M. Hohol's literary tradition and corresponds to the rejection of the stereotypical perception of the bureaucrat as a failure with poor prospects. On the contrary, the average official was not only an educated fashionable man, but he had a firm conviction that it was advisable to make a career and a fairly realistic optimistic perspectives.

The Conclusions. According to M. Hohol's contemporaries, in the above-mentioned novels many interesting things are engraved for a keen inquisitive mind. The image of the official can be complemented endlessly by the observations and the conclusions. But let us dwell on the most important. The main hero of «The St. Petersburg's Tales» by Mykola Hohol is a small middle-aged city official, in particular a titular advisor, who served in the ministerial department. The average bureaucrat of the lower classes was engaged in copying, registering documents, other clerical current practices, and was largely free-hired, decent, competent in his duties with minimal wages, a non-family person, and many years of experience, a person, who did not take bribes and lived in a rented room with the owner of the apartment. During the reign of Alexander I, and especially his brother Nicholas, a generation of educated bureaucracy was formed, although the traditions of giving orders for special merit, a social origin or property were maintained. The circumstances of entry into office are rather subtle, and this further reflects the processes of becoming a new format employee. The professionalization of the bureaucracy, thanks to a special education, the separation of a civilian service from the military one, changed the image of the typical bureaucrat.

The collective portrait of the titular advisor destroys the stereotypes of perception in the society of the «ash tribe» (by M. Hohol). The author knew about the negative attitude towards the bureaucratic people of this category and the corresponding literary image, but he tried to break free from the stamps and to sympathize with his heroes, not only worrying because of their deep loneliness and the smallness of life's pleasures, but also cementing the understanding of the smooth work importance of a small «wheel» of bureaucracy. Improvements at various levels of the government organization, the governing mechanism, the quantitative growth of the officials, together with the mental changes, caused by the increased requirements for professional fitness, whose activities were the subject only to the laws, interests of the state and the bureaucratic corporation, contributed to the development of the rule of law and the imperial state.

However, a collegiate assessor appears quite different in «The St. Petersburg Tales». A causally motivated, capable, young person, who is confident in himself, lives in an alternative scenario, and when he falls into the «primitive class», he ambitiously dreams of more. The specific bureaucratic subculture obliged him to remain viable in all situations and to achieve continually what he desired.

For M. Hohol, his characters are, first and foremost, the people and the destinies. The archetypal image of inevitability is elaborated through the streets of St. Petersburg, the houses, the uniforms, the sideburns, the office, which unfold interestingly and multifaceted. A new, competent and resourceful generation of promising young people, taking up the field of service, is ready to act in the name of the state, the power, the influence and the social benefits. At the same time, in the context of autobiography, we have images of characters, who do not manage their own lives but live in the interests of the service. The decades of activity in the ranks sparked a fading

of private interests, the dreams receded and became almost unreal for the bureaucrats. But what maybe something better for them than Nevskiy Prospect, which always acts now, self-sufficiently and mysteriously, embodies the power of the state and carries out the articulation of the world, where «everyone is either the officials or the merchants or the Germans masters?»...

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**«ORIGINS» OF THE MODERN THEORY OF ADMINISTRATIVE LAW
IN THE PAPERS OF POLICE LAW SCHOLAR
OF THE SIXTH CENTURY M. KH. BUNGE**

Abstract. The aim of the research. Based on the analysis of the papers of Mykola Khrystyanovych Bunge and the comparison of their provisions with modern scientific professional sources, the paper substantiates the «basic» (fundamental) role of «theory of police law» («police theory») formulated by the prominent police law scholar in the XIXth century for the contemporary domestic theory of the administrative law. **The research methodology** is grounded on the principles of historical, comparative analysis. **The scientific novelty** is defined by the fact that it is proposed an innovative approach to the analysis of the provisions of M. Kh. Bunge's papers in the aspect of the comparison of their provisions with the content of the modern scientific sources directly devoted to the priorities of the formation of the contemporary doctrine of administrative law which results in the substantiation of a «basic» role of the scientific heritage of police law scholar of the XIXth century M. Kh. Bunge for the latter. **The Conclusions.** Thus, a detailed analysis of M. Kh. Bunge's scientific papers directly devoted to the «police law» illustrates that basic principles of the modern theory of the administrative law were

formed in the XIXth century, in particular, regarding the comprehension of the administrative law, its methods (with the separation of the specific nature of resource of each of them), the major institutes and its system as a whole, the sources and priorities for their formation. Consequently, it necessitates the intensification of comparative legal studies of the scientific heritage of the XIXth century, which not only keeps its role but also strengthens it through the years. However, the later should be consistent, detailed, system-based, and the use of historical professional source – correct and justified. Under such circumstance, it is possible to maximize the use of that unique resource of scientific sources on the subject of the «theory of police law» («police theory»), which practically serves as a basis for the modern domestic theory of the administrative law despite the period of its formation.

Key words: police law scholar, M. Kh. Bunge, police law, theory of administrative law, state development, state security.

«ВИТОКИ» СУЧАСНОЇ ТЕОРІЇ АДМІНІСТРАТИВНОГО ПРАВА У ПРАЦЯХ ВЧЕНОГО-ПОЛІЦЕЙСТА ХІХ СТОЛІТТЯ М. Х. БУНГЕ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – обґрунтування на підставі аналізу праць М. Х. Бунге та порівняння їх положень із новітніми науковими фаховими джерелами «базисного» (фундаментального) значення «теорії поліцейського права» («поліцейської теорії»), сформульованої відомим ученим-поліцейстом ще у ХІХ ст., для новітньої вітчизняної теорії адміністративного права. **Методологія дослідження** базується на засадах історичного, компаративного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** визначається тим, що пропонується новаційний підхід до аналізу положень праць М. Х. Бунге в аспекті порівняння їх положень зі змістом сучасних фахових наукових джерел, безпосередньо присвячених пріоритетним напрямам формування новітньої доктрини адміністративного права, результатом якого є обґрунтування «базисного» значення «наукової спадщини» вченого-поліцейста ХІХ ст. М. Х. Бунге. **Висновки.** Детальний аналіз наукових робіт М. Х. Бунге, безпосередньо присвячених «праву поліцейському», фактично свідчить про формування ще у ХІХ ст. засад сучасної теорії адміністративного права, зокрема щодо його розуміння адміністративного права, його методів (із виокремленням специфіки ресурсу кожного із них), основних інститутів та його системи загалом, джерел і пріоритетів їх формування. Це зумовлює потребу активізації порівняльно-правових досліджень наукової спадщини ХІХ ст., значення якої не тільки не втрачається, а й істотно з роками зростає. Щоправда, останні мають бути послідовними, поглибленими, системними, а використання історичних фахових джерел – коректним та обґрунтованим. Саме за таких умов цілком можливо максимально використати той унікальний ресурс наукових джерел з проблематики «теорії поліцейського права» («поліцейської теорії»), який, незважаючи на період свого формування, фактично слугує базисом її для новітньої вітчизняної теорії адміністративного права.

Ключові слова: вчений-поліцейст, М. Х. Бунге, поліцейське право, теорія адміністративного права, державний благоустрій, державна безпека.

The Problem Statement. Under the framework of a thorough revision of the foundations of a scientific basis for a regulatory activity oriented to settling relations directly related to the provision of the state development, the state security, the introduction of innovative institutions, the review of the content and purpose of the available ones, the attention of the interested professional academic community more often is focused on the analysis of those fundamental research papers, which not only keep its significance but, on the contrary, strengthen it through the years. That entails the historical notes of the police law, and most of them were elaborated in the XIXth century – a period of the «blossom» of the «police law», the «theory of police», the «police theory». However, a detailed analysis of the latest professional research papers concerning a relevant problem, unfortunately, illustrates the common cases of a «simplified» approach to the comprehension of the provisions' content, a «selective nature» of their consideration in forming the modern scientific basis for domestic

rule-making. In fact, the very «heritage of police law scholars» of the XIXth century forms the basis of a modern domestic professional doctrine and rule-making. The above fully refers to the «scientific golden heritage» of Mykola Khristyianovych Bunge – «living chronicle of the civilization of the half of the century» (Antolohiia, 2003, p. 70–79).

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The analysis of the topic-related sources makes it possible to mark several research areas in the study of a relevant issue conditionally. The first area is directly related to the analysis of the personality of prominent police law scholar of the XIXth century M. Kh. Bunge, his life experience and career, the role in the development of education, science and to indirect, even somewhat simplified analysis of the content of his papers (Antolohiia, 2003, pp. 70–79; Yurydychna entsyklopediia, 1998, pp. 282–283; Administratyvno-pravova nauka u personaliiakh, 2015, pp. 49–50). The second area is characterized by a complex approach to the analysis of the issue combining bibliographic aspect and study of the fundamental provisions of his papers (Rektory Kyivskoho universytetu, 2006, pp. 85–89; Politseiske pravo, 2010, pp. 1–236; Korniihuk, 2005, pp. 58–89; Kolomoets, 2018, pp. 52–56). The third area differs in the context of the field-specific trend of the research and a focus exclusively on the individual provisions of his papers (Romnin, 2003, p. 22; Stepanov, 1998, pp. 80–329; Buriachok, 2012, pp. 114–117). The fourth area provides the coverage of some provisions of «theory of police law» of M. Kh. Bunge in the aspect of the study of the genesis of theory of the administrative law (Zahalne administratyvne pravo, 2015, p. 27) but without their analysis in the context of adjustment with the provisions of the modern theory of the administrative law. In the aggregate with the above research areas, it is impossible to clarify that fundamental role of «theory of police law» formed by M. Kh. Bunge in the XIXth century for the latter one.

The Publication's Purpose. Based on the analysis of the papers of M. Kh. Bunge and comparison of their provisions with the latest scientific professional sources, the paper substantiates the «basic» (fundamental) role of the «theory of police law» («police theory») formulated in the XIXth century for the modern theory of administrative law.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Despite the unique nature of M. Kh. Bunge's personality and his significant contribution to the development of economics, a local self-government, education as a whole and a legal education (Iurydychnyi fakultet, 2015, pp. 12–14; Rektory, 2006, pp. 85–89; Hrytsenko, 2009, pp. 80–87), first of all, in the mindsets of the Ukrainians his personality is associated with the «police law», the «theory of police», the «police theory» as the very his papers included the terminological issue-related framework, concentrated the provisions on «doctrine of welfare», «doctrine of well-acting», «police law with a negative nature», «police law with a positive nature», the thesis about the complex nature of the «law of police», etc. Although he didn't have a large number of issue-related papers (Politseiske pravo. Vstup ta derzhavnyi blahoustrii, 1869; Kurs lektsiy z politseiskoho prava, 1873 – 1877), their details impress by their profound nature and volume. It is expedient to start with the comprehension of the police law as «a complex unit covering doctrine of security, or the laws on well-acting (state law) and doctrine of welfare (laws of well-being settings)» (Antolohiia, 2003, pp. 73–74). At the same time, M. Kh. Bunge considered the doctrine of welfare as «an applied part of political economy» (Kolomoets, 2018, p. 57). According to his vision, well-being setting, first and foremost, «the police law with a positive character», while well-acting is the «police law with a negative character». Specifying these «two conditional components» of the police law, in the XIXth century the police law scholar paid attention to their interrelation highlighting their general features, as follows: a) «a common source –

social relations that were formed historically in various spheres of human relations; b) the laws regulating these relations are established both for welfare and well-acting; c) the focus on regulating relations between the state or public authorities and the individual» (Antolohiia, 2003, pp. 77–78). The analysis of the modern scientific professional sources illustrates the fact that the term the «police law» is comprehended as a set of rules of law designed to regulate the relations with the participation of officers of the National Police (for example, papers of M. Loshytskyi, O. Pronevych, V. Nastiuk et al.), which is consistent with the «police law with a negative nature», «with police law – the laws of well-acting». At the same time, M. Kh. Bunge, marking a complex nature of the police law, associated it with a set of rules of the law designed to regulate the whole diversity of social relations connected with the public administration that is fully in line with the modern comprehension of the administrative law (for example, papers of V. Kolpakov, T. Kolomoets, O. Kuzmenko, V. Harashchuk, Yu. Bytiak, O. Mykolenko et al.). Moreover, M. Kh. Bunge clarifies his position regarding this issue noting that the police law itself determines «... the set of forms and methods of relations regulation... in the sphere of science, economics, transport, etc.» (Antolohiia, 2003, p. 76) emphasizing the «police law with a positive content» as a component of the «police law» or the «theory of police». The above allows stating that a modern vision of the police law is practically based on the provisions formulated in the XIXth century regarding «police law with a negative nature» or «police law in a narrow sense», and a modern vision of the administrative law is the «police law» as a whole, which covers counterparts of the XIXth century of the «laws of welfare» and the «laws of well-acting». A detailed analysis of the provisions of M. Kh. Bunge's papers directly devoted «...to the regulation of relations in transport, taxing, banking affairs...» (Antolohiia, 2003, p. 76) makes it possible to compare them with the provisions of modern professional scientific sources directly oriented towards modeling the system of a contemporary administrative law (for example, the papers of R. Melnyk, V. Bevzenko, T. Kolomoets et al.) and to hold that these objects of regulatory influence are a base for the formation of a Special part of the administrative law or its counterpart of a Special administrative law (Zahalne administratyvne pravo, 2015, p. 72; Kolomoets, 2011, p. 18–19) that once again confirms the «fundamental nature» of M. Kh. Bunge's approach of the XIXth century to the comprehension of the police law, its poly-structural character and composition of its structure, topicality of his provisions for modern realities despite the time flow, the state-building and law-making processes. In his papers, M. Kh. Bunge even uses specific terminology – a «general police law» and a «special police law» (Antolohiia, 2003, p. 79) that justifies a «basic» nature of his papers towards the modern theory of the administrative law. The provisions on the peculiarities of a regulatory state influence on the relations in economic, political and socio-cultural sectors formulated by the police law scholar M. Kh. Bunge in the XIXth century today serve as the basis for the updated doctrinal approach to the separation of sub-branches and institutes of a modern administrative law as follows: the service law (papers of T. Anishchenko), the sport law (papers of M. Tkalych), the education law (papers of S. Kushnir), the information law (papers of O. Zaiarnyi), the medical law (papers of H. Sarybaeva) etc. Even «innovative» approaches of modern legal scholars to the identification of «unorthodox» components of administrative law, for example, administrative-land law (papers of Bevzenko), administrative-business law (papers of Ye. Petrov), are based on the provisions of M. Kh. Bunge's papers on a «complex», «unifying» character of the police law.

Drawing attention to the sources of police law, in the XIXth century M. Kh. Bunge noted that «there is not a unified systematized police code» (Anthology, 2003, p. 79) and stated that

«... the availability of such a code is hardly possible, and if possible – it's more convenient at the same time ... taking into account the dual nature of the content of the police law... the unification of norms separately from the laws of welfare and the laws of well-acting» (Antolohiia (2003), p. 79). In other words, substantiating the need in systematization of the norms of the police law, the police law scholar made the use of such a form as codification impossible that is quite justifiable for poly-structural, complex branches. At the same time, he explained the need to use other forms of systematization eliminating an excessive amount and diversity of sources of the relevant branch. These provisions are fully consistent with the latest doctrinal professional approaches to the adjustment of the rules of law which regulate the entire diversity of relations in the public administration, namely: a) by the impossibility of codification (complete) of the administrative-legal norms and consequently, the availability of Administrative Code; b) by a combination of a resource of several forms of systematization of the relevant norms – codification (for adjustment of some sub-branch rules of law), incorporation (for substantive rules designed to regulate relations in certain areas of public administration). The very idea of a sub-branch approach to the adjustment of the rule of law regulating social relations in public administration, which was proposed by M. Kh. Bunge to form «rules of welfare» and «rules of well-acting», is also basic for the modern theory of the administrative law concerning the modeling of the system of sources of the relevant branch of law.

The provisions regarding the «distinction between justice (court) and police (Antolohiia, 2003, p. 77) for the protection of the rights of participants of legal relations proposed in the XIXth century is the emphasis of modern two forms of such protection – the administrative procedure and extrajudicial (administrative) protection, whose role and significance is important in the context of «priority» of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of individuals in their relations with the subjects of the public administration as «a guarantee» of democratization of the Ukrainian society.

The justification of the expediency for expanding the scope of the dispositive regulation of social relations in public administration is directly related to the clarification of the role and importance of the coordination foundations for building relations between the individuals and the subjects of the public administrations. Calling it «positive method», in the XIXth century M. Kh. Bunge marked that this method «... leads to the respect of the subject of the public administration to individuals ... the concentration of the principles of their powers to meet the needs of individuals» (Antolohiia, 2003, p. 78). In other words, in the XIXth the basis of theory of the administrative-procedural relations was laid, namely of their variety of administrative services, which is one of the «central» elements of the modern domestic theory of the administrative law. Moreover, the determination of the special status of «private persons» as participants of legal relations in the public administration, as well as the use of the term «individuals», is dominant for the modern theory of the administrative law. Taking into account the papers of M. Kh. Bunge, one can argue that the basic provisions of the latter in the context of the subjective aspect of individuals were formed in the XIXth century. With minor content changes, they remain dominant for the modern theory of the administrative law. Offered provisions regarding the determination of the role in relevant legal relations of local self-government authorities and justification of the need to expand the scope of their participation, including by delegating powers, are a prototype of the modern theory of decentralisation of power, the use of the resource of the administrative discretion and arbitrary powers.

Consequently, analyzing the resource of tools set of the public administration M. Kh. Bunge pays attention to the important role of «positive» tools not related directly to the punitive impact on the participants of legal relation which have legal liability. In the XIXth century it was formulated a provision on «...the important role of positive tools for stimulating the behavior of participants in relations» (Antolohiia, 2003, pp. 78–79) that is fully in line with the latest doctrinal provisions regarding the conviction as a «basic» method of the public administration throughout its diversity in relation to different participants of the legal relations in the public administration and position of the modern persuasion theory, the theory of incentives, the theory of promotion as components of the administrative law theory. Drawing attention to the special resource of «positive» regulation methods in the public administration, the foundation of «the priority» of these methods for a effective, successful regulation of the relations in the mentioned area was laid in the XIXth century that under current conditions of a complete revision of available and formation of new provisions of the modern theory of the administrative law is manifested in the separation of institutions of incentives in the administrative law (Strelchenko, 2008, p. 6; Kolomoiets, 2018, pp. 173–180), promotion in the administrative law, discretion and arbitrary powers in the activities of the public administration subjects, etc. Paying attention to the «positive features» of these tools, which provide «arrangement», «regulated nature» of relations with minimal resources expenditure, it is laid the basis of modern provisions of the administrative law theory towards a «human-centric» model of legal relations as a basic one in the public administration. The above-mentioned information allows formulating the conclusion that in the XIXth century M. Kh. Bunge modelled all the «architectonics» of the modern theory of the administrative law in his writings acting as its founder.

The Conclusions. Thus, a detailed analysis of M. Kh. Bunge’s scientific papers directly devoted to the «police law» shows that basic principles of the modern theory of the administrative law were formed in the XIXth century, in particular, regarding the comprehension of the administrative law, its methods (with the separation of the specific nature of resource of each of them), major institutes and its system as a whole, sources and priorities for their formation. The above causes the need to activate a comparative legal research of the scientific heritage of the XIXth century, which not only keeps its significance but also strengthens it through the years. However, the latter should be consistent, detailed, system-based, and the use of historical professional source – correct and justified. Under such circumstance, it is quite possible to maximize the use of that unique resource of scientific sources on the subject of the «theory of police law» («police theory»), which practically serves as a basis for the modern domestic theory of the administrative law despite the period of its formation.

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**SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATIONAL AND PEDAGOGICAL ACTIVITY
OF THE CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE USSR ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES M. O. TYULENYEV (1889 – 1969):
UNKNOWN AND FORGOTTEN PAGES OF LIFE AND CREATIVITY**

Abstract. *The purpose* of the article is to highlight the creative achievements in the field of the drainage land reclamation in Ukraine of a prominent scientist, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR M. O. Tyulenyeva. **The research methodology** is based on the general scientific principles of the historical accuracy, objectivity, systematicity, complexity and scientific nature. M. O. Tyulenyev's life and achievements in the development of domestic reclamation science have been reconstructed, using the method of the historical and scientific analysis with the involvement of the previously inaccessible documents. The author used the general scientific, interdisciplinary and special historical methods, as well as a diverse source base, based on the archival documents. **The scientific novelty** of the article – for the first time it has been determined that, thanks to the development and practical recommendations of M. O. Tyulenyev, first of all, in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies of the previous century, there took place an organizational formation of the scientific support system for the drainage reclamation in the Ukrainian SSR, its preservation during the German occupation of 1941 – 1943 and its rise in the 50-ies – 60-ies of the XXth century. **The Conclusions.** It has been proved that the scientist outlined the basic technological elements that allow a rational use of 3.3 million hectares of dried soils from more than 5 million reclamation fund of Ukraine. Their full and systematic introduction on the background of a primary tillage, a systematic use of fertilizers, the implementation of rational crop rotations and bilateral regulation of the water-air regime will allow to preserve the potential fertility of the drained lands and prevent their degradation. It has been illustrated that, on this basis, the growth and development of, first of all, a public animal breeding could occur for the needs of the country. M. O. Tyulenyev's scientific researches remain a «road map» for posterity to this day. It is not

by chance that the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the act to celebrate the 130th anniversary of the birth of M. O. Tyulenyev in 2019 at the state level. The scientist did much in the name of the future and especially in the aspects of the theory, methodology and practice of an agricultural land reclamation.

Key words: Mykola A. Tyulenyev, drainage land reclamation, Ukrainian Research Institute of Hydrotechnics and Land Reclamation, Rudnya-Radovel swamp experiment station, Panfilska swamp experiment station, Institute of Plant Physiology and Agrochemistry, of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, swamp culture.

НАУКОВО-ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙНА ТА ПЕДАГОГІЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ЧЛЕНА-КОРЕСПОНДЕНТА АН УРСР М.О. ТЮЛЕНЄВА (1889 – 1969): НЕВІДОМІ ТА ЗАБУТІ СТОРІНКИ ЖИТТЯ ТА ТВОРЧОСТІ

Анотація. Метою статті є висвітлення творчих здобутків на ниві осушувальних меліорацій в Україні видатного вченого, члена-кореспондента АН УРСР М. О. Тюленєва. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на загальнонаукових принципах історичної достовірності, об'єктивності, системності, комплексності та науковості. Методом історико-наукового аналізу із залученням раніше недоступних документів реконструйовано життя і звитяги М. О. Тюленєва, його внесок у розвиток вітчизняної меліоративної науки. Автор використав загальнонаукові, міждисциплінарні та спеціальні історичні методи, а також різнопланову джерельну базу, основу якої становлять архівні документи. **Наукова новизна:** вперше встановлено, що завдячуючи розробкам, а також практичним рекомендаціям М. О. Тюленєва, саме у 20–30-х рр. минулого століття відбулось організаційне становлення системи наукового забезпечення осушувальних меліорацій в УСРР, його збереження під час німецької окупації 1941 – 1943 рр. та піднесення у 50-х – 60-х рр. ХХ ст. **Висновки.** Доведено, що вчений накреслив основні технологічні елементи, які уможливають раціональне використання 3,3 млн га осушених ґрунтів із більш як 5 млн меліоративного фонду України. Їх повноцінне і системне запровадження на фоні первинного обробітку ґрунту, системного внесення добрив, застосування раціональних сівозмін та двостороннього регулювання водно-повітряного режиму допоможе зберегти потенційну родючість осушуваних земель та запобігти їх деградації. Показано, що на цій основі могли відбутися зростання і розвиток насамперед громадського тваринництва для потреб країни. Наукові пошуки М. О. Тюленєва залишаються дорожньою картою для нащадків до сьогодення. Не випадково за зроблене в ім'я майбутнього, а особливо в питаннях теорії, методології та практики агромеліоративної дослідної справи, український парламент прийняв рішення про святкування 130-річчя від дня народження М. О. Тюленєва у 2019 р. на державному рівні.

Ключові слова: Микола Олександрович Тюленєв, осушувальні меліорації, Український науково-дослідний інститут гідротехніки і меліорації, Рудня-Радовельська болотна дослідна станція, Панфільська болотна дослідна станція, Інститут фізіології рослин і агрохімії АН УРСР, культура боліт.

The Problem Statement. On December 18, 2018, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted its resolution on the state-level celebrations in 2019 (Decree, 2018). In accordance with Paragraph 1, it is recommended to celebrate solemnly 43 significant events, 96 – the jubilee celebrations of the outstanding personalities, 3 – Memory Days and 2 – the famous events of world history. Among them there are the dates, concerning the history of existence in Ukraine of the youngest component of the modern nature science and culture of the nation, namely, the experimental study. It is about the 130th anniversary of M. O. Tyulenyev, the corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the 90th anniversary of the Research Institute of Agricultural Reclamation foundation (nowadays – the Institute of Water Supply Issues and Reclamation of the NAAS). Both events are, to some extent, complementary, as M. O. Tyulenyev is directly involved in the emergence, in accordance with the decision of the RNC of the Ukrainian SSR, on December 23, 1929, of

the current world-renowned branch scientific center in Ukraine on water supply problems and land reclamation. He also contributed to the deployment of his activities during the 1930-ies and 1960-ies, especially the issues on the theory and practice of the drainage land reclamation in the USSR / USSR. His experience in this field was included in the «golden fund» of not only Ukrainian but also the world science (Palij, & Khramov, 2018, p. 380).

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Some information on M. O. Tyulenyev is contained in the biographical editions references of the NAS of Ukraine (Palij, & Khramov, 2018, p. 380), NAAS (Gimbarzhevs`ky`j, & Kalanty`renko, 2003, pp. 316–318), the monographs, dedicated to the 75th Anniversary of the Institute of Hydrotechnics and Reclamation (Kovalenko, 2005, pp. 150). The article about the scientist was published in the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia (Kalanty`renko, 1984, p. 41). Practically, other problematic publications, dedicated to M. O. Tyulenyev, are based on this biographical information (Bachkala, 2006; Dovghoruk, 2018). The preparation for the anniversary celebrations at the state level caused the expansion of the archival searches, which allowed the introduction series of the new documents, concerning his activities, for example, in «Ukrtoif» and the AgNCU (Agricultural National Committee of Ukraine) and his activity during the years of the Soviet-German war. In addition, the analysis of the scholarly work (the articles, the brochures, the abstracts, the reports, the speeches at conferences), including even the unknown or forgotten works, allowed us to fill with the new knowledge of the scientist and, most importantly, to expand the modern understanding of M. O. Tyulenyev's place and the role in the history of a systemic scientific organization research on the swamp culture not only in Ukraine but also in the Republic of Belarus.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the creative achievements in the field of the drainage land reclamation in Ukraine of the prominent scientist, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR M. O. Tyulenyev, based on the use of the historical and scientific analysis method and the use of previously unavailable documents.

The Statement of the Basic Material. M. O. Tyulenev was born on April 5, 1889, in the village of Ivanivka Verkhnyodniprovskiyi Povit of Katerynoslav Province (nowadays – Dnipropetrovsk Region) according to some documents (Central State Archive of the Supreme Power and Administration of Ukraine, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 6) in the family of an employee; according to other documents – he was born after April, 21 in the village of Hannivka. His father served in the Alexandrivske County Zemstvo (Kherson province) as a secretary of the administration with the title of a hereditary citizen (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 18). At first, his father died, who left his wife and children (the brother Constantine) a four-room house in Alexandria. M. O. Tyulenev's mother sold it almost immediately. Until her death in 1896, she was engaged in the home-schooling and literacy education. Unfortunately, it is unknown where M. O. Tyulenyev after «... the loss of his parents at the age of 7 years ...» (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 6) got a primary education, but it proved to be worthy of admission to the gymnasium. Perhaps, the most acceptable territorially gymnasium in Poltava was chosen for Mykola. At the entrance exams he illustrated the brilliant knowledge of all subjects, including the knowledge of German. According to some sources, M. O. Tyulenyev received his secondary education at one of the best gymnasiums in Tsarist Russia – the first Poltava Classical Men's Emperor Alexander I the Blessed (now – Poltava Specialized School No. 3), which had its history since 1808 and had the so-called boarding house in its structure for 40 pupils (the orphan class) for the impoverished nobles (Archive of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Hydrotechnics and Melioration, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 30). According

to other sources, in 1900 he studied in O. O. Bayer Open Poltava Commercial School, which was transformed into a trade and industrial school in 1924, which was located in Kharkiv in 1927 (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 18). At the age of 13, M. O. Tyulenyev began to pay for his education by conducting private lessons, and from the age of 14 he paid for his further education by tutoring (Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 16).

At the beginning of his stay in Poltava, and because of his desire, M. O. Tyulenyev went to a classical gymnasium, and after his relatives lost the opportunity to pay for his education, he went to a commercial school. At least, he entered the university as «... the son of a merchant ...» (State Archive of Kyiv, f.18, d. 1, c. 757, p. 110). Other entry becomes clear. This entry was made later in the «Personal Recording Personnel Sheet», that M. O. Tyulenyev entered KPI «... by competition...» (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 58).

Studying at the gymnasium for the first time he learned about the peatland and swamp fund of the region, using the expositions of Botany auditorium and Mineralogy auditorium, as well as the expositions of the Natural History Museum of Poltava Provincial Zemstvo (nowadays – Vasyl Krychevskiy Poltava Local History Museum). From 08.1907 till 01.01.1911 he studied at the agricultural department of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute of Emperor Alexander II (nowadays – National University of Bioresources and Environmental Management of Ukraine) (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 5). Already from the first year of studying he joined the revolutionary movement and took part in the protests, provoked by the new «Regulations on Higher Education» of June 11, 1907, which effectively eliminated all the main paragraphs on autonomy of the previously adopted regulations on August 27, 1905. The regulations already led to the closure of the university for a certain period. The sphere of scientific and natural interests was formed under the influence of the lectures and practical classes, conducted by a group of outstanding scientists and educators of that time, namely professors: P. R. Slyoznika, V. H. Bazhaeva, K. H. Schindler, D. V. Klyucharova, F. I. Levchenko, and etc.

On the recommendation of P. R. Slyoznika, he brushed up the gained knowledge in practice, working in the summers of 1909 and 1910 under the direction of the future academician VASHNIL, and at that time the director of Kharkiv research field – B. M. Rozhestvenskiy (1874 – 1943), making the collective experiments with the mineral fertilizers use under winter wheat and studying their aftereffects in Katerynoslav and Kharkiv provinces (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 10234, p. 30). At the beginning of 1910 he married Maria Ivanivna Maltseva (born on October 28, 1877) for the first time. (CSASPAU, f. 331, d. 2, c. 37, p. 30). A little later, namely on December 13, 1910, his only daughter Zoya was born (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 6).

An orphan life, a constant overcoming of urgent problems exacerbated the tuberculosis disease to such a form that Verkhnodniprovsk district zemstvo for a military presence (something like the present regional military commissariats) gave him a corresponding certificate №3492 from 17.07.1911 with the conclusion «... not capable at all...» (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 1). In 1915, at the request of the Department of Agriculture № 33172, M. O. Tyulenyev's inability was again confirmed to be involved in a military service and even in the rear. On January 13, 1921, the Military Committee of Kyiv issued M. O. Tyulenyev the «White Ticket», which was stolen later (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 10).

After graduating from the university and passing the exam on May 31, 1911, he received the diploma No. 4189 of June 11, 1911 (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 1) the first category

and the right «... the rank of the Xth class ...», the so-called Peter's rank plate. His specialty is "a plant technician" or "a land reclamation agronomist". As one of the best graduates. From October 15, 1911 to January 1912 – a trainee of the Department of Agriculture of the Main Department of Agriculture and Land Management, as well as a specialist in agrochemicals in the established by the resolution of Minsk Provincial Committee on Agriculture on February 22, 1910 (Voron, 2016, p. 65) the first in the Russian Empire swamp experimental station – Minsk swamp experimental station (nowadays – the Republican Scientific Subsidiary Unitary Enterprise «Institute of Reclamation» of the Scientific and Practical Center of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus for Agriculture). The station began its functioning in July 1911 under the guidance of Doctor in Botany – O. F. Flerov. Minsk Provincial Administration assigned ten major tasks concerning the study of the peat and marsh fund of the region, which was confirmed by the Department of Agriculture, allocating 8250 rubles for the experimental station arrangement, and another 2500 rubles for the salary of the manager and his assistant (Aleksandrovskij, 1914, p. 182). The experimental station opening was largely due to the creation in 1910 at the Department of Land Improvements of the Department of Agriculture of the Special Staff in the number of 12 persons, who received a special training, first of all in Germany, for the introduction of the rational practices of an agricultural land and swamps drainage development (Tjulenev, 1958, p. 25). Together with V. I. Morozov, under the direction of O. F. Florov during the end of September – October 1911, M. O. Tyulenyev expeditiously explored different types of swamps in Minsk province (V Minskiju gubernskuju, 1912, p. 57). During the expedition, a site was chosen near the station of Pukhovychi in the estate of P. M. Mirkovych near Minsk. In addition, in November 1911 – January 1912 M. O. Tyulenyev selected the swamp soil samples, which he analyzed using the methods of P. S. Kosovych, O. N. Sabanin and Kyeldahl, who became the first ones «both from the scientific point of view and practical purposes ...» studying the swamp formations, their origin, chemical and physical properties in the Russian Empire (Tjulenev, & Frolov, 1912, p. 32). The results of these studies were included into M. O. Tyulenyev's first scientific publication and are used nowadays for monitoring the agri-environmental indicators in the Republic of Belarus. From January 1, 1912 he was a trainee of the Department of Agriculture of the Swamp Drainage Culture Courses for graduates of the special agricultural educational institutions in Ryha Polytechnic Institute. Professor Knirin was the head of the courses. Instead of 24 persons, allowed by the Department together with M. O. Tyulenyev, 29 persons attended the courses on Applied Botany (50 hours), Soil Science (24 hours), Geodesy (24 hours), Peat Utilization (24 hours), Chemical Analysis (10 hours), Bulb Plant Studying (24 hours), and Swamp Culture (140 hours). In addition, another 200 hours were allocated to the practical and laboratory classes. As one of the three best graduates, in the summer of 1912, M. O. Tyulenyev was sent to Sweden (Stockholm, Jönköping), Denmark (Copenhagen) and Germany (Berlin research station and the farms of North Prussia) to brush up the knowledge and «... to learn about the station activity in the sphere of the swamp culture and bulb plants studies ...» (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 14). In addition, the Department of Agriculture got also acquainted with the work of the exemplary swamp lands of the Baltic region and Finland, as well as some provinces of Russia.

With the permission of the Head of Land Management and Agriculture on the report of the Agriculture Department of September 6, 1912 under No. 2395, from October 1 M. O. Tyulenyev, 1912 – a junior specialist in the agricultural part of the Department of Agriculture to perform the duties of «... the head of Section III, the Department of Agriculture ...»

(CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 1), as well as until October 15, 1915 – a lecturer on the swamp culture and bulb plants cultivation at the St. Petersburg Agricultural Museum and an assistant editor of the «Zemlerob» magazine. The transition to a public service allowed M. O. Tyulenyev to receive the promotion to the 9th grade of the Petrovskiy rank plate, namely – a titular adviser. His first personal publication, «A Few Words about Swamp Culture in the Baltic Region,» was published symbolically in the «Swamp Science. Bulletin of Crops, Swamps Culture and Bulb Plants Studies» No. 1, 1913. Since 1912 the Bulletin began to be published by Minsk Swamp Station, edited by O. F. Flerov. The article was written on the basis of a survey trip to Estland, Lifland, Kurland provinces (Tjulenev, 1913, p. 97).

Among the reasons that made it impossible to carry out the complete drainage in the country, in the first place M. O. Tyulenyev considered the location of the land, in which private land tenure was wedged into the state one (Tjulenev, 1958, p. 25). This made it extremely difficult to carry out the whole cycle of work, since the private owners did not always consent to the drainage. As an important reason, the scientist pointed at the lack of the necessary machines and tools for cultivating the marshy soils for crops cultivation. He named the third most important reason – a poor quality level of drainage, because it was carried out not on the whole swamp, taking into account hydrological, hydrotechnical, soil-climatic and other conditions, but on the separate isolated areas. Another reason was the introduction of a foreign experience, which, first of all, aimed at the agricultural use of the dehydrated areas exclusively under meadows. M. O. Tyulenyev became a generating leader of the idea of creating domestic research institutions for the swamp development, which included the definition, in terms of individual natural-climatic and soil conditions of the country, of the norms and the degree of drying, the need for fertilizers, the study of the soil cultivation methods and crop care, stock crops, selection of crops, etc. His own conclusions for this issue are published in a series of the articles in the magazines «Zemlerobstvo» and «The Agricultural Bulletin» and even under kryptonimum. Their generalization is reflected in the collective work «Review Practice on the Fodder Plants. 1908 – 1913», published in St. Petersburg on behalf of the Department of Agriculture of the State Agricultural University in 1914 (238 p., 36 drawings, 6 cartograms and diagrams and 2 plans). The Review discloses the whole history of the formation and development of the national drainage culture of swamps, including the case study for its needs. At the beginning of 1911 M. O. Tyulenyev was involved in this process. Beginning with September 1, 1912, M. O. Tyulenyev was approved in the rank of a scientist agronomist and in the rank of the VIIIth class of Peter's I rank plate, – a college secretary with seniority, according to the submission of the chief of the IIIrd section of the Department of Agriculture on December 9, 1913 (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 1). He made some attempts to cure of the disease with another exacerbation of it in 1914. For this purpose he went to Sukhumi. Staying there, he published the article «Potato Storage» in the supplement to the journal «The Black Sea Agriculture», which was published under the auspices of Sukhumi Society of Agriculture. This fact was revealed for the first time, as it is not mentioned in one of the lifetime «Lists of Works» by M. O. Tyulenyev. At the end of 1915 he became a senior specialist in the agricultural part of the Department of Agriculture and a head of the training courses on the swamp culture and bulb plants studies in Kazan, for which he received «... 1800 rubles a year ...» (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 1). During World War I he was involved into the feed supply for the active army (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 18). During the years 1915 – 1917, he was a swamp culture specialist of the Volodymyr-Ryazan Department of Agriculture and State Property of Volodymyrskiy Region Departments. For the next two

years, he became a senior specialist in the swamp culture of the Department of Agriculture of Volodymyrska province (nowadays – the Russian Federation). The period of 1915 – 1917 of M. O. Tyulenyev's creative work was the least investigated. The additional historical researches are needed. During 1919 – 1921 he was a senior expert in the swamps culture of Kyiv Provincial Land Department and the assistant director of the «Peat Society» (Proskuriv). With the arrival of the Soviet power in Kyiv, in February 1919, he returned to his homeland. He dealt with the issues of peat harvesting. According to the statement, dated June 10, 1921, he was credited to the headquarters of «Ukrtoř» (CSASPAU, f. 213, d. 2, c. 717, p. 2). In Kyiv he worked as a senior inspector for the technical part of the inspection and audit department and was responsible for the activities controlling of the peat-harvesting organizations of the Left Bank Ukraine (Poltava, Kharkiv and Kremenchuk provinces) (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 18). Thus, he was entitled not only to check, but also to fire, to appoint, to control in order to avoid abusing in the work of his employees. It was no coincidence that in accordance with «The Mandate», he was allowed to use all the means of transport and communications free of charge and even to have weapons. Unfortunately, the «Reports» on such business trips during the second half of 1921 – early 1922 were not preserved. But on his recommendation in the «Official Note», dated 4.10.1921, for example, Yurovsky, a vice-director of Lohvytska peat development department, was appointed the Head of Poltava Hubzemtoř instead of Golman (CSASPAU, f. 213, d. 2, c. 717, p. 19). There is information that beginning with 1.01.1921 till November 1922, M. O. Tyulenyev was also an employee of the section of the forage area (he made the reports at its meetings), and then he became a freelance employee of the reclamation section of the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine (Institute of Archival Studies of the NLUV, f. 176, d. 1, c. 11, p. 71). He acted as one of the main participants in the emergence of the Central Research and Reclamation Station in Kazarovychi in 1922. He joined the group to elaborate its «Charter» and the work program as a member of the Station Council. Through the Review Committee of the section for education and popularization of AGSCU under the kryptonimum – «T», he printed the abstracts for the edition for the relevant section of its official printed body – «The Bulletin of Agricultural Sciences». In every possible way, he supported the idea of creating the Research Institute of Water Management of Ukraine (nowadays – Institute of Hydromechanics of the NAS of Ukraine), headed by Professor Ye. Opakov, that he started his work in accordance with the decision of the reclamation section of the AGSCU of 19.10.1923, item 4 of the order №681 / 383 of 8.05.1922 by the People's Commissar of the USSR from 3.05.1922, in accordance with the recommendation of the vice-head peat department (CSASPAU, f. 27, d. 17, c. 4155, p. 6), he was appointed, according to some information, the head of the scientific and technical department, and according to the others – the head of the pilot-reclamation part of Ukmeliozem. From January 29, 1923, he was already a senior specialist in the field of amelioration of the same department and was responsible for the overall management of the amalgamation activities and the stations control of the Ukrainian SSR (CSASPAU, f. 331, d. 2, c. 37, p. 71). He personally founded the Sahaidach Irrigation Research Station (Kovalenko, 2005, p. 150). Also, by Decree No. 1 (85) of the main agrarian department from April 26, 1923, he became, until 1932, the director of the Scientific and Research Committee of Ukraine – Rudnya-Radovelska Marsh and Reclamation Research Station, created on April 1, 1923.

Under the guidance and a direct participation of M. O. Tyulenyev the in-depth studies were conducted in Korosten district on an area of 655 hectares of a transitional-type grass bog with a peat depth of from 0 to 7 m, with the study of the hydrographic side of the

station's territory and the surrounding area. In addition, the work was done to lay a number of open and closed drainage systems and water wells. The work programmes were developed for seven multifactorial research schemes. The scientist initiated publishing and since 1926 became the author and editor of seven issues of «The Works» of the station. Already next year, his original work entitled «What to Do in the Swamp and how to Use it Best», was published on the basis of the research data from Rudnya-Radovelska Swamp Experimental Station. With reference to the experience of organizing a scientific support for the drainage of many Western European countries in the use of peat swamp after surface and radical improvement, he suggested using an appropriate practical set of measures. This approach was considered by the researcher as the only promising measure for the further development, first of all, of the Ukrainian Polissya. He justified the system of the agrotechnical measures after the drying: the soil tillage, the fertilizers, the terms and sowing rates, the crop sorts, the crop rotations, the stock, care, etc.; he calculated the economic efficiency and profits as well.

The scientist initiated and headed the organizing committee of the First All-Union Congress on Swamp Culture on September 24–26, 1927 at the Rudnya-Radovel Swamp Research Station. Together with D. O. Giovanni he represented the USSR at the Congress, held on October 15–18, 1927 in Minsk. He represented the experimental station and he was among the speakers at the First All-Union Meeting of Meadow-Researchers at Professor V. R. Williams State Meadow Institute., held February on 23 – March 1, 1928. At the morning meeting on February 26, 1928, M. O. Tyulenev reported on the results of a five year activity of the Rudnya-Radovel swamp station

Under these conditions, Rudnya-Radovel swamp experimental station in the second half of the 1920-ies actually became the main one for the study of the domain problems in the Ukrainian SSR because of its branches: a) Burovske Experimental Farm on the «Zamhlai» Swamp (Chernihiv region) since 1926, opened by Chernihiv District Land Department on an area of 437 hectares; b) Ozerianska station on the mossy marsh massif of Korosten region. M. O. Tyulenev also researched the region as a local historian, being a member of the Local Government Board during 1928 – 1932 (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 4). He has also worked in other public positions to polarize the latest natural sciences.

Since 1923, M. O. Tyulenyev was a part-time lecturer, conducting lectures on Swamp Culture and Bulb Plants Studies at Kyiv Agricultural Institute (nowadays – National University of Bioresources and Environmental Management of Ukraine). From 1.01.1930 till 1.11.1948 he was a diploma projects consultant in the sphere of the amelioration measures at Kyiv Hydromelioration Institute. During 1930 – 1934 – a full member of the Supreme Scientific and Technical Council of the NCLS of the USSR for consideration of land reclamation projects for drainage and irrigation of drained swamps (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34 A, p. 17). From 1934 till June 1941 – a member of the Committee of the NCL of the USSR on the invention and the scientific technical council of the Main State Committee for the NCR of the Ukrainian SSR. He was a member of the Scientific Councils at the UkrNRIHyM and the All-Union Research Institute of Swamps since 1932, and since 1940 – a member of Kyiv Hydro-amelioration Institute (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 17). From 1932 till August 1941 – a senior researcher, a head of the agro-irrigation and drainage sector and a scientific supervisor of the swamp research network at the Ukrainian Agricultural Research Institute (nowadays – the Institute of Water Problems and Reclamation of the NAAS). After the decision of the People's Commissar of the USSR on April 15, 1932 on the organization of Sul'skyi Swamp Experimental Field (Romny district, Sumy region) and the material

technical base replacement of the liquidated Rudnya-Radovelska experimental station on March 1, 1932, during 1932 – 1934 M. O. Tyulenyev was engaged in the deployment of Sul'skyi Swamp Experimental Field activities. In 1935, together with M. N. Shevchenko and A. M. Yangel, he initiated moving of Pidstav'ska Swamp Research Station from Zolotonskyi District, Poltava region to Yahotyn'skyi district of Kiev region. Pidstav'ska Swamp Research Station was created at the beginning of 1916. The main circumstances for this moving to a new location are considered by M. O. Tyulenyev to be the unsuccessful approach to the drainage process introduction by the first director P. V. Spesivtsev, who made it by means of the collapse and pumping of water by a centrifugal pump outside the shaft. According to the People's Commissar of the USSR order No. 35 of 1936, M. O. Tyulenyev became the scientific supervisor of the whole range of studies of Panf'yl'o-Yahotyn'ska central swamp station of the Ukraina Research Institute of the agricultural land reclamation (nowadays – Panf'yl'ska research station of the Institute of Agriculture of NAAS).

On July 4 – 8, 1938 M. O. Tyulenyev's report on «Drainage and Development of Swamps in the Ukrainian SSR» at the VIIth Plenum of the section of reclamation and hydrotechnics VASHNIL, actually, summed up the work of Ukrainian scientists in the drainage reclamation sphere of the pre-war period under the methodical coordinating start of the UkrNII of hydrotechnics and reclamation and the place of performance at Panf'yl'ska experimental station. For the complex implementation of the latest developments, he suggested reorganizing the Panf'yl'o-Yahotyn'ska swamp experimental station into Supiyska Zonal Swamp Research Station. Unfortunately, prepared by M. O. M. Tyulenyev, a number of original popular science publications on the swamps culture during this period, remained unpublished. From 1939 until the beginning of the German-Soviet War, he was a member of the expert-technical bureau of the NKZ of the UkrSSR for the consideration of the reclamation and hydrotechnical construction projects (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 17). The Resolution of the VASHNIL Qualification Commission of March 19, 1936 approved him a full member of the Ukrainian NR Institute of Hydrotechnics and Reclamation. In 1940 he graduated from Kyiv Marks-Lenin University (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 64).

At the session of the Specialized Academic Council at Moscow V. R. Williams Hydromelioration Institute he upheld the dissertation for the Doctor's Degree of Agricultural Sciences on the theme: «Growing Sugar Beet on the Dried Peat Soils of the UkrSSR» on September 21, 1940 (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 69). The correspondent diploma of VAK of the USSR under No. 000160 issued only on 11.03.1946 (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 33). Not by chance, before the German-Soviet War of 1941 M. O. Tyulenyev became a recognized classic of the land reclamation research in the country.

As the front approached Kyiv, he moved to the village of Panf'yl'y. During the occupation of Yahotyn region, as the head of the drainage sector of Kyiv Hydromel. Institute, he conducted the research on the study of the agricultural technology of meadow grasses and fodder, vegetable and non-food crops (Tjulenyev, p. 2). In January 1942, after the restoration of the activities of Kyiv Soil Reclamation Institute, from March 1, 1942, he conducted lectures for the fourth- and fifth-year students at Hydroelectric, Peat-Mechanical and Soil Reclamation Faculties. During the occupation the work of M. O. Tyulenyev allowed to retain all property of the UNIIHyM dehumidification sector in Kyiv and all valuable equipment of the Panf'yl swamp agrochemical laboratory (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 18). After the liberation of Kyiv from the German invaders in 1943, M. O. Tyulenyev was also the head of the department of agriculture until 1947. During 1944 – 1947 he headed the drainage department of the Agricultural Research

Institute of Agriculture of Ukraine. After the announcement of the competition of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR for the election of its new members and correspondent members in 1948, the Scientific Academic Council of UNIIHyM nominated the candidates as corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR in the specialty «Agricultural Land Reclamation», at the meeting on May 14, 1948, based on the report of A. M. Yanholya, the Deputy Director for Scientific Work. Those candidates were: a director of the Institution, Candidate of Agricultural Sciences – S. M. Alpatiev and Doctor of Agricultural Sciences – M. O. Tyulyenyev (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 70). The members of scientific and technical meeting of Sulsky Swamp Research Field supported the nomination of the Presidium of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences and by its letter No. 278 / m dated May 27, 1948. The letter was signed by Bovkun – the Chairman and Opryshko – the Secretary, on the report of the Deputy Director for Scientific Affairs V. S. Maksymenko. Already 5.06.1948 M. O. Tyulyenyev agreed to be included into the list for the running campaign, writing the statement to the President of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 73). At the General Meeting of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences on July 2, 1948, after the secret ballot, the head of the counting commission, Academician S. O. Lebedyev announced the result of the counting commission on the elections secret ballot of the corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR. According to the results of voting, M. O. Tyulyenyev was unanimously elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in the field of «Agricultural Sciences» (Palij, & Khramov, 1998, p. 189).

On January 1, 1949, at the invitation of Academician O. I. Dushechkin, M. O. Tyulyenyev started working as a senior researcher and the head of the agricultural land reclamation group at the Institute of Plant Physiology and Agrochemistry of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR. He worked there until 1955.

At the same time, he remained working part-time as a senior researcher at UNIIHiM (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 77). From April 8, 1949, in accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR (Protocol No. 11, § 13), he became a member of the Scientific Academic Council of the Institute of Plant Physiology and Agrochemistry of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. According to another decision on January 7, 1949 (Protocol No. 1), he became a member of the Bureau of the Agricultural Sciences Department of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, which began its work in accordance with the decision of the RNC of the UkrSSR and the Central Committee of the CP(b)U «On the Organization of the Agricultural Sciences Department in the Structure of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR» of October 20, 1945 (October 20, 1945) (CSASPAU, f. P-2, d. 7, c. 2148, p. 4–5). By the decision of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR of January 26, 1951, he was elected a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Agricultural Sciences «The News of Agricultural Science» (CSAPA, f. 1, d. 71, c. 1, p. 68). At another meeting, which took place on March 9, 1951, M. O. Tyulyenyev's work was praised for designing the meadow-drainage machine, the use of which on drainage soils helped to increase the harvest of various agricultural crops by 18 – 30% (CSAPA, f. 1, d. 71, c. 1, p. 149). To fulfill the decisions of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR of April 27, 1951 he headed the special complex expeditions in Snihuriv district, Mykolaiv region (1951) and Dymerskyi district, Kyiv region (1952-1956) to provide a scientific assistance to the collective farms of the Ukrainian SSR (Central State Archive of Public Associations, f. 1, d. 71, c. 2, pp. 1–7).

In 1952, according to the decision of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, in addition to the membership in the Department of Agricultural Sciences

Bureau, he became a member of the Council for the Study of Productive Forces of Ukraine. Each year, the number of various assignments, as well as the membership of the collegial bodies, continued to increase, which undoubtedly affected the efficiency of the fulfillment of the main duties. On July 29, 1952, the Presidium of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences even adopted a special Decree No. 283, according to which, the corresponding member of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences M. O. Tyulenyev was dismissed of his duties as the second deputy chairman and member of the Agricultural Sciences Department Bureau, the deputy chairman of the agricultural section for assisting major building structures of communism, from managing the issue of «Increasing the Productivity of Agricultural Plants in Grass-Growing Crop Rotation» and from the duties of a technical member of Ra propaganda of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR and the authorized council of the scientific and technical propaganda at the Institutes of the Department of Agricultural Sciences (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 80).

He was among those members of the Agricultural Sciences Bureau of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, who at a meeting on July 10, 1954, supported the decision of the MAG of the Ukrainian SSR on the organization in its structure of the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences with the mandatory transfer of the existing research institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR to the newly created institution (CSAPA, f. 1, d. 71, c. 128, pp. 107–122). He continued working part-time at UNIIHyM under the permission of the Presidium of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences of August 28, 1953, on the basis of the Resolution (Protocol No. 32, § 703). After the governmental decision on the ban of working at the same time in two research institutions, the Resolution of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR of August 7, 1954 (Protocol No. 23-B, § 534 paragraph 2) he received a refusal to combine positions in the Institute of Physiology and Agrochemistry of the Ukrainian SSR and UNIIHyM (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34 A, p. 83). But already on August 30, 1954, in view of the petition of the directors of the institutions of the UkrSSR and with the consent of the directors of the institutions of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, by the resolution of the Presidium of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences (protocol No. 25-B, § 576), he received the permission to combine positions in both institutes. This permission was signed by the Vice-President of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences M. Semenenko (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34 A, p. 84).

Nowadays it is difficult to reproduce the situation objectively that arose when considering the problematic issues of the Institute of Plant Physiology and Agrochemistry of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR on January 21, 1955, based on the results analysis of 1954, when the Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR M. Semenenko stated that M. O. Tyulenyev had paid little attention to the land reclamation laboratory, since he was employed in other institutions. The Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR H. M. Savin added that it was a matter of managing the department at UNIIHyM. Under these circumstances, the next day M. O. Tyulenyev had to formally address a statement to the President of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR – Academician O. V. Palladin. In the statement, he explained that the combination of positions was forced, because there was no experimental base at the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR in the swamps and wetlands, where the agricultural land reclamation laboratory, after four years of functioning, would have been able to conduct a relevant research. Therefore, a network of UNIIHyM specialized agencies was used for these purposes. At the same time he proved that he visited UNIIHiM no more than 3 days a week for 2-3 hours a day and his work consisted

mainly in providing consultations on the certain agricultural development issues of swamps and a scientific guidance of the post-graduate students (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 85).

Under such circumstances, he was given support by the members of the Institute of Plant Physiology and Agrochemistry of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The members of the Institute considered him a great expert in marshland culture and bulb plants studies. In the document of October 20, 1955, its director, Academician P. A. Vlasyuk singled out the tremendous work, being done by M. O. Tyulenyev on the implementation of the achievements of the agricultural industry of science in the collective farms and state farms of the UkrSSR by means of the systematic speeches, made for the agricultural specialists and collective farmers, conducting lectures, making reports on the issues of the drainage and agricultural use of swamps and wetlands (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 67). There is no coincidence that on November 26, 1955, by the decision of the Higher Education Commission at the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR, he was awarded the academic title of Professor in the specialty «Agricultural Land Reclamation» (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 34).

From 1955 till 1956 he headed the laboratory of the animal feed production sector of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR. In connection with the closure of the Department of Agricultural Sciences within the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR (the resolution of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR of May 25, 1956, Protocol No. 29, § 370) together with seven academicians and 17 corresponding members of the UkrSSR, M. O. Tyulenyev became the member of the personnel of the Biological Sciences Department. After the publication of the orders of the MAG of the UkrSSR № 535 dated 13.08.1956 and № 216 dated 20.08.1956 on UkrNIIHyM on the organization of the department of development of the drained flood lands (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 35), from August 13, 1956, he returned again to work at the UkrNII of hydrotechnics and land reclamation as the head of the development department of floodplain lands, which he managed until April 21, 1961. In addition, he worked as a Professor at the Department of Agricultural Land Reclamation and Fodder Production of the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences. According to the submission of the Scientific and Technical Society of Agriculture and Forestry, the Ministry of Agriculture of the UkrSSR nominated M. O. Tyulenyev, the corresponding member of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, in the additional list of candidates for election as full members of VASHNIL in 1956 (CSAPA, f. 27, d. 18, c. 8806, p. 85). However, it did not happen.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, he prepared a fundamental contextual article «Bulletin of Scientific and Technical Information» that can be viewed as a historical essay on the establishment and development of a scientific support for the drainage land reclamation in Ukrainian lands to the UNIIHyM. During 1958 on the implementation of the order № 879 of the Ministry of Agriculture of the UkrSSR of November 23, 1957 and the decision of the Presidium of UAAS № 411 of December 22, 1957, M. O. Tyulenyev, together with other leading scientists of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences and UAAS, was a participant and gave a presentation at the seminars-meetings on the topic «Assistance of Collective farms and State Farms in the Development and Implementation of a Proper Agricultural Management System». Such meetings were held in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Lviv, and were attended by 465 people from 157 research institutions and agricultural establishments (Brovenko, & Kalinin, 1958, p. 82). During the exchange of views, the three most important steps were identified in the work on the development and implementation in production of the correct system of households

economy. The first stage was the development of measures by the scientific institutions and sectoral agencies to increase the production per 100 hectares of agricultural land at the lowest cost of labour and resources in the major natural and climatic zones of the UkrSSR with the appropriate recommendations issuance. At the second stage, to conduct the soil surveys and to draw up soil maps for each collective farm and state farm for 1961. At the third stage, the development and implementation of a scientifically sound management system, based on the latest knowledge and the best practices to be carried out. To fulfill the above-mentioned items on the swamp culture, M. O. Tyulenyev worked for the rest of his creative life. In 16 regions of the UkrSSR it was planned to drain and cultivate 600 thousand hectares of crops. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Council of Ministers of the UkrSSR approved the elaborated plans and gave consent to the Hydropower Industry to implement these measures by the method of the people labour force. This approach was confirmed by January plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1961.

Due to the deterioration of his health, the resolution of the UAAS Presidium (Protocol 10, § 89) of 21.04.1961 transferred him to the position of a senior researcher at UNIIHyR (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, p. 102, p. 36) (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 36). After the decision of the Presidium of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences of July 20, 1962 (Protocol No. 33, § 399), on the renewal within the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR of the Department of Agricultural Sciences, in accordance with the decision of October 26, 1962 (Protocol No. 46, § 535), he became a member again (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 93). But not for a long period of time. Next year the previous decision was cancelled. After the retirement in April 1963, from August 22, 1964, on the order of UkrNIIHyR D No. 299, he worked as a scientific consultant of the department of development of flood lands of UkrNII of hydrotechnics and land reclamation (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 37). The corresponding submission to the name of the director of the institute S M. Alpatiev was made by a new head of the department Kh. M. Starikov. According to M. O. Tyulenyev's statement from April 8, 1963 to the department of the scientific personnel of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR he transferred his official address to the Institute of Plant Physiology of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR with the explanation that he it dealt with the photosynthesis of plants related to the department of biological sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 94). After the May 1966 Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU in the country began the work on a large-scale land reclamation. Under such circumstances, both theoretical and practical M. O. Tyulenyev's achievements, in terms of experience, were in demand, perhaps, for the first time in the country. Despite the huge demand, the health problems prevented him from continuing the scientific research. According to the submission of Kh. M. Starikov, from May 7, 1969, the Order of No. 149 on UkrNIIHyR, dated May 12, 1969, «... his own will and in connection with a poor health ...», dated May 3, 1969, M. O. Tyulenyev got dismissed from work (AURIHM, f. 5144, d. 2, c. 102, p. 67).

He died on December 3, 1969. He was buried in Baikove cemetery in Kyiv. By Order No. 1435 of December 17, 1969 at the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR, signed by Academician V. S. Hutyri he was expelled from the corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences of the UkrSSR (AAS, f. 251, d. 567, c. 34, p. 98). The creative heritage of this eminent researcher, often referred to in the professional environment as the «Ukrainian Weber», is 218 scientific papers, published during the period of 1911 – 1964. Some of his scientifically substantiated ideas for agricultural use of the peat-marsh fund of

Ukraine, unfortunately, have not been published and are kept in the form of the manuscripts at the Institute of Archival Studies of the NLU NASU.

The Conclusions. Summing up, to understand what M. O. Tyulenev did, one should return again to his prognostic fundamental researches concerning, first of all, the use of the drained lands of the humid zone of Ukraine, and especially of Polissya. As early as 1954, in his fundamental article, «The Development of Polissya lowland is a Matter of Great National Economic Importance,» he outlined six basic elements that allow a rational use of sod-podzolic soils of the region. It was primarily about measures to regulate the water regime, namely: 1. A proper crop rotation, sown on all elements of the relief (floodplains, slopes and watersheds); 2. The afforestation of sands and forest plantations in low-forested watersheds; 3. Creating ponds and reservoirs, as well as large reservoirs in river floodplains; 4. The regulation of rivers – water intakes for drainage systems; 5. The formation of drainage channels and necessary water regulating structures on them for drainage systems; 6. The agromeliorative measures to regulate the water-air regime directly on the drained lands. According to the scientist, their full and systematic introduction on the background of fertilizer soils, primarily organic, will preserve the potential fertility of sod-podzolic soils and prevent them from becoming poor sandy. Thus, the growth and development of livestock for the needs of the region could have occurred. M. O. Tyulenyev's scientific researches remain a road map for posterity to this day.

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**«FORGOTTEN» SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE OF YURIY PANEIKO
(the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to analyze the scientific heritage of Yuriy Lukych Paneiko as a representative of the «forgotten» scientific community in the aspect of substantiating the «national roots» of the administrative and legal traditions of a public administration and their perception and development under current conditions of the state and law reform. The methodology of the research is based on the basis of the comparative legal analysis. During the research such methods as historical, legal, component analysis were used. The scientific novelty is the systematic analysis of the poorly researched sources of the «forgotten» professional heritage of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries and the substantiation of the «national roots» of the administrative and legal traditions of the public administration, the perception and development of its modern home legal science in the aspect*

of the newest scientific base formation for reforming the state-making and law-making processes in Ukraine. **The Conclusions.** The analysis of the poorly researched scientific heritage of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, the part of which is the work of Yu. Paneiko, indicates that most of the provisions, formulated in a certain historical period, have in fact «absorbed» the «basic component» of the administrative and legal traditions of the public administration, which are updated with a new force in the context of a modern state-making and the law-making reform processes in Ukraine. These provisions are actualized with a focus on the needs of the modern period, and are able to ensure the effectiveness and efficiency of the transformations. That is why it is important to search and to analyze the «forgotten» scientific professional heritage of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, which should be systematic, consistent, profound and nationally recognized as a priority area of a modern professional research on the formation of the latest scientific basis for the state-building and law-making reforming processes in Ukraine. It is the use of this heritage as a «golden scientific professional fund» that formed the administrative and legal traditions of the public administration, that will contribute not only to their preservation with the emphasis on a national specificity, but also the development approaching the European and international legal analogues.

Key words: administrative and legal traditions, public administration, instrumentation, «forgotten» scientific heritage, scientific sources, scientific basis, state-building, law-making.

«ЗАБУТА» НАУКОВА СПАДЩИНА ЮРІЯ ПАНЕЙКА (кінець XIX – початок XX ст.)

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – аналіз наукової спадщини Юрія Лукича Панейка як представника «забутої» наукової спільноти в аспекті обґрунтування «національного коріння» адміністративно-правових традицій публічного адміністрування та їх сприйняття й розвитку в сучасних умовах реформування держави і права. **Методологія дослідження** базується на засадах, в основі яких – порівняльно-правовий аналіз. Під час проведення дослідження використані такі методи, як історичний, проблемно-правовий, компонент-аналіз. **Наукова новизна** полягає у систематизованому аналізі малодосліджених джерел «забутої» фахової спадщини кінця XIX – початку XX ст. й обґрунтування «національного коріння» адміністративно-правових традицій публічного адміністрування, сприйняття та розвитку його сучасною вітчизняною правовою наукою в аспекті формування новітнього наукового базису для реформаційних державотворчих і правотворчих процесів в Україні. **Висновки.** Аналіз малодослідженої наукової спадщини кінця XIX – початку XX ст., складовою частиною якої є й праці Ю. Л. Панейка, свідчить про те, що більшість положень, сформульованих у відповідний історичний період, фактично «увібрали» той «базовий компонент» адміністративно-правових традицій публічного адміністрування, які в умовах сучасних реформаційних державотворчих та правотворчих процесів в Україні актуалізуються з новою силою й їх урахування, з акцентом на потреби сучасного періоду, здатне забезпечити результативність і ефективність відповідних перетворень. Саме тому важливим є пошук та поглиблений аналіз «забутої» наукової фахової спадщини означено періоду, який має бути системним, послідовним, виваженим й на загальнодержавному рівні визнаним пріоритетним напрямом сучасних фахових наукових досліджень з формування новітнього наукового базису для реформаційних державотворчих і правотворчих процесів в Україні. Саме використання цієї спадщини як «золотого наукового фахового фонду», що сформував адміністративно-правові традиції публічного адміністрування, сприятиме не тільки їх збереженню з акцентом на національну специфіку, а й розвитку із наближенням до європейських та міжнародно-правових аналогів.

Ключові слова: адміністративно-правові традиції, публічне адміністрування, інструментарій, «забута» наукова спадщина, наукові джерела, науковий базис, державотворення, правотворення.

The Problem Statement. Under conditions of modern reforming of state-making and law-making processes in Ukraine, directly related to the introduction of the innovative state-legal institutions, there is the need analyzed to create a new scientific base, which would contain the provisions on the content, the purpose, the resources of such institutions, stipulating

adherence to the principle of a scientificity nature during such processes, the effectiveness and efficiency of the latter. The intensification of the legal scholars efforts to resolve this issue is accompanied by the attempt to study thoroughly the under-researched legal scientific heritage of the «forgotten» scientists of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, which was unjustifiably forgotten by Ukrainian society for a long time, but at that time (at the time of its appearance) contained the provisions that are actualized and are of a practical importance under modern conditions. One of these «forgotten» scientists, whose scientific heritage «was well known in Europe but almost unknown to the compatriots» (Teteruk, 2007, p. 4), is Yuriy Lukych Paneiko, whose works are «oversaturated» by the provisions on the public service, a local self-government, a public interest, the administrative acts, the public authority delegacy, the public administration and other public and legal phenomena, a careful study of which will help to clarify their real purpose and the standardized efficient use of the resource in Ukraine. A consistent, advanced and systematic study of Yu. Paneiko's works will help to form a new modern scientific foundation for the effective reformative state-building and law-making processes.

The Analysis of the Sources and Recent Researches. Taking into account the fact that for a long time Yu. L. Paneiko's works were «forgotten» for the Ukrainian scientific legal community and only in the early 1990-ies of the XXth century there appeared the fragmentary references to his figure in the process of the legal education organizing, the justification for the need to develop the state through the introduction of the latest tools of the public administration, a sufficient source base to find out his real contribution to the law-making and law-making processes, unfortunately, cannot be recognized. A fragmentary character of the provisions of P. Stetsiuk's works (Stetsiuk, 2005, pp. 50–53), S. Teteruk (Teteruk, 2007, pp. 4–7), T. Andrusiak (Andrusiak, 1996, p. 873) aroused the interest of the scientific community in the heritage of Yu. Paneiko and intensified the search of his works. As a result, the access to his works (primarily, «The Science of Administration and Administrative Law. The General Part» (1949), «Theoretical Fundamentals of Self-Management» (1963), «The Organization of Public Administration in the Agricultural Sector» (1928), «The Outline of Polish Administrative Law» (1929), «The Communal Self-Government in Switzerland» (1931), «The Reform of Administration and Administrative law» (1932), «Ethical Moments in Public Life» (1948), «Polish Law of Communication» (1938) and the others) caused an in-depth study of their provisions, the emergence of a significant number of works of the home administrative scientists (for instance, the works of V. Kolpakov (Kolpakov, 2019, pp. 14–18), T. (Kolomoyets, 2017, pp. 53–60), V. Bevzenko, O. Radyshevska, I. Koliushko, I. Hrytsenko ((*Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava*, 2016) and the others) on the issues of his contribution to the development of a legal science, the reform of a local self-government, a public administration, etc. A number of the «landmark» scientific and practical events were held (for instance, International Scientific Practical Conference: «History of National and European Administrative Law and Process», Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, October 2016, International scientific and practical conference «Constitutional and Administrative Law Traditions of Public Administration», I. Franko National University of Lviv, November 2016, All-Ukrainian Legal Forum on Human Rights and Public Governance, Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, May 2019), the presentation of a reprinted edition of his work «The Science of Administration and Administrative Law» (*Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava*). At the same time, even the existing works do not allow to elucidate fully the «Yuriy Paneiko's phenomenon» for the administrative and

legal traditions of the public administration, thus updating the «new wave» of a scientific professional interest in his heritage in the aspect of its consideration for the formation of the home scientific professional basis for reforming the state-building and law-making processes in Ukraine.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the scientific heritage of Yuriy Lukych Paneiko in the context of substantiation of the «national roots» of the administrative and legal traditions of the public administration and their perception and development under current conditions of the state and law reform.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The access to Yuriy Lukych Paneiko's scientific heritage gave the possibility «to open him and his scientific heritage to Ukrainian Society» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, p. 46), «to get acquainted with his unique personal dimension, demonstrating his life path, which he managed to pass successfully and to become an example of the scientist, who combined successfully the theory and practice of the public administration, an administrator, a person, who did a lot in the field of education and law» (Melnyk, 2016), «to renew his name, which is truly iconic in the global scientific space» (Melnyk, 2016; Kolomoets, 2017, p. 54). As V. Bevzenko remarked rightly in the afterword to the reprinted edition of Yu. Paneiko's work «The Science of Administration and Administrative Law», the scientist's works «are precious for the administrative legal science due to the number of the problematic issues and the depth of their research, which does not diminish their value over the years» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, p. 459), his works are precious owing to «the globality of the problems, which the author broke, as well as the uniqueness of the research methods» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, pp. 431–432). It is really so. The analysis of his works allows to state that at end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries he focused on finding out the real resource of the public self-government, the role and place in it of a local self-government, finding the best model of the relations between the individual and the state, which would allow to protect and realize the public interest and at the same time to recognize the person to be of the highest social value. Among the main questions, the answers to which played an important role in the search of a dreamy optimal normalized model of the above-mentioned subjects relations, he said: «Does the community have a separate, non-state power? Is it independent of the state? How firmly is it included in the state mechanism? Does it perform the functions of the state?» (Paneiko, 2002, p. 131; Kolpakov, 2019, p. 14). Searching for the answers to these questions, he also formulates the author's approach to understanding the community as a «core system-forming component of the self-government; as the main subject of the science of self-government; as an important research object» (Paneiko, 2002, p. 131; Kolpakov, 2019, p. 14), as «a combination of public bodies, performing separate administrative functions» (Paneiko, 2002, p. 131), which completely correlates with the basic current provisions of a local self-government theory on understanding the notion «community» (for instance, the works of O. Batanov, M. Baimuratov, S. Seryohina, I. Bodrova and the others). Clarifying his vision of the normalized model of the relations «a person-community-state», he notes that «the self-government becomes a legal concept only when the properties of relations of the monarch and the subjects, when the function of their regulator changes from the absolute power of the monarch (or a state materialism) to the normative determined mutual rights and duties of the state and the citizen. In this regard, although natural grounds for the self-government existed in all epochs of the state life, the self-government, as a legal concept, emerged only when the relations of the monarch and the subjects in the absolute state began to turn into «the legal

relations», when the physical unit outside of the private rights began to acquire the public rights and when this position of the unit against the state power is transferred to existing collectives, first of all to the communities. From the moment, when the constitutional rule of law state organized the public associations for its purposes and included them into its own body, the self-government institution emerged in the new sense. Thus, the self-government science emerged (Paneiko, 2002, p. 13). Recognizing the «basic element» of the local self-government relations theory of the community and the state power, in the period of the end of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries, it is quite reasonable to conclude that it is these relationships that play a decisive role in determining the self-government content and are conditioned by «... the dependence of communities on the state, on the specific features of the state system, the system of law, the system of legislation..., and therefore the local self-government acquires an individual legal expression» (Kolpakov, 2019, p. 15). One can't help agreeing to it. This allowed the law scientist to formulate the author's definition of the local self-government as «a decentralized state administration, which is carried out by the local bodies, which are hierarchically not subordinate to other structures and are independent within the law and the general legal order» (Paneiko, 2002, p. 184). It can be stated that at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries the provision was formulated that «the self-government is functioning of the legislatively limited state administration in the field of the self-government relations ... The self-government is in fact characterized by autonomy, a hierarchical independence, which is the main factor of decentralization, and therefore the latter is the self-government» (Paneiko, 2002, p. 91).

Drawing attention to the importance of decentralization as a legal category, in his works Yu. Paneiko sought to unravel its phenomenon, noting that it was «a system of the organizational and technical administrative organization that does not presuppose the existence of the rigid foundations of the hierarchy, the existence of a central subject (body) and the total subordination of one body to another (higher)» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, 2016, p. 206). Yu. Paneiko emphasized a double meaning of the decentralization – «organizational» (with the division of the state territory, with provincial and territorial centers) and a «corporate» («important») decentralization, as well as distinguishing its properties, which makes it possible «... the concentration on the local conditions and adaptation to them», «speeding up the processes of solving any local governance issues», «eliminating an undue influence (pressure) on the part of the central government in resolving the issues in a pattern way» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, 2002, pp. 207–208, Kolomoets, 2017, p. 37). The very provisions, not borrowed from the foreign scientific sources, found their reproduction in the works of home legal scholars on the problems of a legal support for a public power decentralization (for instance, the works of K. Bryl, S. Stetsenko, S. Kivalov, etc.), as well as served as «basic» in the development of a regulatory support for the power decentralization in Ukraine. Thus, the formulation of the basic conceptual apparatus («local self-government», «decentralization», «delegated authority», «public administration», etc.), the delimitation of the related legal concepts with the separation of the criteria for such delineation, the formulation of the copyright provisions for the main features of the self-government, a practical implementation of the community-state relations in the works of Yu. Paneiko at the end of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries allows to state with confidence that already in this historical period the foundations of the modern theory of the local self-government were actually laid, accepted by the representatives of a national legal science and «laid» in the basis of those innovative reform processes in Ukraine, which are

directly connected with the redistribution of a public power, the transfer of a public power government «to local places», the community access to the tasks of implementation and protection of a public interest.

The analysis of the available sources reveals the fact that Yu. L. Paneiko formulated a series of provisions that actually serve as an integral part of the modern home administrative law on the use of the public administration tools resource. Thus, in particular, substantiating the expediency of using in the public administration «the actions of administrative bodies competing in the regulation of an individual case» (*Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava*, 2016, p. 237). In fact, a legal scholar back at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries he spoke about the analogue of modern administrative acts as one of the tools of the public administration. The doubts disappear as to the fact that the very «tool» is analyzed because there are provisions for the isolation of their varieties, including: «acts of guardianship», «declarative», «constitutional» «acts of granting», «acts of approval», «permission acts», «nomination acts» and, etc. Proposing to single out such acts in the scientific works of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, the attempt was made to classify them, however, with the veiled selection of the criteria for such division. However, even in spite of this, the analysis of the classification division of the administrative acts in Yu. L. Paneiko's works testifies that the criteria and types of such acts, proposed by him are proposed, are distinguished by modern domestic administrative scientists (for instance, the works of V. Tymoschuk, S. Stetsenko, S. Mosyondz, V. Harashchuk, etc.), and even the names of acts are similar.

Drawing attention on the importance of the public community role as a subject of the public legal relations, especially in the context of decentralization of the public power, the author of the sources of the «forgotten» scientific heritage of the end of the the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries formulates the provisions on «the public participation in business, professional, religious societies», «various forms of a non-territorial self-government» (Kolomoets, 2017, p. 57). He even tries to substantiate the expediency of normalizing the principles of such participation with an emphasis on the specificity of using the forms variety of such participation, which is fully correlated with the provisions of the public control modern theory on the public administration (for instance, the works of S. Denysyuk, P. Matviyenko, I. Skvirskyi and the others) and the scientific expert substantiation of the development and adoption of the draft Law of Ukraine «On Public Control».

The scientific works of Yu. L. Paneiko are of no less interest in the part of the study of «a free evaluation» phenomenon, which he proposes to consider as «the discretion of the administrative authorities in formulating conclusions on the content of the legal norm in relation to a specific state of affairs (*Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava*, 2016, p. 456, 253), and which is nothing more than a prototype of the administrative discretion, including one of its most common varieties – an interpretative administrative discretion. In formulating the provisions on «the criteria and limits of a free evaluation», in fact Yu. L. Paneiko lays the foundations of the administrative discretion modern theory, the detailed provisions of which were reproduced in the works of modern domestic scientists, including: A. Selivanov, P. Dikhtievskyi, Yu. Bytyak, V. Bevzenko, D. Lukyanets and the others. Taking into account the procedures specifics in the subjects' activities of the public administration and the need to normalize their principles, it is quite logical to say that at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries a legal scholar made an attempt to distinguish as a separate sectoral legal category – the administrative procedure, to find out the

variety of the subclasses, which is fully consistent with the provision of the latest domestic administrative and legal science on the concept, features, varieties of the administrative procedures (for example, the works by O. Kuzmenko, O. Mykolenko I. Boyko, O. Andriyko, etc.), and the Yu. L. Paneiko's normative project proposals for the settlement of this issue – with an expert substantiation of the need to develop and to adopt the Law of Ukraine «On Administrative Procedure», around which the representatives of various sectoral professional schools of Ukraine were grouped and several variants of the relevant project act were prepared by these representatives' efforts.

Under conditions of the expediency substantiation of singling out the law of service as a sub-branch of the modern administrative law and the formation of the public service theory (for instance, the works of S. Kivalov, L. Bily-Tiunova, T. Anishchenko, etc.) and the drafting of the Service Code of Ukraine, the interest is provoked by the provisions of Yu. L. Paneiko's scientific works on «the need to comply with the requirements for a personnel and ethical support of the public service process» (Kolomoets, 2017, p. 58). In particular, Yu. L. Paneiko reflects on the fact that «it is important for a public servant to be highly educated in his professional activity, as well as to be ethical, because the unethical specialist poses more danger to both the manager and the others than the ethical specialist, since in this case the negative qualities of his character prevail» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, 2016, p. 19). Yu. L. Paneiko's reflections, in fact, are the prototypes of the modern theory provisions of the public service, regarding professionalism as one of the basic principles of such service and the ethical principles of the relationship of the public servant with the representatives of the public authority and individuals as a prerequisite for the effectiveness of the public service and the elimination of the unlawful acts in the public service state or the local government. The analysis of Yu. L. Paneiko's works testifies to the fact that, despite the period of writing: the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, the provisions of the corresponding substantive content have not only not lost their relevance for a legal science, the norm-making, the law-enforcement, but also coincide textually with the modern scientific and regulatory sources.

Similar is the state of affairs of the provisions on the appointment of the police, the peculiarities of the legal regulation principles of its activity, including the certain types of the latter and the activities of the individual police units (in particular, on the «the use of coercion», «a direct coercion») with the determination of their formation principles, the subordination principles, the search of an optimal model of their relationship with individuals, which in fact fully correlates with the latest approaches of a scientific sectoral professional research of the modern police phenomenon, the justification of the expediency of the police law allocation as a sub-branch of the administrative law (as a modern analogue of «the administrative-punitive law») and its component – «the punitive police law») and the development of the Police Code of Ukraine.

Paying attention to the fact that «any self-governing body can easily go beyond what is allowed» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, 2016, p. 234), Yu. L. Paneiko states that there is an urgent need to use the «control over the self-government» resource in its types diversity, in particular: «the administrative supervision by the supervisory authorities», «the supervisory entities» with the focus on verifying the legality and appropriateness of the administration» and «judicial administrative supervision with consideration of the disputed cases» (Nauka administratsii i administratyvnoho prava, 2016, pp. 234, 430–432). Therefore, it is quite possible to state that the need for the use of the administrative supervision and

administrative justice with the involvement of both specialized subjects of the public administration and administrative courts (paying attention to the peculiarities of this branch of the judiciary) is justified in the scientific works of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries. The same provisions are also «basic» for the modern administrative law in the aspect of the public administration supervision theory (for instance, the works by V. Harashchuk, S. Kushnir, O. Andriyko, etc.), the administrative and judicial process (for instance, the works by M. Smokovych, S. Kivalov, A. Komziuk, etc.), the basis of the rulemaking activity in the supervisory relations regulation, the administrative justice relations.

The Conclusions. The analysis of the poorly researched scientific heritage of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, a part of which is the work of Yu. Paneiko, indicates that most of the provisions, formulated in the relevant historical period, in fact «absorbed» the «basic component» of the public administration legal and administrative traditions, which are being updated with a new force in the context of the modern reformatory state-making and law-making processes in Ukraine, with an emphasis on the needs of the modern period, the updated public administration legal and administrative traditions are able to ensure the effectiveness and efficiency of the respective transformations. That is why important is the search and a deep analysis of the «forgotten scientific professional heritage of the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries», which should be systematic, consistent, profound and nationally recognized as a priority area of a modern professional research on the formation of the latest scientific basis for reforming the state-building and law-making processes in Ukraine. It is the use of this heritage as a «golden scientific professional foundation» that formed the administrative and legal traditions of the public administration, that will contribute not only to their preservation with the emphasis on a national specificity, but also to the development with the approximation to European and international legal analogues.

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MYRON KORDUBA AS A POPULARIZER OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE (BUKOVYNA PERIOD)

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to generalize multifaceted popular science works of M. Korduba in the diversity of its thematic manifestations and taking into account the peculiarities of the Bukovyna period scientist's work. The methodology of the study is based on the tradition of historiographic work combining the principles (ones of historicism and objectivity) and methods (general and specific historical ones) of scientific work. The scientific novelty of the article is an attempt to comprehensively reconstruct the work of Korduba-populariser in the early twentieth century. The Conclusions. According to the design of M. Korduba, his popular works created among the broad circles of the Ukrainian community a sense of community, national awareness and dignity, taught to know and love their past, called to honour heroes and plan for a common future. The works of the Korduba-populariser are marked by respect for its reader, manifested in the refusal from popular retelling of mythological stories as the most «suitable» for the peasant community. Having been*

responsible, the scientist deliberately broadcast to the readers a purely scientific knowledge of the past, however complicated it might have been. In addition, the historian spoke to his readers in a language they understood, while at the same time not indulging in an instructive tone and vulgar didacticism. All this made his popular science studios extremely popular among the general public, as evidenced by their considerable circulation and approving professional reception.

Key words: M. Korduba, scientific popularization, conciliarism, «Illustrated history of Bukovina», «Brief history of Bukovina».

МИРОН КОРДУБА ЯК ПОПУЛЯРИЗАТОР ІСТОРИЧНИХ ЗНАНЬ (БУКОВИНСЬКИЙ ПЕРІОД)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – цілісне узагальнення різнопланового науково-популярного доробку М. Кордуби у багатоманітності його тематичних проявів та з урахуванням особливостей буковинського періоду творчості вченого. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на традиційне для історіографічних праць поєднання принципів (історизму й об'єктивності) і методів (загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних) наукової праці. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі всебічної реконструкції творчості Кордуби-популяризатора на початку ХХ ст. **Висновки.** Відповідно до задуму М. Кордуби, його науково-популярні твори виховували у широких колах української громади почуття соборності, національної самосвідомості та гідності, навчали знати і любити своє минуле, закликали шанувати героїв, планувати спільне майбутнє. Творчості Кордуби-популяризатора властива повага до свого читача, що виявлялася у відмові від тогочасної моди переказувати міфологічні оповідання, як найбільш «стравні» для селянської громади. Відчуваючи відповідальність, учений свідомо транслював читацькій аудиторії винятково наукові знання про минуле, хоча яким би воно іноді не було складним. Також історик промовляє до свого читача зрозумілою йому мовою, водночас не впадаючи у повчальний тон і вульгарний дидактизм. Усе це зробило його науково-популярні студії надзвичайно затребуваними серед широких читацьких кіл, свідченням чого були їхні значні наклади та схвальна фахова рецензія.

Ключові слова: М. Кордуба, наукова популяризація, соборність, «Ілюстрована історія Буковини», «Коротка історія Буковини».

The Problem Statement. The issue of popularization of knowledge about the native past among the general public has always been the focus of attention of Ukrainian historians, who had to live and work in the turbulent times of the late 19th – first third of the 20th centuries. That period was marked by the rapid growth of modern national communities across the vast terrain of Central and Eastern Europe, the most striking manifestation of which was the emergence of, sometimes short-lived, nation-states on the territory of the former empires of the Romanovs, Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns. At that era, historians had a special mission – to «awaken» a sense of belonging to their nation in their fellow citizens and to convince them in the priority of the national interest over a personal or local one.

This was the most difficult task for the Ukrainian intellectuals, since the long stateless existence and division between the borders of the empires led to the emergence of several national names (the Ruthenians, the Little Russians and the Ukrainians), as well as to the deepening differences in linguistic and religious practices, which might have led us to the problems the Croats and the Serbs have now. This situation worsened due to the ruthless repressions against the activists of the Ukrainian movement by the punitive bodies of the Russian tsar, which markedly dimmed the national life in the Dnipro Ukraine. Therefore, the crucial goals of national progress were taken over by the Galician public figures, who were given a considerable financial and intellectual support by their colleagues from another bank of the Zbruch. The most powerful manifestation of the latter was the delegation by the Kyiv community of its distinguished student, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, to the Department

of Ukrainian History of Lviv University, opened in 1894. The author of the «History of Ukraine-Rus» and representatives of the scientific school he created were the first to put the cause of popularization of their native past on a solid professional and methodological soil (Telvak, Pedych, 2016, pp. 195–379).

Among the Lviv students of M. Hrushevsky, Myron Korduba has, perhaps, the most diverse and considerable popularization works. Given the fact that the scientist spent his almost entire life in teaching, his scientific popularization works were a synthesis of two passages of his life – teaching and research. As a result, he issued a considerable number of diverse studies (the articles and the books), which were addressed to the Ukrainians with different educational backgrounds. Unfortunately, to this day, this important aspect of M. Korduba's intellectual biography has never been highlighted, which confirms the reason for the relevance of our research.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. The source of the research is the numerous popular scientific works of M. Korduba (e.g. the articles and brochures), which appeared during the Bukovyna period of the scientist's life and activity (1900 – 1918). The historiography of Korduba's activity, despite its extent and diversity, does not contain any general research on the popularization work of a prominent representative of the Lviv School of Ukrainian Studies. V. Pedych (Pedych, 2005), Y. Polishchuk (Polishchuk, 2017) and T. Batiuk (Batiuk, 2018) have to some extent addressed this topic in their texts.

The Publication's Purpose. The purpose of the article is an attempt to summarize comprehensively M. Korduba's versatile scientific and popular work in the diversity of its thematic manifestations and taking into account the peculiarities of the Bukovyna period of the scientist's work.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The beginnings of M. Korduba's interest in science popularization coincide in time with his migration from Vienna to Chernivtsi in 1900 and the first steps in the pedagogical field at the local bilingual gymnasium. Once he started his activity in the midst of the local Ukrainians, the young historian noted such an extremely threatening phenomenon for a national existence, such as Bukovyna particularism. Its spokesmen tried to highlight in any way the differences of the lifestyle and spiritual practices of the local Ukrainian population and their compatriots from Galicia and the Dnipro Ukraine. In identifying the cause of such a dangerous phenomenon, M. Korduba rightly recognized the low national awareness level not only of the majority of the population, but also of public activists. In their minds, the scientist noted, a local self-presentation of pre-modern communities dominated over the understanding an exceptional value of their national self. The historian fully shared the belief of his teacher M. Hrushevsky that fostering a sense of unity in the broad circles of the Ukrainians is the most important task for the intelligentsia on both sides of the Zbruch (Telvak, 2017).

Responding to this threatening situation for the Ukrainians at that time, M. Korduba postponed his scientific projects and focused on the development of popular scientific works. The first studio of such kind was his «A Brief History of Bukovyna», which was printed part by part in the «Illustrated Bukovyna Orthodox Calendar» during 1905. This work contained a concise, written in the language adapted for the average reader, the essay on the past Bukovyna region. At the same time, throughout the whole narrative, the author constantly emphasized on the close ties between the Ukrainian Bukovynians and their Galician and Dnieper brothers from princely times to the times of a national revival (Korduba, 1904). It should be noted that such a semantic accent became traditional for the popular science works by Korduba.

The mentioned studio of M. Korduba was published just on time, as testified by its unprecedented popularity among the broad sections of readers, who in a short time completely bought up the edition of the «Illustrated Bukovyna Orthodox Calendar». Therefore, there was a need for a new similar work, taking into account the wishes of readers and fellow historians. Responding to this situation, Korduba prepared a more complete illustrated edition about the past of Bukovyna region that considered the peculiarities of the perception of the scientific text by an unprepared reader. As early as 1906, the first popular science book by M. Korduba, «The Illustrated History of Bukovyna», was published.

The «Foreword» of M. Korduba's book emphasized on the importance of historical knowledge for humanity: «Every educated man must know the past of his native land, his native people. Nature itself calls for our curiosity to learn something about the past of our relatives, our village and the surrounding areas» (Korduba, 1906, p. III). However, according to the author, as human memory has understandable temporal limitations, the information about the past was recorded by few literate people. Over the time, such records became quite numerous, so historians were able to create synthetic essays on the past of their communities.

Despite the popular nature of the book, M. Korduba briefly describes the main sources for the history of the Ukrainian people and the inhabitants of Bukovyna region in his introduction. Finally, the author outlined his own vision of the tasks of scientific popularization. Explaining to the reader the benefits of getting acquainted with the book, the scientist noted: «The book will demonstrate that the life of each person has its own ups and downs, times of prosperity and decline. As the strength, precision and mind of the person affects his/her fate in life, so the education and energy of the whole people defines its position among others. The more educated, self-aware and generous for the common cause the people are, the better are their prospects in the future. You will find many examples of such devotion to the homeland, and let it strengthen your love for your native nation and your willingness to work hard to acquire a better future and a better fortune» (Korduba, 1906, pp. IV–V).

The architectonics of the «Illustrated History of Bukovina» is extremely interesting. Turning away from the tradition of depicting the history of the region as something being limited in time and space by a historical phenomenon, M. Korduba for the first time among the local historians offered the reader an all-Ukrainian optics. From such a conciliarism perspective, Bukovyna emerges as an integral part of Greater Ukraine, which only for a short time lived with it in the same political life, but never tore numerous spiritual ties. In support of this thesis, the historian begins the story from the time of the settlement of the peoples, when the immediate ancestors of the Ukrainians settled large expanses from the San to the Don. Further, during the princely age, according to the author, a lot of the Slavic tribes developed a cultural and tribal sense of unity that later became the basis for formation of the Ukrainian people. A special role in such a union, as Korduba noted, was played by the baptism of Rus by Volodymyr the Great.

Bukovyna did not tear its connections with the rest of Ukraine during the feudal fragmentation period as well. At that time, it became the part of the heir of Kyiv Rus – Galicia and Volyn principality. Thus, the historical destinies of proto-Ukrainian sub-ethnicities intertwined even more.

The result of such relationships was the emerging feeling of all-Ukrainian unity. It appeared to be so strong that even the centuries of being under the rule of other countries could not undermine it. Describing the past of the country during the Medieval times and during modern period, M. Korduba constantly demonstrates cultural and economic connections of

with the locals of other Ukrainian lands, emphasizes on the Bukovynians' existing urge to communicate with their Dniester and Dnipro compatriots.

For example, in his characteristic of Moldovan rule M. Korduba mentioned: «Though the creation of a separate Moldova state tore the political connections of the Carpathian and the middle Dniester Ukrainians with the rest of Rus – yet the relationships between the Polish and Moldovan Rus Ukrainians remained active. Both native and migrated Vlachs experienced the cultural influence of Rus. The Rus language became the authority language among the officers, Moldovan aristocracy and clergy» (Korduba, 1906, pp. 33–34).

The Ukrainian conciliarism tendencies became especially visible at the Cossack era when the new defenders of the Orthodox faith inhabited almost all Ukrainian terrains. M. Korduba dedicated his special attention to Moldovan policies of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi as the latter had real chances to unite the Ukrainians in one political unity (Korduba, 1906, pp. 35–43)

According to M. Korduba, the XIXth century became the peak of all-Ukrainian unity, as the Ukrainians, like other Slavic people, underwent the eventful phase of a national revival. During that time, due to the thorough work of intelligentsia on both banks of the Zbruch, the Ukrainians established stronger and stronger relationships between the Ukrainians of the two empires. Powerful cultural influences from Dnipro Ukraine and Galicia finally «woke up» Bukovynian intelligentsia and urged it to the common national work.

Describing its achievements, the author positively mentions: «Thus, the national life of the Bukovynian Ruthenians before the 20-ies emerged. It is worth wondering and being happy for it as they achieved a great success in numerous aspects in such a short period of time. The last years show us the more and more vivid and engaging life of the Bukovynian Rus. The growth of self-awareness among Rus intelligentsia resulted in the community of activist that work at education, national awareness and economic advance of our city and peasant population» (Korduba, 1906, p. 86).

We cannot but draw attention to the illustrative part of Korduba's book. He illustrated «Illustrated history of Bukovyna», following the conciliarism tendency, with pictures that visualised best the most remarkable moments not only in the history of the land, but the history of Ukraine as well. Thus, along with images of the King Danylo, Stephen the Great, emperor Joseph II, Osep Fedkovych and Isidore Vorobkevych, we see story illustrations on the baptism of Rus, the beauty of the Dnipro rapids or the horror of the Tatar attack, as well as portraits of Yaroslav Mydryi, Petro Mohyla and Taras Shevchenko.

M. Korduba's «Illustrated History of Bukovyna» was extremely welcomed not only among the readers but also among professionals. The most thorough review of the book was written by his colleague from Lviv Historical School, Stepan Tomashivsky. As he had a profound experience with his own didactic works, the reviewer noted the talent of the Korduba-populariser to present the necessary material in a concise form, without falling into the profanation or vulgarization of historical knowledge: «Despite the increasingly popular nature of the essay, the author stuck to scientific forms, acceptable in modern textbooks. He tried to provide an insight into the different sides of the political, social and national-cultural life, while miniaturizing them in a short story» (S.T., 1907, p. 213). S. Tomashivsky also praised the conciliarism message of his colleague's book, fully agreeing with the importance of such optics: «It should be noted that the author recounts the history of this piece of Rus-Ukraine, while constantly linking it with the historical fate of the entire Ukrainian people, from the ancient to modern times» (S.T., 1907, p. 213).

As a conclusion, the reviewer characterizes the professional side of the analysed work. In his opinion, only a scientist of M. Korduba's level should be occupied with scientific popularization,

because it is a guarantee that the reader will gain reliable knowledge, which will become an important worldview. «With regard to the metric part, we must admit that the book in each part corresponds to the general results of the latest experiments, written *sine ira et studio*». As S. Tomashivsky sums up, «...the statement is clear, although the form is a bit less popular for peasant readers, but it is good for schools. Twelve illustrations of all historical times decorate this already beautifully published book. The author deserves a sincere gratitude for it» (ST, 1907, p. 213).

The liveliness of perception and discussion of the «*Illustrated History of Bukovyna*» showed an urgent need for this type of literature, which encouraged M. Korduba to continue his work on the creation of popular science works. The scientist wrote a series of educational articles under the general title «*Who are we?*» for the least educated audience. These texts, which contained the basic historical information about the past of the Ukrainian people and its Bukovyna part, contained the explanations the peculiarities and significance of the national name of the Ukrainians, spoke about the glorious past and pantheon of the heroes of our people, showed the landmarks of national labour, etc. (Korduba, 1907, pp. 78–87). These articles contributed significantly to raising the level of a national awareness, above all, for the peasant readership, which was discussed in many critical reviews.

The demand for the mentioned historical and educational articles for a wide circle of readers from the people became a reference point for M. Korduba in his further popularization work. Having considered the numerous wishes of readers and the advice of colleagues-educators, the scientist prepared a supplemented version of the work entitled «*Who are we?*» with an eloquent subtitle – «*On Ukrainian nationality, state and language*» (Korduba, 1911). A new book was published in Chernivtsi in 1911 in the popular publishing series «*The People's Library*», edited by the well-known Bukovynian educational figure Lev Kohut.

In this book M. Korduba addressed to the broadest possible circle of poorly educated readers. He explained the importance of national self-awareness, showing as much as possible when and how the Ukrainian nationality was created. Overcoming the mental stereotypes of the Ukrainian peasantry, the historian emphasized that religion and nationality are different concepts that do not overlap. Therefore, as the author argues, one should be clearly aware of the belonging to certain people, and only then tackle the religious similarities or differences within the Ukrainian community.

The following part of M. Korduba's book deals with the problem of functioning of the Ukrainian language in the wide space from the San to the Don, presenting it as the most significant marker of nationality. Convincing its readers in the urgent need to cherish their mother tongue, the educator emotionally emphasizes: «[...] Our mother tongue supports our Rus nationality, language, and is a watchman who keeps and prevents the Rusyns from a complete merging with other people. Our mother tongue keeps us in the world of the Rusyns. And that is why the mother tongue is a very important treasure in our lives. [...] Therefore, we must cherish and nurture it in the way it deserves, we must love this most precious of our spiritual treasures» (Korduba, 1911, pp. 15–16).

Finally, in the last part of his book, M. Korduba raises the most topical issue of the division of Ukrainians by different state borders, which constantly deepens the differences between, as he wrote, the «*children of one mother*». From the standpoint of a conciliarism adherent, the scientist emphasizes that regional and religious features should not destroy national unity. On the contrary, one should deliberately abandon seemingly usual things in favour of unifying steps, no matter how incomprehensible at first. Among them there is the need for conscious acceptance of a single national name.

«Both the Ukrainians and the Rusyns are one and the same people», the author stresses. «Therefore, we should definitely decide on one common name. And what are the names of those two that we stick to? There can be only one answer to this: one that most of our people use. [...] The more enlightened circles of our people have adopted the name «the Ukrainians» and we must all follow them, especially since all our memories are closely connected with Ukraine» (Korduba, 1911, pp. 45–46). In substantiating his position, M. Korduba shows the historical grandeur and the great power of the Ukrainian people to Bukovynians, thereby raising in their imagination the prestige of being a Ukrainian. «Thus, we speak Ukrainian and have common historical traditions together with Ukraine – that is why we are a great Ukrainian nation, counting 34 million people, belonging to the largest peoples of Europe and inhabiting a space larger than any European state with the exception of Russia. [...] As we can see, there is also Ukraine and the great Ukrainian people, who have their own separate traditions, their own proper language, and their specific customs and traditions» (Korduba, 1911, p. 46).

Analysing the popular science editions of M. Korduba, we can say very little about the peculiarities of their colportage and people's reception. Unfortunately, the publishers of that time, with few exceptions, had no widespread practice of specifying the circulation of their printed matter, as well as of reporting the dynamics of its distribution. Considering the low cost of the popular books by M. Korduba, we can assume that most willing readers could well afford such a cultural expense. It should also be noted that the books mentioned by the historian were published by cultural and educational societies, so that their circulation was directed primarily to popular reading rooms, where they were freely available to readers. Therefore, almost anyone could get acquainted with Korduba's achievements.

Another important component of the scientific popularization of the Ukrainian past was informing the Bukovynian public about the achievements of prominent Ukrainian figures who, through their multifaceted work, contributed to a significant advance of national culture. At the same time, in accordance with consciously accepted conciliarism optics, the historian tried to write in a balanced way about the Dnipro and the Zbruch intellectuals. For example, among the Ukrainians from the Russian empire, he particularly emphasizes on the importance of Borys Hrinchenko's national service (Batyuk, 2015) and Volodymyr Antonovych (Polishchuk, 2017). As for the Galician intellectuals of the time, M. Korduba was fascinated by the magnitude of, his teacher M. Hrushevsky's (his teacher) creative genius during the period under study (Telvak and Telvak, 2018).

In addition to his historically popular works, M. Korduba also actively disseminated knowledge about the Ukrainian past among the masses through public lectures. As an active member of many Ukrainian institutions of Bukovyna region, he presented his lectures, first of all, at the Chernivtsi Historical Society (Satyr Oleg, 1904), the Civic Club (Respectful Manifestation, 1914), local branches of the «Prosvita» (Sokil, 1904, p. 2) and the «Ruska besida» («Rus conversation») (Deshcho pro diialnist, 1913, p. 4). Bukovynian newspapers unanimously praised the unprecedented popularization and oratorical talents of a scientist who skilfully ignited the hearts of listeners with a love to the Ukrainian past.

The Conclusions. Summarizing our observations on the work of the Korduba-populariser, let us pay attention to his image of a true Ukrainian intellectual, who in a difficult time for the existence of the nation put aside his own scientific plans and focused on the education of broad circles. According to the scientist, his popular works cultivated a sense of unity, a national awareness and dignity among the broad circles of the Ukrainian

community, taught it to know and love its past, called to honour heroes and plan for a common future. The works analysed above provide the features of the scientific work of Korduba-populariser.

First of all, he has a special respect for his reader, that manifested itself in the refusal from the trend to retell mythological stories as the most «suitable» ones for the peasant community. Feeling responsible, the scientist deliberately broadcast to the readership a purely scientific knowledge of the past, however complicated it might have been. Also, the historian spoke to his reader in a language s/he understood, while at the same time not indulging in an instructive tone and vulgar didacticism. All this has made his popular science works extremely popular among the general public, as evidenced by their considerable circulation and approving professional reception. Finally, we note that we consider this attempt to reconstruct the popular science works of M. Korduba in the early twentieth century to be only the first step to the full research of this interesting problem, as, in fact, the scientist never left his popularization work. First and foremost, his popular studios on the War for Independence and the interwar periods still require further research.

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IVAN BOBERSKYI'S PEDAGOGICAL ACTIVITY AT BAZILIAN SISTERS SERVANTS GYMNASIUM IN LVIV (1906 – 1914)

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* is to investigate Ivan Boberskyi's pedagogical activity at Bazilian Sisters Servants (Vasiliyanok sisters) Women's Gymnasium in Lviv comprehensively. **The methodology of the research** is based on the use of the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods, principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, the author's objectivity, narrative constructivism. By applying the biographical method, the authors were more likely to disclose the goals and objectives of the study. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in the Ukrainian and foreign historiography I. Boberskyi's pedagogical activity was investigated in the Ukrainian Bazilian Sister Servants Women's Gymnasium in Lviv during 1906 – 1914, in particular, as holding the position of the German language Professor; being the Head of the German-language Library for the students, the author of the educational and methodological literature, designed specially for the physical education classes («rukhanca»), the source of inspiration for the «Girls Sports Club» activity. **The Conclusions.** During his pedagogical

work at the Ukrainian Bazilian Sister Servants Women's Gymnasium in Lviv, I. Boberskyi introduced «rukhandka» classes (physical education lessons) into the educational process of students, taught German at a high level, was at the head of the German-language library, initiated the «Girls Sports Club» establishment, published the vital scientific and methodological works on physical education topical issues, popularized various sports among girls.

Key words: Lviv, Ivan Boberskyi, Bazilian Sister Servants Gymnasium, rukhandka (physical education), sport, the German language.

ПЕДАГОГІЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ІВАНА БОБЕРСЬКОГО ГІМНАЗІЇ СЕСТЕР ВАСИЛІЯНОК У ЛЬВОВІ (1906 – 1914)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – комплексно дослідити педагогічну діяльність Івана Боберського в жіночій гімназії сестер Василянок у Львові. **Методологія дослідження** базується на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів, принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, нарративного конструктивізму. Завдяки застосуванню біографічного методу авторам вдалося з більшою вірогідністю розкрити поставлені мету і завдання дослідження. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській та зарубіжній історіографії досліджено педагогічну діяльність І. Боберського в українській жіночій гімназії СС Василянок у Львові упродовж 1906 – 1914 рр., зокрема, на посаді професора німецької мови, завідувача німецькомовної бібліотеки для гімназисток, автора навчально-методичної літератури для занять з фізичного виховання, натхненника «Дівочого Спортивного Кружка». **Висновки.** Упродовж своєї педагогічної праці в українській жіночій гімназії СС Василянок у Львові І. Боберський запровадив гімнастичні заняття (уроки фізичного виховання) у навчальний процес гімназисток, викладав на високому рівні німецьку мову, завідував німецькомовною бібліотекою, дав поштовх до створення «Дівочого Спортивного Кружка», видав важливі науково-методичні праці з актуальних питань фізичного виховання, спопуляризував різні види спорту серед дівчат.

Ключові слова: Львів, Іван Боберський, гімназія СС Василянок, фізичне виховання, спорт, німецька мова.

The Problem Statement. Among the prominent teachers, public, cultural, educational, military and political figures, journalists, organizers, various sports propagandists among Halychyna Ukrainians in the early XXth century the figure of Professor I. Boberskyi (1873 – 1947) should be distinguished. In contemporary Ukrainian historiography, many works have been devoted to his activity as a leading Ukrainian specialist in the field of physical education and sports. There are works outlining his pedagogical work at the Drohobych Gymnasium and the Academic Gymnasium in Lviv. However, during 1906 – 1914, his activity in the Ukrainian Bazilian Sister Servants Women's Gymnasium in Lviv did not find proper elaboration and coverage. Taking everything into consideration, the proposed article is relevant and fills in a significant gap in I. Boberskyi's biography and provides an opportunity to present this figure in a more objective way in Ukrainian history of the early XXth century.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. During the Soviet era the following topic was actually banned and tabooed. Only with the advent of Ukraine as the independent state, Ukrainian scholars started to draw attention to the activity and creative heritage of numerous renowned Ukrainian history figures of the first half of the XXth century, including I. Boberskyi. There are some works dedicated to his public and pedagogical activity as a teacher of Drohobych Gymnasium and Academic Gymnasium written by Andriy Sova (Sova, 2017a; Sova, 2017) and Yaroslav Tymchak (Sova, Tymchak, 2017). However, despite certain Ukrainian historiography achievements, many aspects of Ivan Bobersky's life and

work still remain insufficiently understood or completely unknown. Among them, there is his pedagogical activity at Bazilian Sister Servants Gymnasium in Lviv.

The source base for the research were the following document: Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (Fund 312 («Ukrainian Sports Society» «Sokil-Batko», Lviv)), statistics data, including Bazilian Sister Servants Gymnasium in Lviv reports, periodicals, photographs and postcards stored in Stepan Haiduchok's and Yuriy Zaverbnyi's private archives, memoirs.

The purpose of the article is to investigate I. Boberskyi's pedagogical activity at Bazilian Sister Servants Women's Gymnasium in Lviv during 1906 – 1914 comprehensively.

The Statement of the Basic Material. On June 20, by issue # 18535 of the High Tsar-Royal Council of School Land, the permission was received from the beginning of September, Volodymyr Filevych directed the corresponding funds for the premises arrangement for the classes. On the 4th of September in 1906 the gymnasium began its studies with Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky blessing.

In the early XXth century I. Boberskyi worked at many educational establishments in Lviv, where Ukrainian Halychyna elite was studying and forming up: 1) the Academic Gymnasium (during 1901 – 1918) and its branch (1906 – 1914); 2) the Women Teacher's Seminary (1903 – 1905) and Bazilian Sister Servants Women's Gymnasium (1906 – 1914). In 1906, an educational institution for girls emerged in Lviv, the first Ukrainian Basilian Sisters Servants Women's Gymnasium (Karkhut). Long before that period of time, there was a heated discussion in Ukrainian society about the urgent need to open a high school – a lyceum or a girls' gymnasium. The educational institution emergence took a lot of money, efforts, especially the organizational work and was generally a risky issue. In April 1906, Fr. Spyrydon Karkhut suggested establishing such a gymnasium at the monastery to the Most Reverend Mother Volodymyra Filevych, Rector of Bazilian Sister Servants Monastery in Lviv since September 1906. On April 22, the first advertisement concerning the above-mentioned case was submitted to the periodicals. Eustachyi Makarushka, professor at the Academic Gymnasium in Lviv, was a helping hand and was assisting in the above-mentioned issue. On April 29, a relevant document was sent to the High Tsar-Royal Council of the School District for the gymnasium establishment, requesting the permission to open such a school. The prospectus of the gymnasium was also prepared and printed, which was distributed to almost all people's institutions, societies, and influential individuals in Halychyna. On June 20, by the issue No 18535 of the High Tsar-Royal Council of School District, the permission was even to open the preparatory class and the first class of the gymnasium in the beginning of September 1906. On July 4 and 5, the first entrance exams took place and 15 students were enrolled. Additional examinations were held on September 3. Volodymyra Filevych has directed appropriate funds for the class rooms arrangement. On September 4, 1906, with the blessing of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, the teaching process began in the gymnasium.

In 1906 there were 28 students studying at the first form and 7 students studying at the preparatory class. Fr. Spyrydon Karkhut once wrote the following: «So you have already, my dear fellow countrymen, a Female Gymnasium, in which the Bazilian Sister Servants orphanage and high school, and along with the best forces in a teacher's assembly are devoted with full parental sensitivity, care and attention, devotion and love, in the gymnasium Your female youth can be educated and may be formed up in a way completely equal to men, the God be praised, dear Nenka-Vitchynya (dear Country) for the support, to You for fun, for a good cause and for Your own pleasure» (Karkhut, p. 2).

The Basilian Sisters Servants Women's Gymnasium grand opening was aimed at preparing the womanhood for the further work, in particular for studies in high school. By that time, only few women managed to enter higher educational institutions, owing to private lessons. In 1895 women were granted the legal permission to enter Lviv University (Berezhnytska, p. 4). Olena Berezhnytska, a teacher at Basilian Sisters Servants Women's Gymnasium (was teaching Polish and Science of Nature during 1906 – 1907) justified the importance of women obtaining a gymnasium education in the analytical article «Gymnasium as the Learning Environment for the Womanhood Higher Education». She drew attention to the fact that the following subjects as Greek, Latin, Ukrainian, German, Religion, World History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, History of Nature, Chemistry, propedeutics of Philosophy, and so on, are included in the curriculum in order to broaden a person's outlook, develop people skills. According to Olena Berezhnytska: «It should be in society and humanity interest that all people, men and women alike, are equal, enlightened citizens. The women, who got at least a general secondary education will be able to fulfill their female vocation much better and the mothers will have the opportunity to educate the younger generation, who is the embodiment of the future hopes. Therefore, women seek for the equal education in comparison with the men's education, equal schools, equal rights and women would like to have the equal responsibilities concerning the people's care» (Berezhnytska, p. 9).

I. Boberskyi received an invitation from Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi to work at Basilian Sisters Servants Women's Gymnasium from 1906 till 1914. He began his pedagogical work in 1906 – 1907, I. Boberskyi was teaching gymnastics (physical education) in the preparatory and the 1st class (two lessons per week for one hour). Seven students from the preparatory class and seventeen students from the 1st grade attended the physical education lessons. In the same way as at the Academic Gymnasium in Lviv, I. Boberskyi conducted classes in accordance with the guidelines approved by Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Education in 1897. (Bb, p. 13).

During winter or execrable weather conditions the students had their gymnastics lessons at school premises. According to the School Report during 1906 – 1907: «The student's age and strength were required in order to put emphasis on choosing exercises on their own. In April the exercises in the backyard began: hiking in the rows and columns, turning moves, competition in running. The following games took place: «Bunny in Cabbage», «Turok», «Broken King», «Follow Me», «Pass on», «Cat and Mouse», «Hawk and Bow», «The Last Couple», «Khapko (Catcher)», «Caller», «Tretyak» (Zvit, 1907, p. 18). I. Boberskyi had 2 hours per week for physical education lessons. In addition, during the same academic year, school students went under the teachers guidance for three journeys to Yaniv, Zymna Voda and Bryukhovych.

In the following academic year, I. Boberskyi taught «rukhanka» (a physical education) lessons by his developed and tested methods. Due to the increase in the number of classes and students interested in the physical education lessons, the number of gymnast who took part in gymnastics lessons began to plummet. As a result, there were 5 students from the preparatory class, 12 students from the 1st class and 15 students from the 2nd class during 1907 – 1908. «Rukhanka» (a physical education lesson (gymnastics)) which took place in the gymnasium was divided into ordinary exercises, free exercises, jogging and fun. The lesson in the courtyard (implemented since April 1908) was divided into the following parts: 1) introduction (lasted four minutes): hike in a row, column, twos, quads, turns; 2) free exercises (lasting from five to ten minutes); 3) motor games (the rest of the time) were the

same in the previous year, and new games have been added, including elastic ball and small balls «L'otteria», «Race», «Kuty», «Firtochka» (Zvit, 1908, p. 68).

Owing to the increased number of students willing to attend «rukhanka» (a physical education) lessons and the lack of the appropriate school premises, I. Boberskyi began to conduct physical education lessons at the Ukrainian gymnastics club «Sokil-Batko», located on 20 Ruska Street during 1908–1909. It should be highlighted that I. Boberskyi was the head of Ukrainian gymnastics club at that time (CSHAUL, f. 312, op. 1, spr. 12, ark. 1; CSHAUL, f. 366, op. 1, spr. 12, ark. 81). The gymnasium students were divided into two departments – senior and junior. «Rukhanka» (a physical education) lessons were held two hours a week. The lesson was divided into several parts: 1) working out in a row (warm up exercises), 2) free exercises, 3) the first gymnastics training equipment usage, 4) the second gymnastics training equipment usage, 5) fun activities, 6) running. The gymnastics clothing for students was developed on the Swedish and German models basis. The same gymnastics clothing was used in Ukrainian Pedagogical Society of Women's Seminary in Lviv. The following information was mentioned about the gymnastics clothing at school report: «The gymnastics clothing was the same as Swedish and German clothing implemented by Ukrainian Pedagogical Society in Women's Seminary: black lightweight shoes, black stockings, black «sharovarky» (trousers), dark-blue belt and black or light-blue blouse» (Zvit, 1908, p. 68). Due to lack of funds, sports outfits were not ordered centrally. The gymnasium students sewed it at home or had their gymnastics clothing sewed at the professional seamstresses. Every student, who ordered gymnastics clothing, had to adhere strictly to the approved model of the outfit, including the cut and color scheme.

In the same academic year, under I. Boberskyi's guidance, the gymnasium students went to Slovita and Brukhovych.

In addition to the classroom lessons and trips outside Lviv, I. Boberskyi often went on organized excursions with students through Lviv streets, museums. For instance, in 1910, on the 18th of October along with Julian Levitskyi, the gymnasium director, Olena Berezhytska, the Professor and the 4th and 5th grades students got acquainted with the architecture, painting and carving exhibition on a suburban square in Stryisky Park (Zvit, 1911, pp. 13–14).

Despite some rough times, the number of grades and students at Bazilian Sisters Servants Women's Gymnasium has been increasing steadily up till the First World War (Dyrektsiia, p. 15). Having tackled and arranged «rukhanka» (physical education lessons, gymnastics) at the Bazilian Sister Servants Women's Gymnasium properly, I. Boberskyi, due to his heavy workload at the Academic Gymnasium, had a change of heart and decided to take over another position as a German teacher at Ludwik Sal, along with the public affairs, began teaching German language and the proxy as a gymnastics teacher at Bazilian Sister Servants Women's Gymnasium was given by I. Boberskyi to Theodor Polissya (conducted gymnastics lessons during 1909 – 1910), and after that – to I. Boberskyi's closest student and pupil Stepan Haiduchko, (conducted physical lessons during the following academic years 1910/1911 – 1912/1913). In 1913 – 1914 «rukhanka» (a physical education lesson) was superseded by a rhythmic «rukhanka» (a physical education lesson) implemented and conducted by Maria Turska (Zvit, 1914, p. 27).

I. Boberskyi taught German at the gymnasium during the following academic years 1909/1910 – 1913/1914 (Zvit, 1910, p. 4; Zvit, 1911, p. 3; Zvit, 1912, p. 3; Zvit, 1913, p. 3; Zvit, 1914, p. 25). As the German language was a compulsory subject, I. Boberskyi entered the teachers' assembly on August 15, in 1909 (Zvit, 1910, p. 9). In total, the teachers'

assembly consisted of 13 people. Apart from I. Boberskyi the teachers' assembly also included: Yulian Levyskyi, Director, Academic Gymnasium Professor, History and Geography teacher; Volodymyr Adrianovich, Deputy Teacher, Mathematics and Physics Teacher; Olena Berezhnytska, the Polish language, Mathematics and History of Nature teacher; Dioniziya Dzurych, calligraphy teacher; Roman Tsehlynskyi, Academic Gymnasium Professor, Latin, Greek and German teacher and the others (Zvit, 1910, pp. 3–4).

In 1909/1910 – 1913/1914 all German lessons were taught according to an approved curriculum for Halychyna gymnasium implemented by the High Tsar-Royal School Board (Order No. 44242 of August 2, 1909) (Zvit, 1910, p. 5; Zvit, 1911, p. 4; Zvit, 1912, p. 5; Zvit, 1913, p. 6; Zvit, 1914, p. 28).

I. Boberskyi along with Ludwik Salo (who was conducting lessons during the following academic years 1906/1907 – 1908/1909) were able to conduct the German language lessons at high-level from the beginning of the Gymnasium's activity. In the interwar period, these traditions were continued by the teachers Ivan Dobushchak and Yuriy Rudnytskyi (literary alias Yulian Opilskyi). In 1910/1911 I. Boberskyi gave students the following assignment «easy stories proofreading» (Zvit, 1911, p. 5). He spoke only German at the very lessons. The students were encouraged to accrue knowledge, especially to develop a deeper understanding of grammar, formal and literary language styles as well as an informal language. The learning process was carried out according to the approved books and textbooks by the Ministries. The students at primary classes read the Brothers Grimm «Fairy Tales» as additional material, the students at secondary classes – «Herman and Dorothea», a poem written by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe; Schiller's ballads and dramas «The Robbers» (Die Räubers), «Love and Intrigue»; «Laocoon», «Minna von Barnhelm», comedy written by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing; Peter Schlemihl's «Chamisso»; «Immensee», a novella written by Theodor Storm and the others (Lev, 45).

In addition, I. Boberskyi took part in the library funds formation at gymnasium. The library funds consisted of a teacher's library, a Ukrainian-language library, a Polish-language library and a German-language library for students. There were only 26 books at the German-language library for youth during 1906 – 1907 (Zvit, 1907, p. 19). During the following academic years the German-language library was updated: in 1907 – 1908 – 9 German books were added to its funds (Zvit, 1908, p. 70), in 1908 – 1909 – 7 German books (Zvit, 1908, p. 57), during 1909 – 1910 – 1 German book (Zvit, 1910, p. 8), in 1910 – 1911 – 1 German book (Zvit, 1910, p. 10), in 1911 – 1912 – 50 German books were added (Zvit, 1912, p. 12). As a result, in 1912–1913 the German-language library included 161 German books (Zvit, 1913, p. 12). It should be highlighted that in 1912–1913 I. Boberskyi presented 69 books for the youth from his own collection (Zvit, 1913, p. 13). In 1913 – 1914 I. Boberskyi, taking into account the school needs, became the head of the German-language library in the gymnasium. By the end of the academic year, this library numbered 176 books. For comparison, the teacher's library numbered 297 volumes, the Ukrainian-language library for students – 409, the Polish-language library for students – 213 (Zvit, 1914, p. 35).

During his pedagogical work in the gymnasium, I. Boberskyi continued to summon and publish educational and methodical literature on physical education, which was also published in the Academic Gymnasium Reports and «Sokil-Batko» Lviv Ukrainian Gymnastic Society editions. Hence, in 1908/1909 I. Boberskyi's work «Sytkivka» emerged in the report (Boberskyi, 1909a, pp. 2–47), during 1909/1910 one more I. Boberskyi's work appeared – «Lavchyna and Shcheblyivka» (The Shop and the Chisel) (Boberskyi,

1910a, p. 2–16), during 1911/1912 – «Prorukh» (Boberskyi, 1912a, pp. 2–15). I. Boberskyi published the same works with some refinements and corrections in the form of separate brochures (Boberskyi, 1909; Boberskyi, 1910; Boberskyi, 1912). The above-mentioned and the following I. Boberskyi's works «Zabavy i Hry Rukhovi» (1904) (Fun and Move Games), «Zabavy i Hry Rukhovi. Part II Eighteen ball plays» (1905), «Vporyad» (1909) were used by «rukhanka» (a physical education) teachers in gymnasium in particular by Theodor Polikh, Stepan Haiduchok and Maria Turska, as well as by the «Girls Sports Club» members and leaders.

In November 1910 I. Boberskyi triggered the «Girls Sports Club» (GSC) emergence in gymnasium. The main purpose of the club was to «awaken the students to sports with the help of reports and discussions, and to give the members an opportunity to practice sports appropriate for the female youth and to rationally nurture them» (Zvit, 1911, p. 7). The 4th and 5th grades students became the members of the above-mentioned club and there were 31 members from the first day of its activity. Since November 1910 the «Girls Sports Club» (GSC) began dynamic activity. As a result, at the beginning of November the club members decided to buy two samples of «Turul» game and on November 18, under the guidance of a gymnastics teacher from Budapest, Antina Halyachy the game was tried out. In 1910 – 1911 during winter season 18 members were engaged in «sovharstvo» (skating) on the basis of the «Lizhvar Society». In addition, 12 members practiced sledding. The theoretical lessons on the topical issues were also held for the members. In 1911 during summer season, 10 members of the «Girls Sports Club» (GSC) were engaged in «sytvitka» (tennis). For this purpose they rented a tennis net at the «Sokil-Batko» stadium. In addition to these kinds of sports, the «Girls Sports Club» (GSC) members were engaged in swimming; rowing; riding on rovers; dances and more. Also, the group made several joint trips around Lviv, including the 13th May to Yanov (there were only 31 participants). The «Girls Sports Club» (GSC) members held one amateur show, and the income from the show was put aside for the further work (Zvit, 1911, pp. 7–8). During the first year the «Girls Sports Club» (GSC) activity was characterized by the fact that a postcard with the image of Bazilian Sister Servantas Women's Gymnasium students during dynamic sledding was issued (Stepan Haiduchko's Private Archive; Yuriy Zaverbnyi's Private Archive). There is an inscription on the front side of the postcard: «The members of Bazilian Sister Servants Gymnasium in Lviv are having fun in the city», on the reverse side «Lyissa, ts(isarskoho) and r(oyal) Ph(otographer) Lviv St(reet) Akademichna 18». Taking into consideration that I. Boberskyi initiated such publications, it can be assumed that this postcard came to light thanks to him. The money raised from its sale went to the sports club needs.

Before the World War I, the number of (GSC) members plummeted steadily. As a result in 1910 – 1911 there were 31 members (Zvit, 1911, p. 7); in 1911 – 1912 – 37 (Zvit, 1912, p. 7), in 1912 – 1913 – 40 (Zvit, 1913, p. 17), in 1913 – 1914 – 52 (Zvit, 1914, p. 43). There were numerous «Girls Sports Club» mentors and curators. For instance, Olena Berezhnytska, qualified secondary school teacher, Polish, Mathematics and Nature History teacher was the «Girls Sports Club» curator during the following academic years 1910 – 1911 and 1911 – 1912; Volodymyr Adriyanovych, Deputy Teacher, Fr. Spiridon Karchuta Assistant Director, Physical Department Head, Mathematics and Physics Teacher – during 1912 – 1913; Oleksandr Tysovskyi, Deputy Teacher, Natural Sciences Teacher – during 1913 – 1914. The «Girls Sports Club» was headed by Sofiya Matsyrakivna in 1910 – 1911 and in 1911 – 1912. Anna Ostapchukivna was in charge

of the club during 1912 – 1913 and 1913 – 1914 (Zvit, 1911, p. 7; Zvit, 1912, p. 7; Zvit, 1913, p. 17; Zvit, 1914, p. 43; Ukrainski, p. 143). Hanna Korenets, Bazilian Sister Servant Women's Private Gymnasium student mentioned the following information about «Girl's Sports Club» and I. Boberskyi in particular: «(...) even before the First World War prof(essor) Ivan Boberskyi, who was teaching the German language, also conducted «rukhanaka» as the subject of an utmost importance. He cherished the ideas of sports in practice among young people. Therefore, the students came to «Sokil-Batko», situated on Rus'ka Street in order to take part in «rukhanaka», where they had a special equipment. He encouraged the girls to play «vidbyvanka» (volleyball) and «koshivka» mainly. In the winter, under his direction, the students performed ice-skating exercises («sovhanka») along with the ice-skating competitions. His motto: «A healthy soul is in a healthy body» became popular among our youth of both sexes, and gave girls a temper of body and spirit» (Korenets, pp. 232–233).

I. Boberskyi's pedagogical activity in Bazilian Sister Servants Gymnasium left good memories for both the students and the professor. Hence, Sofiya Nahirna mentioned the following: «Professor Ivan Boberskyi was very strict, but not intrusive. He demanded absolute silence during his lectures. All students sat as if they were statues, without even moving while taking part in the German language accruing. One day I was sitting at the lecture and understood that I couldn't stand that forced silence. And in that absolute silence, I whistled. Now (Ivan) Boberskyi would throw me out of classroom and I would be a hero! I was waiting for some actions but nothing happened. The professor walked through the class calmly and carried on the lecture. Looking down on my «heroism» I would fall low. Prof(essor) (Ivan) Boberskyi called me «shtubak» (junior pupil). As a teacher I took advantage of the lecture repeatedly. Because it is better to ignore students action more than once than to «make a mountain out of a molehill» (Nahirna-Lev, p. 84).

I. Boberskyi kept in touch with the gymnasium teachers as well as with the former students. He made several notes concerning the above-mentioned issue in his diary in 1918 – 1919 (Boberskyi, Dnevnyk, pp. 11, 31).

Professor I. Boberskyi was remembered and recounted by various stories of the Ukrainians in the Diaspora. Hence, when preparing a memorable book dedicated to I. Boberskyi that came out in 1980, former students put in a lot of interesting information about «rukhanaka» (a physical education) teacher and German teacher, «The Father of Ukrainian physical education». Among the others, in this book we came across the following lines: «Boberskyi Ivan, 1873 – 1947; (...) The athlete and the Germanist, the embodiment of teacher, on his own sample and behavior was nurturing the ideas of love to his native land, encouraged the youth to discipline, punishment and hard work, and especially the slogan: «A healthy soul is in a healthy body», through sports education» (Uchyteli, pp. 85–86).

The Conclusions. During his pedagogical activity at Bazilian Sister Servants Gymnasium in Lviv, I. Boberskyi introduced «rukhanaka» classes (physical education lessons) into the educational process of students, taught German at a high level, was at the head of German-language library, initiated the «Girls Sports Club» establishment, published vital scientific and methodological works on physical education topical issues, popularized various sports among girls. I. Boberskyi was able to conduct the German language lessons at high-level from the beginning of the Gymnasium's activity. Owing to it, the German-language library for students was formed. More than a third of the book stock was donated by him. In Gymnasium I. Bobersky gave impetus to the foundation of the «Girls Sports Club», which developed at a

high rate during 1910 – 1914. The «Girls Sports Club» was constantly plummeting, fostering and spreading various sports among the Ukrainian womanhood. The first two years of the club formation became crucial. At that time, a special responsibility was placed on the group curators Olena Berezhnytska and Professor I. Boberskyi. While working at gymnasium I. Boberskyi prepared relevant teaching and methodological works: «Sytkivka» (1909) «Lavchyna and Shcheblyivka» (1910), «Prorukh» (1912) were used at «rukhanca» (physical education) lessons in gymnasium and by the «Girls Sports Club» members as well as being very popular in the Ukrainian lands of Austro-Hungarian and the Ukrainian Diaspora.

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VIEWS OF HRYHORII KHOLODNYI

Abstract. *The purpose of the current research is to analyse the evolution of social and political views of H. Kholodnyi, the director of the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language (1926 – 1929), in the context of his public activities. The methodical basis of the article rests on principles of hystorism and objectivity and includes a retrospective method and a biographic method. The academic novelty of the current research is the first attempt to reveal and analyse social and political beliefs of H. Kholodnyi. The Conclusions.* In the result of thorough investigation it has become possible to distinguish three periods in the evolution and establishment of H. Kholodnyi's civic position. Thus, the 1912 – 1917s were mainly devoted to the participation in the Ukrainophile hromada (1912 – 1917) and the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi (1916 – 1917). H. Kholodnyi had supported the concept of Ukraine's autonomy as part of the Russian state before the revolution broke out in 1917. The second period lasted from 1917 to 1924. It was the time when H. Kholodnyi worked as a school principle and

carried out managerial work at Chernihiv Scientific Society, Prosvita, and Chernihiv Church Council to promote the Ukrainian education and science and unite people. After the adoption of the Fourth Universal of the Central Ukrainian Council, he supported the idea of independent Ukraine and upheld this view throughout his life. The third period from 1924 to 1929 was characterized by the rejection of any form of political activity and transition to purely educational and scientific projects, in particular in the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language. He managed to express his patriotic position through didactic work with schoolchildren and through the development of the Ukrainian humanitarian studies and scientific terminology.

Key words: Kholodnyi Hryhorii, the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi, Chernihiv Scientific Society, Prosvita, the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПОГЛЯДИ ГРИГОРІЯ ХОЛОДНОГО

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати суспільні та політичні переконання Г. Холодного, директора Інституту української наукової мови (1926 – 1929), в контексті його громадянської діяльності. **Методологічна основа** статті базується на принципах історизму та об'єктивності, включає ретроспективний і біографічний методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що це перша спроба розкрити й проаналізувати суспільно-політичні погляди Г. Холодного. **Висновки.** Результати дослідження дали підставу виділити три періоди у становленні та еволюції громадянської позиції Г. Холодного: 1912 – 1917-ті роки були присвячені переважно науковій та навчальній роботі, а також участі в українофільській громаді (1912 – 1917) та Товаристві українських поступовців (1916 – 1917). До початку революції в 1917 р. Г. Холодний підтримував концепцію автономії України як частини Російської держави. Другий період тривав з 1917 до 1924 рр. Це був час, коли він працював директором школи і перебував на керівних посадах у Чернігівському науковому товаристві, «Просвіті» та Чернігівській церковній раді. Після прийняття IV-го Універсалу Української Центральної Ради підтримував ідею незалежної України і дотримувався цього погляду впродовж усього життя. Третій період з 1924 до 1929 рр. характеризувався відмовою від будь-якої форми політичної діяльності та переходом до суто освітніх і наукових проєктів, зокрема в Інституті української наукової мови. Г. Холодному вдалося реалізувати свою патріотичну позицію через виховну роботу зі школярами, розвиток українських гуманітарних студій, розробку наукової термінології.

Ключові слова: Холодний Григорій, Товариство українських поступовців, Чернігівське наукове товариство, Просвіта, Інститут української наукової мови, Союз визволення України.

The Problem Statement. In the recent decades the Ukrainian historical science has undergone significant changes. The important pages of the Ukrainian history that used to be prohibited and censored in the Soviet times have finally become available for a comprehensive and objective research. Modern-day scientists have managed to create a monumental picture of the history of national movement and investigate the biographies of public figures who greatly contributed to the Ukrainian history and culture.

However, the lives of people, who devotedly worked yet played a secondary or even a tertiary role in the Ukrainian public life in the first third of the twentieth century have received a little coverage in scientific literature so far. Nevertheless, their contribution to the development of the national movement deserves a thorough investigation since their life paths and civic positions reflect the essential social and political tendencies of that time. One of those noteworthy personalities is Hryhorii Kholodnyi. In a contemporary scientific discourse the lack of scientific investigations, devoted to H. Kholodnyi's social and political perceptions, accounts for the topicality of the current research.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The only published work that sheds light on the life of H. Kholodnyi is «Encyclopedia of Ukraine». Moreover, some information about his public activities and views can be found in the connection with the

work of the Institute of the Ukrainian Language, in particular in his reports and articles on the preparation and compilation of terminological dictionaries (Kalynovych, 1930, pp. 1–28; Visnyk instytutu, 1928, 1930). The analysis of H. Kholodnyi's perceptions and relevant social and political events of his time has been carried out using the memoirs of N. Polonska-Vasylenko (Polonska-Vasylenko, 2011), K. Turkalo (Turkalo, 1963), O. Hrebenetskyi (Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SSA SSU), f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 63) and others. Taking into account possible subjectivity or inaccuracy of his opinions, which he expressed under pressure during the pre-trial investigation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, the authors used published materials concerning representatives of his environment, in particular S. Yefremov (Yefremov, 1997), V. Hantsov (Mohylnyi, 2018a), and V. Cherniakhivskyi (Mohylnyi, 2018b). In the meanwhile, the main materials about the social and political perceptions of H. Kholodnyi can be found in the Sectoral State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine, namely in the volumes 101–103 of the case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, 102, 103).

The Publication Purpose. The purpose of the article is to consider the social and political views of H. Kholodnyi and analyse the evolution of his convictions in the context of the events in the first third of the twentieth century on the basis of critical analysis of sources and scientific publications.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Kholodnyi Hryhorii was born on March 3, 1886, in Tambov (Russia) in the family of the gymnasium's headmaster (Prystaiko, 1995, p. 244). In 1912, he graduated from the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of the St. Petersburg University. In 1912 – 1917, he worked as a teacher in Moscow. At that time the conscious Ukrainians collected linguistic materials to develop the scientific Ukrainian terminology and advance the Ukrainian language that was seen as a mere dialect by the Russian power. H. Kholodnyi gradually became interested in the activities of the Ukrainophiles and decided to join the Ukrainian *hromada* in Moscow. It was the beginning of the first stage of the formation of his social and political beliefs. In order to analyse them, the authors used mainly the materials in Volume 101 of the case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, 102, 103).

H. Kholodnyi, like many nationally-minded enthusiasts of that time, naively hoped that in the near future the Ukrainians would receive autonomy as part of the Russian state and the right to use their mother tongue at schools and higher educational institutions as well as develop the Ukrainian-language literature and science. These expectations predetermined the main direction of his social, political and scientific perceptions.

As H. Kholodnyi recalled, in 1914 the Moscow Ukrainophiles convinced him to join the Agronomic Circle. He «was there a low-level figure» since his participation was limited to attending «the meetings at the Petrovskyi-Razumovkyi Academy (Moscow Agricultural Institute)» where the work on the collection of terminological material was organized (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 20). Besides, H. Kholodnyi attended monthly meetings of the Society of Slavic Culture, which existed and worked due solely to its neutral name, but in fact it had only a Ukrainian section (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 20).

H. Kholodnyi evaluated the work of Ukrainian groups as slow and weak one, and radical changes took place only after the arrival of M. Hrushevskyi to Moscow at the end of 1916. He was allowed to move here from Kazan' in order to continue his scientific work. H. Kholodnyi recalled that «the first reason for the revival of work and accumulation of forces» around the magazine «Ukrainian Life» was the celebration of the 50th anniversary of M. Hrushevskyi

(SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 20). Apart from scientific work, H. Kholodnyi participated in the meetings of the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi. The Society pursued purely cultural and national tasks. H. Kholodnyi became a member of the club headed by M. Hrushevskyi at the beginning of 1917 (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 23).

In December 1916, the Moscow *hromada* supported the declaration called «Our Position» that advocated the introduction of «democratic autonomy of Ukraine, guaranteed by the same federation of peoples with equal rights» (Boiko, 2013, p. 113). In January 1917, the members of the Society welcomed the peaceful proposals of the USA President W. Wilson, who positively perceived the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination (Boiko, 2013, p. 113). Later the February Revolution broke out and the Romanov abdicated a throne. These historical events led to significant changes, in particular to the liberalization of the Russian power. Nationally-minded intellectuals including H. Kholodnyi received an opportunity to put to life numerous patriotic projects and ideas that they had been developing before. These changes marked the end of the first stage of the formation of H. Kholodnyi's social and political views. At that stage he was into cultural and scientific work and took his first steps in a political sphere. He felt sympathy for the educational and scientific needs of the Ukrainian people and chose the collection of linguistic materials for terminological dictionaries as his main pro-Ukrainian activity.

The second stage lasted from 1917 to 1921. In the current research, it has been analysed on the basis of the recollections of H. Kholodnyi and his colleagues, in particular N. Polonska-Vasylenko and O. Hrebenetskyi. It has been revealed that the life in Kyiv and Chernihiv gave H. Kholodnyi an opportunity to step out of the shadow, build up a successful career and fully reveal his leadership skills in decision-making positions at scientific and educational institutions.

In March 1917, M. Hrushevskyi was informed about his election as the head of the Ukrainian Central Council and returned to Kyiv. A lot of his colleagues followed him including V. Vynnychenko, S. Petliura, O. Salikovskiy, I. Lebedynskiy, Z. Morgulis, Y. Sheremetynskiy and others. H. Kholodnyi also decided to move to Ukraine. His family settled down in Chernihiv while he headed for Kyiv (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 21).

His participation in the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi and communication with M. Hrushevskyi as well as other Ukrainophiles encouraged him to take an active part in educational and scientific projects. Although he shared the views of his colleagues on the statehood of Ukraine, he took little interest in political activity.

As he recalled, the Society intensified its activities after the February Revolution since it became possible to legally engage in political activity. In April 1917, the organization's leadership sent a lot of its representatives to participate in the All-Ukrainian National Congress which was due to take place on April 6–8, 1917.

H. Kholodnyi participated in the meetings of the Ukrainian Central Council and helped organize the All-Ukrainian National Congress. In his subjective opinion, although the Congress was called All-Ukrainian, «in fact, it represented mainly those organizations that were connected with M. Hrushevskyi» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 21) H. Kholodnyi estimated approximately 800 participants were present at the Congress. At the meetings he represented the interests of the Society of Slavic Culture. He firmly believed that active educational and scientific work could be a reasonable alternative to a political activity, which he did not fully understand. In 1917 – 1921, unlike it had used to be in the imperial period, the ban on the Ukrainian education and science was lifted so that nationally-minded

intellectuals thought these spheres could be developing without censorship and prohibition from the authorities. H. Kholodnyi was eager to seize this opportunity.

During the period from September to October 1917, H. Kholodnyi worked together with K. Shcherbyna, M. Kravchuk, F. Kalynovych, N. Shulgina-Ischuk and V. Sharko in a committee which was in charge of developing mathematical terminology at the Society of School Education (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 92). H. Kholodnyi saw compilation of terminological dictionaries as an integral part of the development of Ukrainian science and state-building processes.

In August 1917, the scientist received an invitation from General Secretary of Education I. Steshenko to work at the Kyiv Second Ukrainian Gymnasium named after Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood. He began teaching mathematics, physics and cosmography in senior classes (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 21, 93). As O. Hrebenetskyi recalled, he also arranged a mathematical club for pupils (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 63, p. 8).

At that time the young Ukrainian state faced an important task to organize patriotic education in schools and provide lessons in the native language of pupils. H. Kholodnyi dived into educational work and «did not participate in any political activity» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 21), as well as «neither had contacts nor knew about any political organizations, which operated in Kyiv» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 98) since he was busy with his new duties. As there is no information about H. Kholodnyi's political activities in the archive materials and memoirs of his friends and colleagues (e.g. S. Yefremov, V. Hantsov, H. Holoskevych, etc.), we can assume that his words are truthful.

School life mirrored the changes that were taking place in Ukraine. The scientist considered this period to be «the time when people were fascinated by national romance and a vague idea of a separate Ukrainian state». School had welcomed the return of the Ukrainian Central Council in March 1918, the Directory's coming to power in 1918, and the return of the Ukrainian People's Republic before Kyiv was seized by Denikin's troops (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 21–22). As he emotionally recalled, «we were the same. We did not stop our pupils when dozens of people went to work on the Hetman's front, cut wires, stole automobiles and did other harm. I adored what they did and supported such eager people. I entirely shared and encouraged feelings of the students of preliminary courses and all of them with the University took the side of Directory» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 72). At the same time, he critically assessed indifferent attitude of society towards the self-sacrifice of young patriots near the railway station of Kruty: «I together with others bear responsibility for tragic events near Kruty in January 1918, because we knew about the intentions of our youth but did nothing to stop their ... emotional outburst» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 72). At the same time, in spite of failures of the Ukrainian troops and constant searches of potential associates, the Ukrainian intelligentsia fostered «optimistic perspectives for the Ukrainian People's Republic» and any failures led to sufferings and «deep internal struggle» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 72). H. Kholodnyi and many of his friends and colleagues were «certain that the power of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine was temporary and the final stage of their struggle was independent Ukraine» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73). This opinion was quite widespread and popular with the Ukrainian intellectuals.

At the end of October 1919, H. Kholodnyi tried to move his family to Kyiv. However, the Bolsheviks came to power in the city so that the scientist and his family stayed in Chernihiv (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 98).

At the beginning of November 1919, H. Kholodnyi was invited to work at Chernihiv Ukrainian School (gymnasium) named after M. Kotsiubynskiy. He joined the methodological committee of the People's Commissariat of the People's Education in Chernihiv region. As H. Kholodnyi recalled, he formed a teaching staff and had to carry out «peacekeeping work» and reconcile «hostile» camps (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 99). According to the confessions of H. Kholodnyi during the interrogations in 1929, in 1921 – 1922 he managed to continue instilling a sense of patriotism in school children through organizing regional exhibitions and learning Ukrainian poems and songs (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73).

From February to August 1922, H. Kholodnyi tried to settle down in Kyiv again. However, hard working conditions during the regime of military communism, ration card system, and the lack of firewood forced him to leave the city and again «look for the peace of soul in Chernihiv quietness» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73) As N. Polonska-Vasylenko recalled, at that time a lot of scientists were gradually leaving Kyiv trying to survive (Polonska-Vasylenko, 2011, pp. 31–319).

Upon his return to Chernihiv in August 1920, H. Kholodnyi agreed to the request of the local People's Education to become a headmaster of the Ukrainian gymnasium, which was later transformed into a labour school named after M. Kotsiubynskiy (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 22, 23). H. Kholodnyi was its headmaster for four years (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 25). The scientist recalled that at school he saw his primary task in developing in his pupils the sense of patriotism to Ukraine. According to H. Kholodnyi, «it was a bizarre organism that combined incompatible things. My children sang International with delight but switched straight away on the Ukrainian hymn *Ukraine hasn't died yet*» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 74). It is hard to say whether this information was accurate since his colleagues did not mention such details about their lives and work. H. Kholodnyi had worked as a headmaster by August 1924.

Under the Soviet rule, H. Kholodnyi observed that «in our consciousness we filtered positive facts of our life and what remained was just flunkouts, chaff, and trash». Peasants told stories about «their dissatisfaction with the politics and gang violence, and anti-Semitism» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 106). Urban dwellers «fed on gossips and rumours, which came from Kyiv, Moscow and Leningrad, and new anecdotes on hot topics», also they «talked about war» (SSA SSU, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 106). «It was evident that people had a common anti-Soviet attitude and fostered common expectations of political changes» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 106).

In the meanwhile, H. Kholodnyi admitted that «I made a mistake when I thought that in Chernihiv I would work quietly shutting out myself from the world»; «I had gone with the flow by 1920, but now, on the contrary, a period of more or less independent work started when a lot of things depend on me, on my worldview» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 73). Thus, H. Kholodnyi participated in educational and scientific projects, methodological commissions, and various conferences on behalf of the People's Education.

Apart from pedagogical affairs, at the end of 1920 – the beginning of 1921, H. Kholodnyi got involved in the creation of a local Ukrainian church and for a short time headed the Church Council Although he was unreligious (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 24, 125). H. Kholodnyi noted that «Kyiv autocephaly was a powerful political center where threads from all over Ukraine converged»; «There couldn't have been a better, more reliable and safer means of consolidation» of people than the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 133).

Additionally, H. Kholodnyi carried out managerial work in Prosvita and also decided to organize a «small scientific organization» in Chernihiv (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 128). In December 1920, he appealed to the Kyiv Scientific Society for the establishment of its branch. Unlike Prosvita, Chernihiv Scientific Society received broad support from the People's Education and the latter gave money and books to develop a local scientific life. As for ideological views, the Society's members did not adhere to Soviet principles. H. Kholodnyi believed that «the same people that sympathized with Prosvita and the autocephaly gathered in the Society» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 136). As H. Kholodnyi stated, «we in the Council and all those who joined the Society saw it as a legal opportunity to carry out our national work in a narrow scope that was detached from the Soviet reality, gathered nationally-minded people and supported an educational ideology ... because the time could come to rely on this mass» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 136–137). We assume these views of H. Kholodnyi could be explained by his attempts to justify himself to Soviet power during the interrogation through reducing the aims and tasks of the national movement.

In 1924, the pedagogue was dismissed from his position of school headmaster and he moved to Kyiv. His second life stage therefore falls on the period over 1917 – 1924. At this time he practically deviated from political activities and directed his creative energy and sense of patriotism to managerial educational and scientific work. As for his political convictions, they finally evolved from the idea of autonomous Ukraine to the need of independent state. However, H. Kholodnyi always hid his attitudes due to his caution and prudence and was forced to confess them only in 1929 during the investigation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

The third stage in the development of H. Kholodnyi's social and political views fell on 1924 – 1929. The analysis of this period is based on his and S. Yefremov's recollections. On a large scale, it was a so called transitional period when the Soviet power gradually curtailed democratic rights and freedoms so that the country entered an era of totalitarianism. The talks about the external danger in the circles of the Ukrainian intelligentsia gave rise to the expectations that a hypothetical war between the Soviet Union and the West could help Ukraine restore its independence (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 28–29; Mohylnyi, 2018a, p. 53). Consequently, intellectuals including H. Kholodnyi continued developing Ukrainian culture, education, and science working for «a greater good».

In 1924, V. Durdukovskiy offered H. Kholodnyi to return to work at the First Ukrainian Labour School and he agreed to this proposal. Having assessed the atmosphere in the school, the scientist noted that «political education of pupils ... was quite normal, and in any case, the school did everything to dispel suspicions that periodically arose around the school work, kept a close eye on the children and political moments» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 26). Regarding his working relationships, H. Kholodnyi recalled that the school staff were extremely friendly, and several times a year they gathered at homes of M. Prokhorova or O. Hrebenetskyi to share their hopes and sorrows as well as discuss news and rumours. «When it came to the Soviet power, the talks always had a hostile nature» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 76–77). «In those talks one could always sense a hope for an unknown force that would come and set us free. I shared a lot of such beliefs although I never believed in the power of morally and physically separated Ukrainian diaspora and doubted it had a right to play any part in our life after 10 years of their detachment» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 77). These confessions show his moderate attitude to the future perspectives of Ukraine. The political situation in Ukraine was considered by H. Kholodnyi extremely

critically and he noted that «the Ukrainian intelligentsia often mentions their dissatisfaction but does not have an initiative. Everyone is sure that political changes can occur and awaits them but does not think who will make changes» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 187).

Additionally, H. Kholodnyi shared his opinion about the processes that were taking place in the procedure of the Ukrainization. «A national issue is being broadly framed. The school plays a key role in this case. The Ukrainization of the state apparatus is an inevitable outcome. The Ukrainization of external forms (a signboard, a street, a tram, etc.) comes as an accomplishment, not a beginning (as it was in 1918). Even at the current pace, in a few years, such abnormal phenomenon of Ukrainization as a formal attitude of officials towards the tasks of Ukrainization will disappear. They do not yet have an organic need for the Ukrainian language, and it is mostly an unpleasant duty for them» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 60–61). It is worth mentioning that the same opinion can be found in interrogation reports of his colleagues V. Hantsov and S. Yefremov (Mohylnyi, 2018a, p. 53; Yefremov, 1997, p. 431). In general, this perception of Ukrainization was quite common among the Ukrainian nationally-minded intellectuals.

As for social and economic policies, H. Kholodnyi did not leave enough information to restore a clear picture of his attitude to the New Economic Politics, industrialization or collectivization. In his opinion, «the village is sick because it gives a lot and receives little», «large collective households will guarantee the famine will never return», «the industrialization requires a lot of effort and the transfer of funds from other areas», «it is more rational to intensively industrialize the southern part of Ukraine where conditions are similar to the American ones» (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 60). Even these laconic remarks show that H. Kholodnyi tried to be objective and find positive features of the Soviet economic activities unlike his friends and colleagues who had a critical attitude towards the Bolshevik politics.

On the proposal of O. Kurylo, H. Kholodnyi returned to terminological work at the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language. There a group of scientists was developing the main principles of the Ukrainian terminology and editing terminology dictionaries (Mohylnyi, 2018b, p. 23). In 1926, H. Kholodnyi quit his job at school and fully focused on scientific work. In March 1929, The State Political Department received information about a group of the «chauvinistic» Ukrainian intellectuals who worked in the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language. These people were suspected of «taking leading positions and carrying out a struggle for maximum independence from the Soviet power» (Danylenko, 2012, pp. 503–504). According to the State Political Department, the group called itself «INARAK» by analogy with the organization International Association of the Revolutionary Action described in the novel «Solar Machine» of V. Vynnychenko (Danylenko, 2012, p. 503).

H. Kholodnyi recalled that the Institute's meetings (called «INARAK») had actually coordinated all activities of the Institute since the end of 1927 (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 157; Prystaiko, 1995, p. 390). Taking into account a political situation, the scientist believed that the activities of «INARAK» could have been more important than «the spread of illegal leaflets» in the street: «it is not a big deal now to come out in the street somewhere. There will be very few benefits... On the contrary, we will lose more conscious Ukrainians, and there are already so few of us» (Danylenko, 2012, p. 504).

The State Political Department assumed that «INARAK» was not a structured underground organization, but its members could «make extensive use of legal opportunities

to unite chauvinistic elements and carry out anti-Soviet work» (Danylenko, 2012, p. 504). In I. Ohiienko's opinion, the Institute provoked a great suspicion of Russian chauvinists because of its pro-Ukrainian methodology (Ohiienko, 2001, p. 379). As a result, during the trial over the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine «INARAK» was considered to be one of its centres (Prystaiko, 1995, p. 205). An important piece of evidence in this case was the testimony of M. Rylskiy who stated that «there was a group of teachers, probably a large one, in which some blindly adhered to nationalistic and populist convictions while others were engaged in politics. At the time, the second group comprised such people as Durdukovskiy, Hrebenetskiy, Kholodnyi» (Prystaiko, 1995, p. 313). This testimony in 1929 – 1930 could be explained by a fear for one's life, widespread whistleblowing, and unjustified critics of one's convictions under the pressure of investigators.

Having analysed the above-mentioned materials, we assume that the third stage in the development of H. Kholodnyi's perceptions was characterized by his critical attitude to the authorities, the pro-Ukrainian work in the Institute of the Scientific Ukrainian Language and participation in informal meetings of «INARAK».

The spring of 1929 saw police summonses of the staff of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, school teachers and students to the State Political Department. All of them were asked about the activities of S. Yefremov and other people who appeared in the process of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. In this way the State Political Department step by step fabricated the case of the Union on the basis of confessions (Polonska-Vasylenko, 2011, p. 435). K. Turkalov assumed that the Bolshevik authorities were interested in «the elimination of the first Ukrainian intelligentsia as the most active and most distinctive» social layer (Turkalov, 1963, p. 26). However, at the beginning of the 1930s their aim was mainly to discredit the most active enthusiasts and exclude them from social and political life of that time. Physical elimination came later.

On the 17th August 1929, H. Kholodnyi was arrested according to the order №4348 of the Ukrainian Socialistic Soviet Republic. During the trial over the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, namely on the 22th August 1929, he was accused of nationalistic sabotage (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 31). His name was erased from scientific and reference sources.

During the investigation that lasted in 1929 – 1930 H. Kholodnyi was questioned 12 times. Under the interrogations, H. Kholodnyi initially stated that he had never heard of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. However, on the 9th September 1929, H. Kholodnyi changed his testimony and assumed that some scientific groups in the Institute of the Scientific Ukrainian Language and the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences could have been symbolic centers of the Union (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, pp. 77–79). Later, on the 20th September, he admitted he belonged to the counter-revolutionary organization of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, no. 67098, vol. 101, p. 187).

On the 19th April 1930, H. Kholodnyi was sentenced to 8 years in prison and 3 years of the deprivation of rights for «nationalistic sabotage» (Kubiiovych, 2000, p. 3621; *The Last Address*, p. 942, Prystaiko, 1995, pp. 15, 86, 332, 360). He served his sentence in Solovky, a detention camp and a special-purpose prison. On the 4th February 1938, he was sentenced to death (*The Last Address*, p. 903). The sentence was executed on the 17th February of the same year at the Solovetskiy Archipelago. He was rehabilitated by the Supreme Court of the USSR on the 11th August 1989 (*The Last Address*, p. 942).

The Conclusions. In the process of the evolution and establishment of H. Kholodnyi's public position it is possible to differentiate 3 periods: 1) 1912 – 1917, when his participation

in the Ukrainian *hromada* and the Society of Ukrainian Postupovtsi developed his understanding and sympathy for the urgent cultural, scientific and educational needs of the Ukrainian people; 2) 1917 – 1924 was a period of crystallization of political convictions when H. Kholodnyi moved from the concept of autonomous Ukraine to the support of its independence; the third period from 1924 to 1929 was characterized by the rejection of any form of political activity, the critical attitude to the Soviet state-building processes as well as the naïve expectations together with his compatriots for a potential war between the Soviet Union and the West as the key to the independence of Ukraine. The promising direction in the investigation of H. Kholodnyi's life path is his work in the Moscow Ukrainophile *hromada*, his publishing activity, participation in Prosvita, Chernihiv Scientific Society and the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language.

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

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

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

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

ДИПЛОМАТИЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ЯНА ТОКАРЖЕВСЬКОГО-КАРАШЕВИЧА В ЄВРОПІ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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OLEXANDR ZAHRODSKYI: LIFE TO SERVE UKRAINE

Abstract. The Purpose of the Research. The personal qualities of one of the prominent participants in the national liberation competitions, a colonel general, Olexandr Olexandrovych Zahrodskyi (1889 – 1968) are of a significant scientific and generally cognitive interest in the context of the human, patriotic, civic, and ultimately military qualities. They form the holistic vision of the liberation struggle leaders. First of all, the aim is to investigate not only the motivation of his crucial decision-making and actions, but at the same time, it is equally important to explore the internal nature of the instigating moments of the soldier's psychology and the military leader as such. **The Research Methodology.** In the article the extraordinary personality scientific, historical and interdisciplinary methods of the research have been used, based on the principles of the historical veracity, objectivity, consistency, comprehensiveness and a multiple factor analysis. **The Scientific Novelty.** The formation of O. O. Zahrodskyi's personality traits has been analyzed for the first time. The emphasis was made on the peculiarities of the family education, the village environment and its influence on the future soldier's

character. The determination and the strong volitional qualities, which led to a fundamental change in the future life path, have been emphasized. At the same time, a sufficient level of knowledge, needed for the future military career; the capability of making the sound decisions, especially the fateful ones, which change the later life paradigm, have been highlighted. It is worth emphasizing that the universal human values and qualities of O. O. Zahrodskyy's personality have been revealed not only during the period of the national liberation struggle but also in emigration. **The Conclusions.** The formation of O. O. Zahrodskyy's personality as a future Colonel General of the UNR Army started at the end of the XIXth century in the social environment of Ukraine by means of the family education. He was brought up in the priest's family. His further life, a conscious choice to follow a warrior's destiny, the participation in World War I and the gained experience led to his transfer in November 1917 to the military formations of the Central Council of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR). This move was perceived as a motivated step, determined by the inner nature of his extraordinary personality.

Key words: O. Zahrodskyy, education, soldier, service, devotion, honour, Ukraine.

ОЛЕКСАНДР ЗАГРОДСЬКИЙ: ЖИТТЯ В СЛУЖІННІ УКРАЇНИ

Анотація. Мета статті. Особистісні якості одного з визначних учасників національно-визвольних змагань, генерал-полковника Олександра Олександровича Загородського (1889 – 1968) в контексті людинознавчих, патріотичних, громадянських, напевні фахових якостей як військовика, викликають не тільки значний науковий, але й загальнопізнавальний інтерес, формуючи цілісне уявлення щодо очільників визвольної боротьби. Найперше ставиться мета висвітлити мотивацію прийняття ним вирішальних рішень, його вчинків і дій, не применюючи водночас важливість дослідження внутрішньої природи спонукальних моментів психології вояка та військового діяча. **Методологія дослідження.** Вивчення непересічної особистості забезпечено загальнонауковими, історичними та міждисциплінарними методами дослідження. Цьому сприяли такі принципи: історичної достовірності, об'єктивності, системності, комплексності, науковості, всебічності та багатofакторності. **Наукова новизна.** Уперше цілісно досліджено становлення особистісних якостей О. О. Загородського. Акцентовано увагу на особливостях родинного виховання, середовищі села, його впливові на якості характеру майбутнього вояка. Підкреслено рішучість та вольові якості, котрі спонукали до принципової зміни майбутнього життєвого шляху. Водночас зауважено достатній рівень знань, необхідних для майбутньої кар'єри військового, здатного приймати вивірені рішення, особливо доленосні, коли вони змінюють парадигму подальшого життя. Варто підкреслити, що загальнолюдські цінності та якості особистості О. О. Загородського нами виявлено не тільки в період національно-визвольних змагань, але й в еміграції. **Висновки.** Формування особистості генерал-полковника Армії УНР О. О. Загородського у соціальному середовищі України започаткувалося засобами сімейного виховання у священничій родині наприкінці XIX ст. Його подальший життєвий шлях, усвідомлений вибір долі вояка, участь у Першій світовій війні та набутий досвід забезпечили перехід у листопаді 1917 р. до військових формувань Центральної Ради УНР. Це був умотивований крок, зумовлений внутрішньою природою його непересічної особистості.

Ключові слова: О. О. Загородський, виховання, вояк, військо УНР, Центральна Рада, честь, Україна.

The Problem Statement. Once again, returning to the recent history of Ukraine comprehending, it is inevitable to conclude the necessity to understand the place and rank of a particular person in the course of the recent history events. Moreover, when it concerns the struggle for independence, freedom, the right of the Ukrainians to live on their land according to their laws. The national liberation movement during 1917 – 1921 provides a particularly rich material not only for understanding the lessons of the past, but in many respects, it warns against the errors at present, especially during the challenge periods and hardships.

At the same time, there is a gradual but consistent transition from understanding the history of events to understanding the personal qualities of a person, his or her life history,

because the person occurred at the crossroads of the events owing to the will of the historical process. The person's decision-making and the decision implementation will inevitably have consequences, sometimes the irreversible ones. Therefore, studying the history of the formation and development of a person to a personality in space and time will enable us to understand the cause and the effect links in the events that took place. In addition, studying the history of the formation and development of a person to a personality will teach, at the same time, and it will warn against making mistakes in the future. That is why doing the researches, finding the place of the most prominent personalities in the course of the struggle for an independent Ukrainian statehood, their influence on the course of the events and the results are perceived not only timely, – the human studies are considered to be the priority at the modern stage of the historical researches in Ukraine.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Taking into consideration the growing public demand for the researches on the history of the national liberation movement during 1917 – 1921, the prolonged interest in this period of the recent Ukrainian history, it should be emphasized on the significant increase in the number of the published works after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence. There happened a corresponding increase in the published materials concerning both the leaders of the national liberation movement and the military circles representatives, who implemented and approved the state-making processes in an armed way.

The whole information set, formed by the Ukrainian researchers of that period, is roughly classified into three groups of sources. The first groups of sources concerns the generalizing works, in particular, it is necessary to single out the publications: on the generality of the Ukrainian national-liberation movement, written by O. M. Kolyanchuk, M. R. Lytvyn and K. Ye. Naumenko (Koljanchuk, Lytvyn, & Naumenko, 1995); the ways of Ukrainian officership in 1917 – 1921, written by Ya. Tynchenko (Tynchenko, 1995); the notes on the Ukrainian revolutions, written by S. V. Kulchytskyi (Kul'chyc'kyj, 2001); the biography of Pavlo Skoropadskyi, written by H. V. Papakin (Papakin, 2003) and many others. The second group refers to the works and other materials that are differently related to the biography of Colonel General Olexander Zagrodskyi (1889 – 1968); the information on the internment of the UNR Army in the camps of Poland and Romania, written by I. V. Sribniak (Sribniak, 1997); the memoirs of P. F. Shandruk (Shandruk, 1999); the memoirs of the Ukrainian commander M. V. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko (Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, 2007); the memoir work by I. P. Mazepa (Mazepa, 2003); the biographical reference of the UNR Army officer corps, written by Ya. Tynchenko (Tynchenko, 2007); some publications of the direct participants of national liberation movement. The third group comprises the data of the Central Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine (CSAHSAPAU) and the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine (CSHAUK).

The publication's purpose. Understanding the fact that the moral and professional qualities of the personality of the famous soldier, a colonel general Olexander Zahrodskyi, go far beyond an everyday perception, puts the authors before the need to study not only the motivational component of his various activities. In the context of the human being, patriotic, civic, and finally professional qualities as a soldier, one must understand the nature of the actions, which, in our opinion, is of a considerable scientific and cognitive interest, since the perception and realization of the multifactorial principle forms a holistic view of O. O. Zahrodskyi's liberation struggle. Therefore, the perception of the whole amount of factors: social, political, ethnic and territorial, makes it clear that the leaders of national

liberation movement, including O. O. Zahrodskyi, were tested by the circumstances in various ways. Therefore, primarily, the aim is to study not only the causally motivated situation, but it is equally important to explore the internal nature of the decisions, the actions in O. O. Zahrodskyi's psychology as a soldier, as an activist.

The Statement of the Basic Material. It should be emphasized that the study of the prominent figures qualities of the national liberation movement from the point of view of the present period is based on the principles, which are logically connected with the studios of the famous Ukrainian scientist Ya. Dashkevych, who considered it possible to obtain the desired results because of the higher manifestation of the biography facts. They can be achieved by applying the principle of multifactoriality for an in-depth study of a person's personal essence, so he noted that «... five blocks of issues... relevant to the Ukrainian biography studies and prosopography, which have, of course, their national specifics, caused by the very difficult conditions of the people's life during many centuries: 1) personal; 2) ethno- and religious psychological; 3) public; 4) political; 5) creative» (Dashkevych, 2011, pp. 240–241). Therefore, the authors consider it necessary to make a full use of the creative inheritance of a well-known scientist O. O. Zahrodskyi, concerning his life in service for Ukraine.

The personal factors of the person's best qualities formation are causally caused by the family education. It is known that O. O. Zahrodskyi was born in a large family of a village priest, in Zelenkiv village, Uman district of Kyiv province. Olexander orphaned early, the family lost their breadmaker Olexander Zahrodskyi († 1896). In «the Cleary Gazette of the Uman County for 1890», we find the material about a large family of the priest Olexander Zahrodskyi. His son Olexander, who dropped out of the 4th grade at Kyiv Theological Seminary and eventually chose the military service, was the youngest among his children. He was born on April 10, 1889 and was baptized in the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, in Zelenkiv village (CSHAUK, f. 127, d. 1011, c. 3192, p. 280). The children, especially the sons, grew up in a rural environment, which significantly influenced the formation of the best features of the Ukrainian people. It seems necessary to emphasize that honesty in the relationship, honesty, a sense of duty he received in the family circle and entrenched it in the communication with the fellow villagers.

The next step was the study at the seminary for three years. He left school and worked as a village teacher for some time. In some period of time, however, the personal judgment made him change his vital interests – he left the seminary after his third year of study ... He chose the path of the soldier: «20.11. In 1912 he was enrolled in the army and enlisted in the 74th Stavropol infantry regiment (Tynchenko, 2007, p. 168). It is likely that these three years of studying at the seminary allowed him to finish successfully the non-commissioned officer's school (since June 30, 1913 – a junior non-commissioned officer (Tynchenko, 2007, p. 168). The service was successful, so as early as March 28, 1914 – a senior non-commissioned officer (at the age of 25). As a person capable of a critical analysis of the situation, he realized that it was not too late to pass the examination for the officer rank, he passed the examination on 18. 06. 1914, he received the officer rank «ensign» on 22. 08. 1914 (RSMHA, f. 409, d. 1, c. 51410, p. 508). Such step was more motivated since World War I began on August 1, 1914, so the need for the trained officers arose immediately.

It has been determined that in the World War I he served in the 74th Stavropol infantry regiment as a junior officer. This fact was confirmed by his photo among the unit commanders.

The regiment was the part of the 19th Infantry Division 12, Army Corps 9. It was located on the left section of the Southwestern Front (the headquarters in Kamianets-Podilskyi).

According to the available information, O. O. Zahrodskyi was a brave soldier; he did not hide from the bullets behind the soldiers' backs during the attacks. On August 17, 1914 he was wounded in the upper part of the abdomen in the battle near Rohatyn. He was cured of and returned to his regiment. He was again wounded in the battle (the night of the 24th – the 25th of November, 1914. It is quite obvious that the skillful leadership under the conditions of the warfare at night was noticed by the commanders, more over, the received wound became the basis for commemorating the military warfare, so by the «highest command» of April 22, 1915, the ensign O. Zahrodskyi was awarded the golden St. George weapon. He was wounded for the third time near the village of Chebakhaza on March 22, 1915. In addition, he was awarded the Order of St. Stanislav of the III^d degree and St. Anne of the III^d degree with swords (RSMHA, f. 409, d. 1, c. 51410, p. 508).

At present, the search for the established sample of the general khoruzhyi O. O. Zahrodskyi's registration card of the Ukrainian People's Republic Army service did not give the desired results in the Central State Archives of the highest authorities of Ukraine. That is why, the authors decided to use the information, provided in the biographical guide, compiled by a historian, a specialist on the military history (Tynchenko, 2007, pp. 168–169). They took the information as the basis and conducted the search based on it ...

Among other reasons, World War I accelerated the social upheavals in the Russian Empire, a series of the defeats at the fronts, and the propaganda efforts of various political parties led to the abdication of the throne. The country entered the bourgeois revolution. The intensification of the socially coloured passions, the reluctance and the refusal from the hostilities, the Bilshovyk agitation, the centred sentiments of the national elites ultimately led to the cessation of fighting and the collapse of the front ...

In the Ukrainian territories, as the response to the national situation, the national intellectual elite formed the Ukrainian Central Council. At first it functioned as the representative body of the political, civic, cultural and professional organizations, and after the All-Ukrainian National Congress (6–8.04.1917 p.) – as Parliament of Ukraine.

Personally for O. O. Zahrodskyi, the staff captain, there came the moment of decision making under critical conditions. It should be taken into account that, as the officer, he had no clear political preferences and therefore he did not belong to any political parties. We assume that this time, the main motive for the transition to the service in the Ukrainian army was the family education, based on the Ukrainian national traditions. He offered his military knowledge and experience as the combat officer to serve the Ukrainian people, their national liberation. According to his own, internally motivated and made decision, O. O. Zahrodskyi already at the beginning of November 1917 – «... the commander of Kyiv guard regiment of the Central Council Troops» (Tynchenko, 2007, p. 168). Later on, his experience, his education, his honest fulfillment of the duties started working. He was appointed of commander of the 1st Zaporizhzhya Kuren (from 09.02.1918.), later on – the commander of the 1st Zaporizhzhya Regiment (from 15.03.1918), deployed from the kuren (a full name –the 1st Zaporizhzhya infantry regiment named after Hetman Petro Doroshenko). At first it was part of the separate Zaporizhzhya Corps, but the corps was reorganized in the separate Zaporizhzhya Division during the period of the Ukrainian State of Hetman P. P. Skoropadskyi. After the coup d'etat against the hetman, the sotnyk (the rank assigned on 21.10.1918) O. O. Zahrodskyi on 16.11.1918 became the commander of this division within the troops of the Directory, stationed in Kharkiv region (from 19.12.1918 he combined position of the Ukrainian troops commander of Kharkiv region). Separately, it should be said

that O. Zahrodskyi supported the anti-Hetman uprising, since as a military man he could not accept the Germans' stay in his native Ukraine, but he was loyal to his official duties during the Hetmanate era.

The next turn in his professional career was taken with the responsibility realizing, already on February 28, 1919, he combined the position of the assistant commander of the Eastern front of the UNR Army's Active Army of the colonel S. H. Khilobchenko, a colleague in the kurin command in the separate Zaporizhzhya Corps. Almost the entire spring period of 1918 passed in the fighting within the departments of the Zaporizhzhya units: in May 1919 – he was the chief of the 6th Zaporizhzhya Division; from 10.06.1919 – he was the assistant (in the rank of the colonel of the UNR Army) of the Chief of Zaporizhzhya group, the UNR Army (Cossacks) of the general M. V. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, formed in Kreminets-Pochayiv district; at the same time – he was the commander of the 6th Division (Tynchenko, 2007, p. 168). The fighting on the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine with the dominating number of the enemy forces (Volunteer Army, Red Army and Polish troops) was extremely exhausting for the UNR Army, the lack of ammunition, the rear supplies, besides there broke out a fierce typhus. So under the enemies pressure the UNR Army happened to be in a triangle (Lyubar – Chortoryia – Myropil).

The military units commanders gathered for a meeting. As a result of the discussion of the situation, the opinions were different. Some commanders offered to go for the internment, the others – for the alliance with the Reds, while the others denied this idea, understanding of the dire consequences of such decision. According to Yu. Tyutyunyk, on December, 4, 1919 the meeting in New Chortoryia showed the loss of the communication between the Army command and the military units. But then the note was received from the Army Headquarters: «To all the divisions commanders: Zaporizhzhia, Volyn, Kyiv, S. S. and Zalizna. The chief commander ordered tomorrow 5 / XII till 12 o'clock to send the following information to the army headquarters: 1) what state of the division is; 2) what area it wants to move to; 3) what the division wants to receive from the headquarters and what kind of supply; 4) the questions that arise from the commander. New Chortoryia. 4.XIII.1919. part 32» (Tjutjunyk, 1966, p. 25).

Due to this, the discussion of the situation continued during the following days. O. O. Zahrodskyi, the commander of the 2nd Volyn Division, as one of the most respected commanders, at the meeting in the morning of December, 6, 1919, he was the first to report on the state of the division, but he stood apart from the political issue, consciously noting that ... «...the political matter is not his occupation» (Tjutjunyk, 1966, p. 25). The deputy commander of the UNR Army and, at the same time, the commander of Kyiv Division Yu. Y. Tyutyunyk, again taking the floor after O. O. Zahrodskyi, stated that «... striving to continue the armed struggle at all costs and to keep the army until the spring, he had already decided to break through the rear of White Russians. After the destruction of the Whites, to fight against the Reds» (Tjutjunyk, 1966, p. 26).

For O. O. Zahrodskyi, the decision to make the raids to the enemy's rear was not easy. He pondered for some time because the political component of the winter raid was unclear. But at the same time he, as a professional military with several years of the war experience, was well aware of the full amount of the difficulty of the armed struggle against the enemies, being in the state, in fact, of the self-supply and reliance. Finally, the sense of duty to the native land became predominant ... It turned out that Yu. Y. Tyutyunyk, being pleased, stated that «Zahrodskyi agreed to go to the rear, and Trutenko agreed after him» (Tjutjunyk, 1966, p. 26).

It should be noted that the First Winter Campaign (06.12.1919 – 06.05.1920) was first perceived by its participants, the military leadership of the UNR Army, the authorities of the UNR in emigration as one of the highest manifestations of heroism, bravery and a military courage. The array of the information on the First Winter Campaign conduct was quite significant. In our opinion, most fully its emotional dramatic component was transmitted by Yu. Y. Tyutyunnyk (Tjutjunnyk, 1966), a detailed analysis from a military point of view was made by M. V. Omeljanovych-Pavlenko (Omeljanovych-Pavlenko, 2007).

O. O. Zahrodskyi carried out his high duty as the commander of the 2nd Volyn Division with honour. Being exhausted by typhoid fever, he was taken to his family for the treatment (February – April 1920), due to the care and the efforts of medicine of that time he returned to the army and continued fighting. After the internment on the territory of Poland he continued being the commander of the 2nd Volyn Division.

The internment period during 1920 – 1923 became a real challenge to the ordinary soldiers and commanders, since on the shoulders of the latter there was all the burden of the life support and the subordinates employment. The archival materials testified that O. O. Zahrodskyi fulfilled his duties honourably: «To the good state, which the units in Kalish illustrated to the Supreme Leader of the Polish Army, to the healthy moral state of the division, which impressed the High Guest, I express my gratitude ... to the commander of the 2nd Volyn Rifle Division, O. O. Zahrodskyi, General-Hohorunzhyi ...», it was stated in the order of the Main Command of the Army of the UNR P. 32. June 04, 1921. The order was signed by S. Petliura, Chief Otaman, and M. Bezruchko, General Khorunzhyi, temporally in duty of the Army Commander and temporally in duty of the Minister for the Defense (CSAHSAPAU, f. 1075, d. 2, c. 463, p. 67).

It is quite evident that the visit of Józef Pilsudski, the communication of S. V. Petliura with him made the military and political leadership of the UNR inspect all the internment camps. The commission was headed by O. I. Udovychenko, General Horunzhyi. According to the results of the check, the order of the Main Command of the Army of the UNR P. 68 was prepared on October 1, 1921: «The Inspectorate General of the Army revealed, despite the difficult conditions of the internment, our glorious warfare retained a healthy mood and faith in our matter – these are the fundamental factors of the military psyche, which in the nearest future will lead us to the final victory over the enemies. Sharing my heart with all these higher feelings of the military soul, I express my gratitude to everyone from the General to the Cossack ... to the commander of the 2nd Volyn Rifle Division, General Khorunzhyi O. O. Zahrodskyi». It was signed by Chief Otaman S. Petliura, General Khorunzhyi Pavlenko, temporal in duty of the Army Commander and temporal in duty of Minister for Defense (CSAHSAPAU, f. 1075, d. 2, c. 463, p. 92).

At the end of his internment period, he lived as an emigrant in Kalisz, Poland. Since 1921 he was involved into the public and organizational work, leading the Ukrainian Union of the Disabled of the UNR Army. O. O. Zahrodskyi was a member of the Main Board of Simon Petliura Cross – the award in the UNR Army (1936 – 1946), he built the Ukrainian Cooperative Union in the Helm. As the Soviet troops approached, he emigrated to Austria with his family in 1944. Remembering that in 1920 Christian Rakowski demanded O. O. Zahrodskyi's extradition from the Polish government, in 1950 O. O. Zahrodskyi emigrated to the United States. He continued doing the public work. He was the member of the Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee in America. He was the member of the UNR Government's Military Ministry in exile, the honorary member of the «Association of Former Ukrainian Soldiers in America».

«The Tryzub» magazine published the note about the end of O. O. Zahrodskyi's earthly path. The part of the note is given below: «On August 4, 1968 in New York unexpectedly died at the age of 79 years of his life the regiment General of the UNR Army Olexander Zahrodskyi, Knight of the Iron Cross and S. Petliura Cross. The funeral took place at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in Bound Brook» (Tryzub, 1968, p. 23)

The Conclusions. It has been determined that O. O. Zahrodskyi's personality formation, General Colonel of the UNR Army, was provided by means of the family upbringing in the priestly family at the end of the XIXth century, taking into account the traditions and values of the Ukrainian village environment, which inevitably influenced his psyche. In addition, the knowledge of his family members, their fates, education and a social status has been expanded.

A further life of the young man, studying in the theological seminary, interruption of the education, the reflections on the further life, a conscious choice of the soldier's fate, the participation in World War I and the military experience gained there ensured the transition to the military formations of the Central Council of the UNR in November 1917. The transition is perceived as a motivated step, conditioned by the inner nature of his extraordinary personality.

The service in the 74th Stavropol infantry regiment formed in his mind the sense of discipline, responsibility, the ability to make the reasonable decisions and be responsible for them. The participation in the hostilities developed his determination, courage, the ability to subordinate the subordinates to achieve the task.

The analysis of the archival materials and the publications made it possible to expand significantly the understanding of his mental and psycho-volitional qualities, as well as to reveal that he proved to be a capable, competent commander, a conscious performer of the tasks for gaining independence for the Ukrainian people during the period of the national liberation struggle in 1917 – 1921.

The additional information on the military service in the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, required to form a complete portrait of Colonel General O. O. Zahrodskyi, is in a scattered state. Thus, the information on the personnel of the command of the 2nd Volyn Division headed by O. O. Zahrodskyi has been revealed (CSAHSAPAU, f. 1078, d. 2, c. 216, p. 98). There is also a separate list of the army chiefs (CSAHSAPAU, f. 1078, d. 2, c. 216, p. 116). The UNR High Command also worried about the moral state of the soldiers interned at Kalish camp. The UNR High Command got rid of all those, who had lost the faith in their struggle (CSAHSAPAU, f. 2282, d. 1, c. 61, p. 25). O. O. Zahrodskyi had the authority, so the Inspector General of the UNR Troops, in connection with the service s trips, entrusted Zahrodskyi with his duties (CSAHSAPAU, f. 2282, d. 1, c. 61, pp. 34, 48). A separate case, concerning the organization of the internment internal life of the 2nd Volyn Rifle Division in Kalish, has been found out, in particular, the organization of a daily service, the performance of various work, the training of the army chiefs, the celebration of different holidays (CSAHSAPAU, f. 3238, d. 1, c. 21). In our opinion, the internal life of the interned soldiers is worthy of a special research study.

It is clear that the article focuses only on the contours of the issue raised, and to a certain extent, it outlines the way of a further study of O. O. Zahrodskyi's personality, Colonel General, since his life journey after World War II passed through Austria, Germany and ended in the United States of America.

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

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

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

УКРАЇНСЬКІ ВИЗВОЛЬНІ ЗМАГАННЯ У БАТАЛЬНОМУ ЖИВОПИСІ ЛЕОНІДА ПЕРФЕЦЬКОГО

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**PAYMENT FOR THE LOSS OF THE STATEHOOD:
A LOOK THROUGH ARCHIVAL-CRIMINAL CASES AGAINST UKRAINIAN
OFFICIALS IN 1917 – 1921**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to cover the tragic fate of the repressed ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 on the basis of little-known documents of the archival-criminal cases (hereinafter – ACC). The methodological basis of the work is the socio-psychological approach, which emphasizes the importance of attempts to reconstruct, according to the ACC materials, the outlook of the accused and their accusers. The general scientific, specifically historical and purely original methods of the research have been used in the article; the conclusions are drawn based on the principles of historicism, objectivity and a value approach to the phenomena of the past. Research novelty: a generalized scientific publication on the history of repression concerning the leading participants of the Ukrainian state-building has been prepared for the first time. The Conclusions. The loss in the fight against Bolshevik Russia's national statehood was fatal, first and foremost, in the fortunes of the well-known Ukrainian politicians and public figures, who risked linking their lives to the occupied homeland. Some of them fell into the grip of red terror during 1919 – 1920. The overwhelming majority of already subdued political opponents were picked up by several waves of repression in 1929 – 1932 and brought directly to the Great Terror mill in 1937 – 1938. There were also those who, after the defeat of the liberation contest, emigrated abroad and stayed out of the reach of the Bolshevik*

«justice» for a long time, but in the mid-1940s they still fell into the hands of the Soviet punitive bodies in the USSR controlled countries of Eastern Europe and were responsible for the «old sins» being in old age. The tragic destinies of the repressed ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 should warn against the fatigue, indifference and betrayal of the current state high-ranking officials, and the previous defeats in the liberation struggle should make our compatriots stronger and more resolute in defending our statehood.

Key words: UNR, Ukrainian State, Hetmanate, Directory, government, minister, repressions, ACC, SVU, UNC.

РОЗПЛАТА ЗА ВТРАЧЕНУ ДЕРЖАВНІСТЬ: ПОГЛЯД КРИЗЬ АРХІВНО-КРИМІНАЛЬНІ СПРАВИ СТОСОВНО УКРАЇНСЬКИХ УРЯДОВЦІВ 1917 – 1921 РР.

Анотація. Мета роботи полягає у висвітленні на основі маловідомих документів архівно-кримінальних справ (далі – АКС) трагічності долі репресованих міністрів Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить соціально-психологічний підхід, який акцентує важливість спроб реконструкції за матеріалами АКС світогляду обвинувачуваних та їхніх обвинувачів. У роботі застосовано загальнонаукові, спеціально-історичні і суто джерелознавчі методи дослідження; зроблено висновки на основі принципів історизму, об'єктивності та ціннісного підходу до явищ минулого. **Наукова новизна:** вперше підготовлено узагальнювальну наукову публікацію з історії репресій стосовно провідних учасників українського державотворення. **Висновки.** Втрата у боротьбі з більшовицькою Росією національної державності фатально позначилася насамперед на долях відомих українських політичних і громадських діячів, які ризикнули пов'язати життя з окупованою ворогом Батьківщиною. Частина з них потрапили до лежат червоного терору ще впродовж 1919 – 1920 рр. Переважна більшість уже упокорених політичних опонентів була підхоплена кількома хвилями репресій 1929 – 1932 рр. і занесена прямісінько в жорна Великого терору 1937 – 1938 рр. Були й такі, що після поразки визвольних змагань емігрували за кордон і тривалий час перебували поза зоною досяжності більшовицького «правосуддя», але в середині 1940-х рр. все таки потрапили до рук радянських каральних органів на території підконтрольних СРСР країн Східної Європи та відповіли за «старі гріхи» вже в літньому віці. Трагічні долі репресованих міністрів епохи Української революції 1917 – 1921 рр. повинні застерігати нинішніх державних високопосадовців від перетому, байдужості і зради, а попередні поразки у визвольній боротьбі – робити співвітчизників міцнішими й рішучішими у відстоюванні нашої державності.

Ключові слова: УНР, Українська Держава, Гетьманат, Директорія, уряд, міністр, репресії, АКС, СВУ, УНЦ.

The Problem Statement. At an extremely responsible time, the newest trials of the research into the events of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 and the repression of the Bolshevik regime against its leading participants is especially relevant. Today, like 100 years ago, the inherited internal troubles and immaturity of the national elite are on the path to revolutionary change in the Ukrainian society, and even hidden and open Russian intervention. We need to mobilize all state and public resources in order to finally escape from the «brotherly» embrace of a neighboring country and preserve the Ukrainian state for posterity, its territorial integrity and European future. A clear awareness of the Ukrainians of their own historical weight, while understanding the tragedy of the mistakes made, will be a reliable guarantee of non-return to the times of a stateless existence of the Ukrainian people.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. It is now easier than ever to find information about the fate of the repressed prominent Ukrainians, including the participants in the national government. This is facilitated by the fundamental work of historians and source scholars, a free access to the archives of the communist regime's secret services, and

the World Wide Web. It was far more difficult for the pioneers at the dawn of independence, which, without a computer and the Internet, in a context of community involvement and limited access to crumbly archives, revived our history and returned the forgotten names. We recall the first resonant publications of such journalists as I. Ilienکو (Ilienکو, 1992) and M. Chaban (Chaban, 1992), books by the writer A. Bolabolchenko (Bolabolchenko, 1993; Bolabolchenko, 1994) and the writings of the historian S. Bilokin (Bilokin, 1992; Bilokin, 1994), Yu. Shapoval (Shapoval, 1993) and Ya. Tynchenko (Tynchenko 1995a; Tynchenko 1995b).

The aforementioned historians have become one of the first regular visitors to the reading room of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (hereinafter – HDA SBU), created on 1 April 1994. The study of political repression against the Ukrainian elite continued to be a significant part of Yu. Shapoval’s broad scholarly interest (Shapoval, 2001; Shapoval, 2005). The part of his work on a specific subject was co-authored with the Deputy Chairman of the SBU V. Prystaiko and the Head of the HDA SBU O. Pshennikov (Prystaiko & Pshennikov & Shapoval, 1997; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1995; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1999). Ya. Tynchenko delved further into the biographies study of the national armed forces officers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 (Tynchenko, 2007; Tynchenko, 2011). Over time S. Bilokin became, apparently, the most respected researcher of mass terror in the USSR. The fundamental work *Mass Terror as a Means of Public Administration in the USSR (1917 – 1941): Source Study* was prepared in 1999, and the following year, it made its author a Doctor of Historical Sciences, and in 2002 – laureate of the Taras Shevchenko National Prize of Ukraine (Bilokin, 1999). The most recent revised version of this book was published in 2017 (Bilokin, 2017).

Modern domestic historiography is full of articles, theses, monographs, directories and published collections of documents on the history of repression of the Bolshevik regime against the leading participants of the Ukrainian state-making. Recently, as part of the organization of state events to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, the scientific and documentary edition *Woe to the Vanquished. Repressed Ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution* appeared. It was joined by the HDA SBU, the Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, the Central State Archives of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (hereinafter – TsDAVO), the Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine (hereinafter – TsDAGO) and the Center for Research into the Liberation Movement (hereinafter referred to as TsDVR).

The eloquent title indicates that the book was prepared primarily on the basis of ACC materials, the vast majority of which are now stored in the HDA SBU. The figures involved in these cases were the 23 repressed members of the national governments of the day of the Ukrainian Central Rada (hereinafter referred to as the UCR), the Hetmanate and the UNR Directory.

The preface and biographical references to the publication have been prepared in a light, popular science style, with no references to the sources, in the hope that an attentive reader will take from a published collection of unique documents and interactive references to the TsDVR’s electronic archive. Therefore, a purely scientific publication on the materials of the announced ACC seems appropriate.

The publication’s purpose: to present a scientifically documented author’s vision of the repressed ministers’ tragic fate of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The chronology of documented repression against the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist «counterrevolution» is opened by the arrest of Volodymyr Pavlovych Naumenko, a prominent Ukrainian teacher, a philologist and public figure, on 7 July 1919 in Kyiv. The very next day the VUNK (All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission) board decided to shoot him for «counter-revolutionary activity». V. Naumenko's political career appeared to be rapid, short-lived and fatal. On 4 March 1917, he was elected Deputy Chairman of the UCR and until M. Hrushevskyy's return from exile he fulfilled his duties, but having surrendered his powers, he refused to join the UCR because he did not see himself in politics. The main «fault» of V. Naumenko was his support for the Hetmanate. After being persuaded by the environment, the repressed for about a month held the post of Minister for Public Education of the Ukrainian State, participated in the creation of the National Academy of Sciences and the formation of its leadership (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 68428).

Bolshevik Russia and the Ukrainian State were not in an open military confrontation, but had every reason to recognize the hetman and his entourage as the worst enemies. Burdened with the humiliating Brest peace, the Bolsheviks were forced to stop the spread of the «world revolution» to the West for a long time. They were powerlessly watching the «counter-revolutionary» changes that had taken place in the recently-controlled territory, rich in nutrition and raw materials, of a new state formation. Therefore, after the overthrow of the Hetmanate and P. Skoropadskyy's departure to Germany under the merciless repression of the Bolshevik «justice», all his influential «servants» would have been the first to go if the vast majority also did not emigrate to the West or joined other anti-Bolshevik camps: the UNR or the pro-Russian white. There were also victims. One of them was V. Naumenko, because he tried to go unnoticed on the sidelines of the political struggle.

Vasylenko Mykola Prokopovych, another prominent Ukrainian scientist, public and political figure, had even more reasons to get under immediate repression. From May 1917 he held the post of Deputy Minister for Education of the Provisional Government, and from May to October of the following year – Minister for Public Education of the Ukrainian State, that is, in his last position he was the predecessor of V. Naumenko. M. Vasylenko's participation in the development of the Ukrainian State was much more important, considering that since 8 July 1918, he had headed the State Senate, for some time fulfilled the duties of foreign and religious ministers, and from time to time – also ataman's duties of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian State. Somewhat miraculously, with the advent of Soviet power, a recent influential Hetman minister bypassed the grip of red terror and attempted to join the Bolshevik-led development of socialism in the field of science: he was elected an academician of his previously conceived All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and during 1921 – 1922 he was its 2nd president. But on 24 September 1923, he was arrested on charges of being a member of the Kyiv Regional Action Center. On 8 April 1924, Kyiv Provincial Court sentenced Vasylenko to 10 years in prison with severe isolation. Shortly after, on 16 May, the Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (hereinafter referred to as the VUTsVK) decreed the term of imprisonment by half. There is no information on the fate of the repressed in the case (BSA SSU, f. 5, d. 1, c. 55435, vv. 4, 13, 32). It is known from published sources that at the end of the same year, M. Vasylenko was released, but was eliminated from further participation in scientific and public life. The scientist had the good fortune not to survive until the Great Terror: he died on 3 October 1935 in Kyiv, buried in the Lukyanovsky Cemetery (Rozhniatovska, 2015).

The vast majority of the ACC on former UCR officials and its successor Directory are concentrated in the HDA SBU. The researchers have long attracted the greatest attention of many-volume group cases with the eloquent names «Case of the UNR Government», «Union for the Freedom of Ukraine» (hereinafter – SVU) and the «Ukrainian National Center» (hereinafter – UNC). Here is an alternate list of the major works of contemporary domestic historians in these well-known cases (Bilokin, 1992; Bolabolchenko, 1993; Bolabolchenko, 1994; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1995; Bilokin, 1999; Prystaiko & Shapoval, 1999; Shapoval, 2005; Ostashko & Kokin, 2013; Bilokin, 2017).

Let us begin with an overview of the persecution and repression of the UNR high-ranking officials of earlier and lesser-known cases. Thus, on 5 April 1918, at the Council of People's Ministers of the UCR, on the proposal of V. Holubovych, the Minister of Finance of his cabinet was appointed an experienced financier and manager P. Klymovych. He conscientiously fulfilled his duties within 2 weeks until the change of state power in Ukraine, sanctioned by German and Austro-Hungarian allies, and henceforth he did not participate in Ukrainian state-making. At the time of the arrest, which took place on 30 May 1920, the recent UNR minister lived in his native Odessa, headed the Odessa Union of Consumer Societies, and was in the city branch of the Prosvita Society. On 14 June 1920, Odesa Provincial Extraordinary Commission ordered P. Klymovych to be shot on charges of the «counter-revolution» and his property to be confiscated (TSASSUOR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 27008).

The part of the ACC in the early years of the proceedings does not contain a pronounced repressive component, but the investigated documents reveal additional specific information about the persecution of the persons involved. On 20 December 1919, for the first time, but not for the last time, Red Pinhos (Pinhas) Abramovych, the acting Minister for the Jewish Affairs of the UNR Directory (held the post during 1919 – 1921), was arrested in Berdychiv. By order of the special department of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 12th Army, dated 11 January 1920, he was released from custody for lack of grounds for bringing to justice. In his interrogations, P. Krasnyi testified, in particular, about the consistent defense of the Bolshevik-minded citizens of the Jewish nationality and the protection of them from the pogroms (TSASSUZhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 4920). As it is known, under the initiative of P. Krasnyi, an extraordinary state commission was set up to investigate the pogroms and to prosecute the perpetrators (Lazarovych, 2016).

The recent head of the government of the UNR Directory, Ostapenko Serhii Stepanovych, was arrested on 13 May 1921 on suspicion of involvement in the activities of the Central Ukrainian Insurgent Committee and relations with the insurgents, in particular, the UNR Ataman Orlyk. The evocative letter of the ataman to the government official removed during the search was the real evidence of this. Soon investigative materials on S. Ostapenko were removed from the insurgency case (BSA SSU, f. 5, d. 1, c. 11845, vv. 1–2) and joined in another group case proceedings of 1920–1921 in 42 volumes on the members of the Central Committee (hereinafter referred to as the CC) of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party (hereinafter referred to as the UPSR), better known as the «UNR Government Case» (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, vv. 1–42). According to the indictment signed by the head of the secret-operative part of the State Political Administration of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (hereinafter referred to as the DPU USSR) S. Dukelskyi of 20 January 1921, 75 persons involved in the case were shot, and some of them who had not yet been arrested (majority), – outlawing. In an open-ended demonstration process, the Bolshevik «justice» sought to prove the leading «criminal» role of the Ukrainian SRs, who constituted

the majority in the «counter-revolutionary» governments of the UCR and the UNR Directory, were the ideological instigators of the anti-Bolshevik insurgency (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, vv. 2–3).

On the whole, most prominent Ukrainian political figures of the UCR and the Directory of the UNR go through the case in absentia, ranging from M. Hrushevskiy, V. Vynnychenko, and S. Petliura. Those who had recently also been in the vanguard of the Ukrainian state-making, but who had already come to terms with the loss of national statehood and recognized the invading Bolshevik power, had to be held responsible for the incriminated «crimes». Holubovych Vsevolod Oleksandrovych, Chekhivskiy Volodymyr Musiiiovych and the aforementioned Ostapenko Serhii Stepanovych during 1918 – 1919 had alternately headed the UNR cabinets of ministers; Lyzanivskiy Ivan Mykolaiovych was in charge of the press and information department and was acting Secretary of State in B. Martos's cabinet of ministers; Syrotenko Hryhorii Tymofiiiovych held the posts of Minister of Justice in the cabinet of V. Chekhivskiy and Minister of Military Affairs in the cabinet of B. Martos. From the second half of 1920, all of them lived legally in Ukraine occupied by the Bolsheviks and were arrested not by chance together with other legalized one-party members.

Despite the announcement of «grave» accusations on 29 May 1921, the Supreme Extraordinary Revolutionary Tribunal of the Central Executive Committee (hereinafter referred to as the TsVK) of the USSR found «humanity» against conquered recent political opponents. In particular, V. Holubovych and I. Lyzanivskiy were sentenced to 10 years in prison, and S. Ostapenko and H. Syrotenko to 5 years in prison. Due to the simultaneous application of the amnesty announced by the Vth All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, the punishment of V. Holubovych and I. Lyzanivskiy was reduced to 5 years, and H. Syrotenko was released from serving his sentence. S. Ostapenko's 5-year prison sentence was replaced by forced labor without imprisonment for the same term (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, v. 3, p. 429). For his loyalty to the Soviet authorities, V. Chekhivskiy was taken on the bail of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, passed as a witness in court and received a personal amnesty in early June (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 52735, p. 29). In early October, detainees V. Holubovych and I. Lyzanivskiy were also released on bail (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, v. 12, pp. 35–37). They were soon amnestied as well.

Under conditions of the civil war and a high social tension in the society, the Soviet-party authorities approved not more than a dozen general or special amnesties between the waves of a red terror. The first ones proclaimed the commemoration of the next anniversary of the October Revolution, May Day holidays and the formation of the USSR; the latter applied separately: to a military personnel of the hostile armies, members of the anti-Bolshevik insurgency, the Red Army soldiers, peasants, or women. The regular announcement of amnesty with their application to the general public emphasized the humanity and generosity of the «workers and peasants» power (Vasylenko, 2011).

The insidious Bolshevik generosity was the first to be believed, by those who, after several difficult years of political and armed confrontation, managed to get tired and disappointed. Liubynskiy Mykola Mykhailiovych, one of the compilers of the Brest Peace from Ukraine and subsequently Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government of V. Holubovych, had lived in the Soviet territory since March 1919. Being dissatisfied with the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact, difficult for the UNR, Cherkaskiy Teofan Vasylovych – Minister of National Economy in the cabinet of B. Martos and Minister of Press and Propaganda in the cabinet of I. Mazepa, returned to the homeland occupied by the Bolsheviks in the early 1920-ies. Since the autumn

of 1920, both had been living illegally because of the arrests of one-party member, while remaining completely loyal to the authorities. At the beginning of 1923, they still waited for amnesty and legalization, after which they were forced to break with the past and, in December 1923, together with other leaders of the USSR, withdraw from its membership publicly (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 64675, pp. 52–54; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69473).

In April 1921, at the request of the Academy of Sciences, a personal amnesty from the Soviet government was granted to the former Deputy Head of the UCR and the first Secretary General of International Affairs, Academician Yefremov Serhii Oleksandrovych. And in the autumn of the same year, a member of the Austrian Communist Party Mazurenko Vasyl Petrovych, a recent UNR finance minister in the cabinet of V. Chekhivskiyi, returned to Ukraine from Vienna. In January 1922, a repatriate joined the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine and even became a party to negotiations with the leadership of the USSR on a possible return to the homeland of a group of the Ukrainian socialist-revolutionaries led by M. Hrushevskiyi.

Following the repulsion of the UNR Army's Second Winter Campaign, the Bolsheviks aimed not only to secure the southern and western borders of the USSR from attempting to organize a new invasion of the UNR's internment troops, but also to complete the cause of the final weakening and split of the Ukrainian political and military emigration. According to the decision of the VUTsVK of 12 April 1922, a full personal amnesty was granted to all citizens of Ukraine, who fought against the Soviet power in the enemy armies and as a result ended up abroad. They were given the opportunity to return home as soon as possible on a common ground with prisoners of the war. At the same time, all former generals, army commanders, members of the Ukrainian «self-styled governments» and members of the Central Committee of all «anti-Soviet» parties and organizations were granted entry to the territory of the USSR at their personal request and only on condition that they «truly show genuine repentance» (Romashkyn, 1959, pp. 149–151).

On these grounds and on their own misfortune, along with many other representatives of the Ukrainian political and military emigration, after receiving personal amnesties, some recent the UNR officials returned to the homeland: in the autumn of 1922 – Shtefan Ivan Demianovych, Minister for Post and Telegraph in the cabinets of V. Chekhivskiyi and B. Martos (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 9, p. 8 v); in March 1923 – Khrystiuk Pavlo Onykiiovych, Minister of the Interior in the cabinets of V. Holubovych and I. Mazepa; in October 1924 – Nikovskiyi Andrii Vasylovych, Minister of Foreign Affairs in V. Prokopovych's cabinet; 1925 – already mentioned P. Krasnyi (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, cc. 59881 & 67098; TSASSUKhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 036019).

The grand general amnesty for commemorating the «10th anniversary of the October Revolution» was the crowning example of Bolshevik generosity. The commission of the Presidium of the TsVK of the USSR to soften the punishment of all convicts, with the exception of active figures of the anti-Soviet political parties, vicious spenders and bribe-takers, was previously proclaimed by Art. 10 of «Manifesto to all workers, working peasants, the Red Army soldiers of the USSR, to the proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world», adopted by the decree of the TsVK of the USSR of 15 October 1927. The announced resolution on the festive amnesty was approved by the Presidium of the TsVK of the USSR on 2 November. Amnesty extended to all sections of the population and to all but the convicted categories, except for the manifest. Its provisions stipulated the replacement of the death sentence by 10 years of imprisonment with severe isolation, the immediate and

foreseeable term of imprisonment, return from exile, cancellation of fines, conviction, etc. (Romashkyn, 1959, pp. 61–63; Vasylenko, 2011, pp. 121–122).

In the late 1920s, contrary to the declared all-forgiveness, a strong Bolshevik totalitarian regime unleashed a new, unjustifiable flywheel of repression, aimed primarily at former political opponents. Being in relative security abroad, they were mostly part-time defendants in the above-mentioned Case of the UNR Government (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69270, vv. 1–2), and returning to the occupied homeland to build socialism, soon became the real defendants of fabricated investigative cases.

Most of the repressed UNR officials go through the SVU cases in 286 volumes of proceedings of 1929 – 1930, and of the UNC in 122 volumes of proceedings of 1931 – 1932 (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, cc. 59881 & 67098). Thus, on 9 March 1930, a hearing of the Supreme Court of the USSR was opened in the case of the prosecution of 45 members contrived by investigative bodies of DPU USSR of the contra-revolutionary nationalist organization «SVU», and on 19 April, a verdict was announced to the defendants in this case. In particular, the head of the Presidium of the Union S. Yefremov, his deputy V. Chekhivskiy, and one of the members of the presidium A. Nikovskiy were sentenced to death, replaced by imprisonment for 10 years, with severe isolation and subsequent defeat for 5 years (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 2).

To believe the forced confession of the repressed in all the «counter-revolutionary» crimes committed by them is a futile affair. Only their confessions in participating in the Ukrainian state-making of 1917 – 1920 and the first objectionable testimony of other charges are true. In particular, on 25 July 1929, during the interrogation of the provocative question «Does he feel guilty about the involvement of people close to him to the counter-revolutionary organization to the Soviet authorities», the academician S. Yefremov answered unequivocally: «I do not feel, because I did not know about the existence of a counter-revolutionary organization and I have never heard about it». At the same time, the scientist also expressed his own attitude to the use of political repression by the authorities: «I recognize the right of the Soviet authorities to punish for offenses against its laws. But also I think that so-called political crimes are dependent solely on depriving the citizens of the political liberties that entails political crimes; I consider political liberties to be not a crime but a public duty, so I do not regard political work against the Soviet authorities as worthy of punishment» (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 11, p. 27 v, 38 v).

On 7 February 1932, the ODPU Board pronounced a sentence against 50 repressed members of another «counter-revolutionary nationalist organization of the UNC», fictionalized by investigation, among which there were seven former UNR officials. In particular, V. Holubovych, I. Lyzanivskiy and V. Mazurenko were sentenced to 6 years, P. Khrystiuk – to 5 years, and T. Cherkaskiy – to 3 years in prison in Correctional Labor Camps (hereinafter – VTT); D. Koliukh – up to 3 years of exile to Kazakhstan (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 2, pp. 310–312). Only the last of them, in real or in absentia, was not targeted in the investigation of the UNR Government Case in 1921.

As we can see, none of the listed «counter-revolutionaries-nationalists» was punished for the deaths of the SVU and the UNC cases immediately. However, almost all of them were not limited to the sentence and, as a result, were shot during 1937 – 1938 for «forgiven» old and contrived new «sins», or died in prison during additional sentences. Thus, on 9 October 1937, the troika of the Office of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (hereinafter referred to as the UNKVD) in Leningrad Region (Russia), decided to shoot a defective nationalist

and a «counter-revolutionary» V. Chekhivskiy (sentence enforced on 3 November) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 47a, p. 20, envelope). On 21 November 1937, the UNKVD troika in the Alma-Ata Region (Kazakhstan) applied the highest punishment to «a member of the counter-revolutionary fascist organization» V. Mazurenko, and on 13 February 1938 – to «an active participant in the nationalist insurgent group» in exile D. Koliukh (no sentencing dates have been set) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 119, p. 203; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 120, pp. 20–23). On 22 December 1937, the UNKVD troika in the Ivanovo Region (Russia) decided to shoot I. Luzanivskiy for «counter-revolutionary activity» (no date of the sentence execution) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 10a, pp. 8–8 reverse). On 22 September of the same year, a visiting session of the military collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced T. Cherkaskiy to the execution, «one of the leaders of the anti-Soviet nationalist terrorist organization of SRs» (the sentence was executed the same day) (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 69473, pp. 206–207). Incurable «counter-revolutionaries» V. Holubovych and P. Khrystiuk died, respectively, on 16 April 1939 in Yaroslavl prison and 29 September 1941 in one of the Khabarovsk Krai concentration camps (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 59881, v. 122, pp. 59–59 v, 80–80 v).

S. Yefremov did not need any additional repression: he died on 31 March 1939, in the Vladimir State Prison of the Main Department of State Security, without having received a fixed 10-year prison sentence (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 67098, v. 11b, p. 8). Obviously, A. Nikovskiy is an exception, but he should not be envied. In the HDA SBU there is no information about his fate after the conviction in the SVU case. From published sources we learn: A. Nikovskiy served his sentence in Solovky, was released in April 1940, died in 1942 in the siege of Leningrad (now – St. Petersburg, Russia), buried in the mass grave at Piskaryovsky Cemetery (Ostashko, 2010).

We should follow the fates of the participants of the Ukrainian state-making, repressed on the materials of other ACC. On 20 September 1930, in Kharkiv, on a wave of mass reprisals against former leaders of the «nationalist counterrevolution» under the little-known investigative case of Poltava Operational Sector of the DPU USRR, Stasiuk Mykola Mykhailovych was arrested as a member of the «Branch Counterrevolutionary Harm Organization in Ukrkooptakh». He was accused of contrived harm in the Ukrainian cooperative poultry system (TSASSUPR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 16535, v. 2, pp. 215–219).

According to investigative materials, between June and July 1917, M. Stasiuk held the position of Secretary General of the Food Affairs of V. Vynnychenko's government. At the time of Hetmanate M. Stasiuk did not participate in the state life of Ukraine, and in the autumn of 1919 in Kamiianka headed the commission for the supply of the UNR Army for about a month. As a sign of disagreement with the signing of the Ukrainian-Polish treaty, he went not to Poland, but to Kyiv controlled by the Denikinets, and for about 2 weeks he was hiding; with the advent of the Bolsheviks, he legalized and worked in the Soviet cooperative (TSASSUPR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 16535, v. 2, pp. 220–230).

On 3 March 1931, a judicial troika at the collegium of the DPU USRR determined the defendant's death sentence, while replacing it with 10 years in a concentration camp. On 10 August 1936, the troika at the NKVD of the USSR decided to release M. Stasiuk from pre-trial detention, but already on 25 October, on the basis of receiving a «compromising materials» prisoner, the previous decision on his early release was canceled and the sentence of 3 March 1931 was remained in force. The last documented reference to M. Stasiuk in the case is the information of the state security authorities of 30 April 1938, with information

about his arrest for involvement in the «Ukrainian national counterrevolution in the White Sea-Baltic camp». There is no information about further fate, but the new arrest suggests that the death sentence may have been improperly imposed on the «counter-revolutionary» (TSASSUPR, f. 5, d. 1, c. 16535, v. 8, pp. 110–119).

However, the published reference states that shortly before the German-Soviet War, M. Stasiuk still served a definite sentence and was released; settled in Mariupol; worked as a guard in the city park, and under the German occupation he worked as an editor of Mariupol Newspaper; he was one of the leaders of the local Enlightenment and the sub-regional leadership of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (hereinafter – OUN); died in the summer of 1943 in the Gestapo torture houses (Chaban, 2002). If this information is true, then one of the first secretaries-general of the UCR was, perhaps, the only Ukrainian official who, having survived the repression, found the strength to return to the struggle for the national revival.

On 14 October 1930, the already mentioned M. Liubynskyi was arrested on charges of being a member of the «counter-revolutionary» organization. Initially, he was under the investigation of Kyiv operational sector of the DPU USRR, and on 26 July 1931 he was transferred to Kharkiv at the disposal of the secret political department of the DPU USRR, where the investigative materials on the case of the «UNC» were concentrated. On 21 March 1932, the judicial troika at the collegium of the DPU USRR decided to imprison M. Liubynskyi in a concentration camp for 3 years. On 29 March, he was sent with a special convoy to the White Sea-Baltic labor camps to execute this decision. On 10 February 1933, a special meeting at the collegium of the DPU USRR reviewed the case of the repressed and decided to send him to the Northern Territory after serving his previous sentence. On 31 January 1936, the case of the prisoner M. Liubynskyi was revised by a special meeting of the NKVD of the USSR and it was decided to allow him to reside in Uralsk (Russia) for 3 years. But already on 27 October, the same punitive body, following the result of another review of the case, made its own preliminary decision to cancel and send M. Liubynskyi for the same 3 years for the construction of the long-known White Sea-Baltic Canal. There is no information on the further fate of the repressed in his ACC materials (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 64675; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 64675). According to information from other sources, M. Liubynskyi was shot dead on 8 January 1938 in the Sandarmokh tract of the Karelian ASSR (now the Republic of Karelia, Russia) (Ostashko & Shevchenko, 2009).

In May 1934, the infernal Soviet passport was received provocatively by Krushelnytskyi Antin Volodyslavovych, former Minister for Education in B. Martos's cabinet. The political views of the journalist and writer A. Krushelnytsky at the time were so left radical that he seemed unreliable in the legislative field of liberal Poland, and even remained in prison for 3 months in 1932. While preparing documents for his departure to the USSR, the left-wing radical was not concerned that almost all of his fellow UNR ministers (citizens of this country) had been serving sentences for several years on remanded charges of a counter-revolutionary, nationalist or harmful activity. It was not difficult to come up with a «decent» accusation for a newcomer. On 6 November of that year, A. Krushelnytskyi was arrested by the NKVD bodies of the USSR in Kharkiv as an «emissary of the OUN foreign center» and «one of the leaders of the newly established OUN center in Ukraine, which aimed at overthrowing the Soviet power in the Ukrainian SSR and preparing terrorist acts against the representatives of the Ukrainian SSR government». On 28 March 1935, a visiting session of the military collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced A. Krushelnytskyi to 10 years' imprisonment

with confiscation of property. He served his sentence in Solovetsky prison. On 9 October 1937, the troika at the UNKVD in Leningrad region ordered A. Krushelnytskyi to be shot. The death sentence was executed on 3 November (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 44987; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 75160, v. 1, pp. 312–324).

Still free S. Ostapenko and P. Krasnyi were remembered in the years of the Great Terror. However, the first of them managed to spend about 5 months under investigation in 1930 on the case of «UNC», but then he was released. He was arrested for the third time on 16 December 1937 on charges of belonging to the «counter-revolutionary nationalist fascist and espionage the Ukrainian Military Organization». S. Ostapenko did not admit to the criminal offense. However, on 30 December a special troika at the UNKVD in Kharkiv region «sentenced» him to death. The death sentence was executed on 21 January 1938 (SAKhR, f. 6452, d. 3, c. 650).

P. Krasnyi, on his own testimony, continued to reside in Kharkiv and remained engaged in literary activity after his return to his homeland until the day of his arrest (TSASSUKhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 036019, v. 1, p. 112). In particular, in 1928 the book called *The tragedy of Ukrainian Jewry (to the Schwartzbard process)* was published, in which P. Krasnyi accused the UNR Directory and personally S. Petliura of organizing the Jewish pogroms (Matsko, 2018). Former Petliura's Minister underscored loyalty to the Soviet regime probably delayed his arrest but did not keep him away. P. Krasnyi was arrested on 28 February 1938 by Kharkiv Regional Directorate of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR as a «member of the underground anti-Soviet Zionist terrorist organization». As a result of a lengthy investigation, on 11 May 1939, the military tribunal of Kyiv Special Military District sentenced the defendant to 10 years' imprisonment with confiscation of property and subsequent defeat of rights for 5 years. At the recession of the Great Terror, on 29 May, a military collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR issued to cancel a preliminary sentence against P.A. Krasnyi, and to re-examine the case. However, the case was not re-examined due to the fact that its respondent had been undergoing treatment at Kyiv Psychiatric Hospital named after Academician Pavlov since 8 October of the same year and on 6 March 1941 (TSASSUKhR, f. 6, d. 1, c. 036019, vv. 1–2). There is no information about P. Krasnyi's further fate, but he was probably executed by the Nazis in September 1941 in the Babyn Yar tract along with other patients of the hospital, about eight hundred of them.

The victorious offensive of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army on the fronts of World War II significantly broadened the horizons and spheres of activity of the Soviet punitive bodies. Along with traitors, collaborators, and the Nazi criminals, they actively searched in the controlled territory of Eastern Europe for long-standing unreachable enemies: «the White Russian emigres» and the Ukrainian «bourgeois nationalists». Thus, on 14 March 1945, in the town of Katowice (Poland) military counterintelligence SMERSH arrested Feshchenko-Chopivskyi Ivan Andrianovych, Minister of Trade and Industry in the cabinet of V. Holubovych and Minister of National Economy in the cabinet of S. Ostapenko (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 70713, p. 2).

Shortly after the surrender of the Nazi Germany, three former Ukrainian officials fell into the hands of Soviet counterintelligence officers in Czechoslovakia. Sadovskyi Valentyn Vasylovych – 1st Secretary General and 1st Minister for Judicial Affairs of the UCR, and Slavynskyi (Slavinskyi) Maksym Antonovych – Minister for Labor of the Government of the Ukrainian State and long-time head of the UNR diplomatic mission in Czechoslovakia, detained respectively on 12 May and 27 May 1945 in Prague (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71179,

p. 2; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71178, p. 5). And on 17 June, a professor of the local Ukrainian State Technical Institute (German teacher) Bezpalko Yosyp Ivanovych – former Minister for Labor of the UNR Directory of B. Martos's and I. Mazepa's governments – was arrested in Podebrady (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62447, pp. 2–7).

On 20 September 1948, in Vienna SMERSH officers detained «for the purpose of identifying a person», and in fact kidnapped Hrekov Oleksandr Petrovych – by that time, already an Austrian citizen, and in the past the UNR Minister of Military Affairs in the cabinet of V. Chekhivskyi and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army. Following the registration of the arrest procedure on 28 September 1948, Petliura general and government official was transferred to Kyiv for investigation (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62149, pp. 4–6).

To administer the fate of the majority of those arrested fell to the Military Tribunal of the NKVD Troops of Kyiv region. I. Feshchenko-Chopivskyi was sentenced on 2 October 1945 to 10 years in prison, and on 2 September 1952, he died in prison (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 70713, pp. 127–128, 137–137 v). Later, on 30 March 1946, V. Sadovskyi was also punished. But his life was cut short earlier: on 24 November 1947, he died in the notorious Lukyanivska prison, probably by the hands of criminal offenders (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71179, pp. 120–120 v; 151–151 v; Ostashko, 2012). 77-year-old M. Slavynskyi died earlier: on 23 November 1945 in the same prison, just after the conclusion of the investigation, without waiting, probably, for a similar sentence. The same criminal proceedings against him in connection with his death were discontinued on 4 December of the same year (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 71178, pp. 137–140 v, 146–146 v).

Later arrested Y. Bezpalko and O. Hrekov were fortunate enough to survive and be released after their repression. On 2 July 1946, a special meeting with the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs decided to send Y. Bezpalko to Kazakhstan for 5 years «for fighting against the revolutionary movement». According to the UMDB of Jambul region of the Kazakh SSR, the repressed person was released from exile on 17 June 1950 due to the term of punishment. There is no information about his subsequent fate in the case (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62447, pp. 106–106 v; BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 62447, CSB, pp. 19, 33–34). But the 25-year sentence in the VTT for «the active anti-Soviet activity», approved by a special meeting at the Ministry of State Security of the USSR on 6 July 1949, to 74-year-old O. Hrekov seemed to be the undoubted death sentence of delayed action (BSA SSU, f. 6, d. 1, c. 62149, CSB, pp. 55–55 v). However, the first died Y. Stalin. On 20 August 1956, in the wake of the mass re-examination of cases against political prisoners, the commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ordered O. Hrekov's «criminal» actions to be re-qualified and released from further punishment (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 62149, p. 239). In December of the same year, at the urging of his daughter and the Austrian embassy, O. Hrekov received permission to return to Vienna, where he soon died at the age of 83.

The Conclusions. From the studied historical figures, the fate of the amnesty person involved in the «Cases of the UNR Government» H. Syrotenko remains completely unknown. In one version, he was died in Poltava under unknown circumstances (Vikipediia, 2018a).

Most of the repressed members of the Ukrainian government, in the Soviet terms, can be safely regarded as «counter-revolutionaries-recidivists». During a lifelong persecution (the subject to a final repression in remote places of imprisonment), Y. Bezpalko, D. Koliukh, A. Nikovskyi, M. Stasiuk, P. Khrystiuk, I. Feshchenko-Chopivskyi became the defendants of two ACC. V. Holubovych, P. Krasnyi, A. Krushelnytskyi, I. Lyzaniivskyi, V. Mazurenko, S. Ostapenko and T. Cherkaskyi were charged with three, and V. Chekhivskyi – with four such cases.

The second arrest of V. Chekhivskiy, not yet mentioned, occurred on 18 August 1922 for his active involvement in the construction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. In order to prevent the destructive anti-Soviet activity, Kyiv huberniya department of the DPU USRR decided to send the arrested immediately (by 1 September) «outside the RSFSR». In the future it would save his life. However, V. Chekhivskiy could not leave with his family abroad in due time, in the absence of the necessary documents and means of departure. He repeatedly appealed to the authorities of the DPU to delay his departure until 25 December when he was allowed to remain in his homeland, though under the close Chekist supervision (CSAPAU, f. 263, d. 1, c. 52735).

At different times, several government officials from the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921, for whom ACC either do not exist in nature or are currently unavailable, suffered from the Bolshevik persecution and repression. On the evening of 31 July 1918, in native Poltava, Steshenko Ivan Matviiovych, the recent secretary general, and later the UNR education minister, was killed. S. Bilokin reasonably considers his killers to be members of the Bolshevik organization of Zinkivskiy district, referring to the memoirs of the contemporaries of the dead, including S. Yefremov, and other sources (Bilokin, 2017). From published sources, we also learn about the execution of the Bolsheviks without a trial and investigation on 29 June 1919 in Odesa, the Minister for Defense of the Ukrainian State Rohoza Oleksandr Frantsovych (Buravchenkov, 2012).

I. Shtefan was sentenced in 1931 to Art. 58–11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 3 years of imprisonment, and on 19 December 1937 – to be shot by the UNKVD troika in Leningrad region. The death sentence was executed on 8 January 1938 in Sandarmos. At the time of his re-arrest, the repressor was employed in Karelia by the Head of the General Supply Division of the White Sea Canal Department (Shevchenko, 2006). Apparently, at the time of his first arrest, he also resided in Russia, where his ongoing cases should be kept. Shadlun Mykola Yakymovych, Minister of Ways in B. Martos's cabinet and Minister of National Economy in I. Mazepa's cabinet, also settled there. Until 1923 M. Shadlun was in emigration, later worked in the State Plan of the USSR and headed the Department of Geology of the Mining Faculty of the Ural Polytechnic Institute. In 1930, he was arrested but was soon released. He died on 12 August 1932 in Moscow (Vikipediia, 2018b). The persons involved in the «UNC» case repeatedly mention I. Shtefan and M. Shadlun in their testimonies. On 15 April 1938, the troika at the UNKVD in Donetsk region determined the death sentence to Dmytro Symoniv, the State Controller of the UNR in the cabinets of ministers of V. Chekhivskiy and S. Ostapenko (SALR, c. 13443).

The above ACC materials are an indisputable documentary evidence of the criminal repressive policies of the Soviet totalitarian regime against the Ukrainian national elite. Let the bitter fate of the repressed ministers of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921 warn against overwork, indifference and betrayal, above all, of the current state high-ranking officials. Let previous defeats in the liberation struggle make our compatriots stronger and learn to value and strongly defend our statehood.

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IRYNA NESTIUK: THE ADDITION TO THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LVIV ETHNOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF ADAM FISCHER

Abstract. *The purpose of the study* is to reconstruct the biography and to analyze the scientific achievements of Iryna Nestiuk, a prominent representative of Lviv Ethnological School of Adam Fischer formed at Lviv University during the interwar period. **The methodology of the study** is based on the application of the methodological principle of historicism, as well as general scientific and specially scientific methods, first of all, prosopographic, hermeneutical and comparative-historical. Priority is given to scrupulous study of archival primary sources and verification of the information available by comparing the same facts from the biography of the personality reflected in different documents. **The research novelty of the study** is that for the first time in Ukrainian and foreign historiography, based on the involvement of archival materials, biography of I. Nestiuk is presented, which can serve as a basis for further more thorough studies on the scientific heritage of the scholar. The factual material and theoretical generalizations given in the article will be important for historical studies in the course of cultural and intellectual history of Drohobychyna and Galicia in general. **The Conclusions.** Native of Drohobychyna (born in Medemychi, now Drohobych district, Lviv region) Iryna (Yaryna, Irena) Nestiuk (Nestiuk-Ivanchuk, pol. Nestiuk-Iwańczuk, Iwańczuk-Nestiukowa) belongs to the ethnologists, whose formation as scientists was due to the Department of Ethnology and the Institute of Ethnology under the direction of Professor A. Fischer, who worked at the University of Lviv during 1924 – 1939. Her biography reflects the peculiarities of the educational and scientific process organized by these units, as well as the next stage of the development of ethnology at Lviv University – the activities of the Department of Folklore and Ethnography under the direction of Professor Filaret Kolessa in the late 1930s – early 1940s. In addition, the biography and scientific activity of I. Nestiuk makes it possible to fully reveal the Ukrainian dimension of Lviv Ethnological School of A. Fischer; to cover the peculiarities of ethnologists training at Lviv University in the 1930s (lectures, practical classes, examinations, defense of masters and doctoral works, etc.); to characterize the so-called «ethnographic monographs» (on the example of I. Nestiuk's doctoral thesis «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County») as a genre of scientific works; to analyze interdisciplinary studies in the field of Slavic Studies, oriented towards the training of both philologists and natural scientists; to show the change of vector of ethnographic field expeditions of Lviv University ethnographers in the late 1930s – early 1940s from the Carpathians, West Podillya and the Pomeranian region to the territory of the historically-ethnographic Volyn and adjacent territories of the Polish-Ukrainian border (then Zamość County).

Key words: Iryna (Yaryna, Irena) Nestiuk (Nestiuk-Ivanchuk, Iwańczuk-Nestiukowa), Lviv University, Department of Ethnology, Department of Folklore and Ethnography, Lviv Ethnological Science School, Adam Fischer.

ІРИНА НЕСТЮК: ПРИЧИНОК ДО БІОГРАФІЇ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦІ ЛЬВІВСЬКОЇ ЕТНОЛОГІЧНОЇ ШКОЛИ АДАМА ФІШЕРА

Анотація. Мета дослідження – реконструювати біографію та проаналізувати науковий доробок Ірини Нестюк (Iryna Nestiuk) – чільної представниці Львівської етнологічної школи Адама Фішера (Adam Fischer), сформованої у Львівському університеті у міжвоєнний період. **Методологія дослідження** базується на застосуванні методологічного принципу історизму, а також загальнонаукових і спеціально-наукових методів, передусім просопографічного, герменевтичного й порівняльно-історичного. Першочергове значення надане скрупульозному вивченню архівних періоджерел та верифікації наявної у них інформації завдяки зіставленню тих самих фактів з біографії персоналії, відображених у різних документах. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше в українській та зарубіжній історіографії, на основі залучення архівних матеріалів, представлено біографію І. Нестюк, що може слугувати основою для подальших більш ґрунтовних студій над науковою спадщиною вченої. Наведені у статті фактографічний матеріал і теоретичні узагальнення матимуть важливе значення для історико-краєзнавчих студій в руслі культурно-інтелектуальної історії Дрогобищини та Галичини загалом. **Висновки.** Уродженка Дрогобищини (народилася у Меденичах, нині смт Дрогобицького р-ну Львівської обл.) Ірина (Ярина, Ірена) Нестюк (Нестюк-Іванчук, Іванчук-Нестюкова) належить до народознавців, становлення яких як науковців відбулося завдяки кафедрі етнології та Етнологічному інституту під керівництвом професора А. Фішера, які діяли у Львівському університеті впродовж 1924 – 1939 рр. Її біографія відображає особливості навчально-наукового процесу, організованого зазначеними підрозділами, а також наступного етапу розвитку етнології у Львівському університеті – діяльності кафедри фольклору й етнографії під керівництвом професора Філарета Колесси наприкінці 1930-х – на початку 1940-х рр. Окрім цього, життєпис та наукова діяльність І. Нестюк дає змогу повніше розкрити український вимір Львівської етнологічної школи А. Фішера; висвітлити особливості підготовки етнологів у Львівському університеті у 1930-х рр. (лекційні курси, практичні заняття, складання іспитів, захист магістерських та докторських робіт тощо); охарактеризувати так звані «етнографічні монографії» (на прикладі докторської роботи І. Нестюк «Етнографічна монографія Замостського повіту») як жанр наукових праць; проаналізувати міждисциплінарні студії спеціальності «Слов'янознавство», зорієнтованої на підготовку як філологів, так і народознавців; показати зміну вектору польових етнографічних експедицій народознавців Львівського університету наприкінці 1930-х – на початку 1940-х років з Карпат, Західного Поділля та польського Помор'я на територію історико-етнографічної Волині і суміжні терени польсько-українського пограниччя (тодішній Замостський повіт).

Ключові слова: Ірина (Ярина, Ірена) Нестюк (Нестюк-Іванчук, Іванчук-Нестюкова), Львівський університет, кафедра етнології, кафедра фольклору й етнографії, Львівська етнологічна наукова школа, Адам Фішер.

The Problem Statement. There are many «white spots» in the history of ethnology at Lviv University, as well as in other sciences. In particular, the activities of many scholars whose contribution to the development of certain directions are significant and have not lost their relevance are not covered. Thus, only thorough source studies and prosopographic studies can form the basis for writing syntheses from the history of Lviv University, the appearance of which is now in existence. The study of biographies of Lviv scholars is also important from the point of view of historical local lore, since most of them come from different territories of Galicia. Therefore, each new source-prosopographic study allows supplementing the overall picture of the cultural and intellectual history of the region. In this context, it is worth emphasizing the native of Drohobych region, Iryna (Yaryna, Irena) Nestiuk (Nestiuk-Ivanchuk, Iwańczuk-Nestiukowa). She is one of those scholars, who were among the most promising ethnologists in Lviv in the late 1930s and early 1940s, but the events of World War II dramatically changed the life of the researcher, and in the postwar years her figure and scientific background were forgotten.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. The works devoted to the history of different fields of national science, authorship of Ukrainian and foreign (especially Polish) scholars, contain only brief information about I. Nestiuk (in the context of the activities of the Department of Folklore and Ethnography of the University of Lviv in the early 1940s some facts of her biography were cited by Filaret Kolessa (Koval-Fuchylo, 2011, p. 50), Vasył Ivashkiv and Ruslan Markiv (Ivashkiv, Markiv, 2010, p. 21), Maryana Starosta (Starosta, 2012, pp. 357–361), or not mentioned at all. For example, her biography is missing from the detailed multi-volume edition of «Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy: sylwetki, szkice biograficzne» (Fryś-Pietraszkowa, Kowalska-Lewicka, Spiss, 2002; Fryś-Pietraszkowa, Spiss, 2007; Spiss, Szromba-Rysowa, 2010; Spiss, Święch, 2014). In our works, we touched upon the biography, pedagogical and scientific activity of I. Nestiuk only in the context of broader topics – the history of the Department of Ethnology (1924 – 1939) and the Department of Folklore and Ethnography (1939 – 1941, 1944 – 1947) of Lviv University, Lviv Ethnological School of A. Fischer (Tarnavskiy, 2013; Tarnavskiy, 2016), or presented in the form of an encyclopedic reference (Tarnavskiy, 2014), which caused the need to bypass many important facts about this researcher, made it impossible to create a holistic prosopographic narrative about her. Instead, available sources include the personal case of I. Nestiuk from the Archive of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (hereinafter – AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 541, 7 p.), the case of the graduation of I. Nestiuk from Lviv University of the State Archives of Lviv Region (hereinafter – SALR, f. 26, d. 2, c. 744, 27 p.), and the full text of the manuscript of her doctoral thesis «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County» («Monografia etnograficzna pow. Zamojskiego») (Lviv, 1939), a copy of which is preserved as a case 415 of the 4th description in the 26th Fonds of the said archive (SALR, f. 26, d. 4, c. 415, 136 p.). It should be noted that during the attribution of this case, the workers of the Soviet period archives made a mistake in the author's surname, as well as other translation mistakes, entitled it as Doctoral dissertation of Irena Mestiush on the subject «Ethnographic monograph of Zamość County».

The Publication's Purpose. The purpose of the proposed publication is to reproduce, based on available sources, the biography of I. Nestiuk against the background of the development of ethnology at Lviv University in the 1930s – early 1940s.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The autobiography of I. Nestiuk for the personnel department of Lviv University is dated on 10 February 1940. As this biography is one of the most important sources, we will give the full text: «I was born in 1911 on 25 July in Medenychi (Drohobych district). I graduated from public school in 1921 in Chortkiv. I went to high school in Lviv, where I passed the maturity exam in 1929. In 1930/31 I finished the one-year Trade Course for Applicants in Lviv. In 1931 I enrolled at Lviv University at the Faculty of Philology, where in 1934/35 I gained a degree in Folklore and Ethnography, and in 1935/36 – M[a]st[e]r's degree in Slavic Philology. From 1936 to 1939 I worked on my doctoral thesis and in 1939 on 23 June I passed the exam for the degree of Doctor of Ethnology. From 15 October 1939 to 15 January 1940 I was a teacher of the Ukr[ainian] language in the Women's Jewish Gym[nasium] in Lviv; on 11 January 1940 I was named assistant at the Department of Folklore and Ethnography of Lviv Franko State University, where I work until now» (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 541, p. 5).

Other personal documents of I. Nestiuk from Lviv University Archives, as well as a number of other sources allow us to clarify and correct certain facts of this autobiography. The future scholar was born in the family of Rudolf Ivanchuk, and took the surname «Nestiuk»

after marrying (in the documents it appears as «Nestiukowa»). At the beginning of 1940 she lived in Lviv at 5 Wanda Street (now Shchekavytska Street) (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 541, pp. 2–4, 6).

From the beginning of the 1930s I. Nestiuk's life was closely connected with the University of Lviv, where she studied from 11 December 1931 to 30 June 1936 (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 541, p. 1). The cited autobiography contains some inaccuracies, since I. Nestiuk did not enter the Faculty of Philology, which was founded in 1939 (Markiv, 2014, p. 583), but the Faculty of Humanities, which existed in 1924–1939 (Revera, Bodnar, 2011, pp. 394–395). In 1931–1935 I. Nestiuk studied at the Department of Ethnology under the direction of Professor A. Fischer. This scientist, since the 1920s, was able to create one of the most powerful ethnological centers in Central and Eastern Europe at the University of Lviv (based on the Department of Ethnology and the Ethnological Institute he headed, and the Ethnological Society in Lviv, where he acted as secretary) (Grochowski, Mianiecki, 2015). Among the subjects that I. Nestiuk could study in the disciplines of science were: Ethnography of the Southern Slavs, Plants in the Beliefs and Customs of the Polish People, Ethnography of Pomerania, Ethnography of Bulgaria, Ethnography of the Czech Republic and Slovakia by Professor A. Fischer, a series of lectures on folklore, anthropology and archeology (teachers – Zygmunt Czerny, Jan Czekanowski, Bolesław Rosiński, Tadeusz Sulimirski) Ethnological exercises, Exercises from the area of ethnologists of Poland, and the Ethnological Seminar, led by A. Fischer (Tarnavskiy, 2016, pp. 184–187; Tarnavskiy, 2019, pp. 376–379).

Under the influence of A. Fischer, the sphere of scientific interest of I. Nestiuk was plants in folk beliefs, customs and rituals. The professor elaborated on this issue by collaborating on a working group of the «Dictionary of Slavic Beliefs and Customs», a collective work of leading Slavic scholars (Tarnavskiy, 2016, p. 114). It is possible that I. Nestiuk was involved in the work on this project as well, since A. Fischer involved his talented students in its implementation (Mateiko, 2000, p. 1112).

On 26 June 1935, I. Nestiuk received her Master's Degree in Philosophy in Ethnography and Ethnology (in her autobiography she transferred the names of these sciences in line with the name of the then department – «Folklore and Ethnography»). The high level of knowledge and skills she gained attests to her high grades in her exams and her master's thesis on the Cult of the Tree in Slavs («Kult drzewa w Słowian»). At that time, the master's degree was considered the first scientific degree. The peculiarities of the educational process at Lviv University in the 1930s were that students could complete their studies in several specialties. So, next year I. Nestiuk passed the exams and defended her master's thesis on «Polish-Ukrainian calendar literature of the XVI – XVIII centuries» («Literatura kalendarzowa polsko-ukraińska od XVI – XVIII wieku») to obtain a master's degree in philosophy in Slavic philology (assigned 6 June 1936) (SALR, f. 26, d. 2, c. 744, pp. 25–26; AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 541, pp. 1, 6).

In her master's thesis in ethnography and ethnology, the young researcher has made a complex characteristic of Slavic folk beliefs and knowledge related to the tree: tree as a place of spirits, world tree, folk phytotherapy, motif of the tree in folk art, etc. Instead, in her work on Slavic philology, the subject of which bordered on folklore, she analyzed folk motifs in the so-called calendar literature of the early modern period (SALR, f. 26, d. 2, c. 744, pp. 15–17, 20–22). It should be emphasized that the comparative-historical method and methodological method of isolation of motives, applied by I. Nestiuk, have not lost their relevance even in modern ethnical studies. It is also worth noting that the researcher sought

to write her first master's thesis in a comprehensive way, covering various areas of spiritual culture of the Slavs.

By the mid-1930s, I. Nestiuk was one of the main contenders for continuing her scientific career in the field of science. In the following years, she devoted her time to collecting material and writing her doctoral thesis on «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County». This work, the successful defense of which for the Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnography and Ethnology Degree, took place on 23 June 1939 (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 541, p. 4), has not yet been published (SALR, f. 26, d. 4, c. 415, p. 21[a]), although it has not lost its scientific relevance.

I. Nestiuk's «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County» is an example of «ethnographic monographs» – a popular genre of scientific research among A. Fischer's students. It provides comprehensive coverage of the characteristics of the certain small area's population (county, village or several settlements) and its traditional culture. Thus, the introductory part of the «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County» describes the sources on which the study is based, its territorial boundaries (with the addition of the map of Zamość County and the analysis of the specificity of these territories), as well as the characteristics of the local population (dialect, number, characteristics in terms of historical-ethnographic zoning and anthropology, major stages in the settlement of the region, etc.). For example, I. Nestiuk wrote that «the territory of Zamość County has the character of a border between the Cress groups of the Lublinians and the Lviv-Ternopil group. It was created under various influences: the Lublinians themselves, the Mazovian and the Ruthenian (i.e. the Ukrainian) (SALR, f. 26, d. 4, c. 415, p. 8).

The following sections of the work are devoted to areas of traditional culture: harvesting, hunting, fishing, bakery and other economic activities (horticulture, beekeeping), folk crafts (woodworking, weaving, pottery, etc.), food, clothing, transportation and harness, etc. (the part «Material culture»); family rituals (maternity, wedding, with a focus on wedding songs, and an overview of funeral ones), public life (with special attention to the leisure of young people), economic customs (above all construction rituals, overviewing customs related to bread-making and beekeeping), calendar and everyday rites, customary law (the part «Social culture»); cosmogonic beliefs, demonology, folk medicine, folklore, folk art, choreography and music (the part «Spiritual Culture»). The topographic names and general conclusions, as well as the list of used literature complete the «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County». I. Nestiuk's work contains a large number of unique photographs made by the author from 1938 to 1939, which illustrate various objects of traditional culture of the then Zamość County's population.

We can state that the materials of the work «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County» are valuable for researchers of the Polish-Ukrainian border, since they contain considerable factual material from these territories (both in the form of ethnographic narrative and illustrative material). Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it reflects the realities of the late 1930s, which are now lost.

The defense of the doctorate of I. Nestiuk took place two months before the beginning of the Second World War. After the establishment of Soviet power in Western Ukraine, I. Nestiuk found a teaching job: from 15 October 1939 to 1 January 1940 she taught Ukrainian at the Jewish Women's Gymnasium in Lviv. When, in 1939 – 1940, a structural reorganization of Lviv University, combined with its Ukrainianization, took place, the university needed professional scholars who knew the Ukrainian language well. Therefore, from January 1940,

I. Nestiuk was appointed Assistant Professor of the Department of Folklore and Ethnography (created on the basis of the previous Department of Ethnology and the Ethnological Institute). The document of 24 January 1940, signed by the Dean of the Faculty of Philology, Professor Vasyl' Simovych, states: «By order of the Rector of Lviv I. Franko State Ukrainian University, Com[rade] Marchenko, p. 109, Comrade Dr. Nestiuk Yaryna Rudolfivna was appointed Assistant at the Department of Ethnography on 11 January 1940» (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 541, p. 3).

The staff of the Department of Folklore and Ethnography consisted of scholars, well-known to I. Nestiuk – Professors F. Kolessa (Head of Department) and A. Fischer (perhaps it was he who advised his student in teaching), as well as a graduate of the Department of Ethnology, Henryk Perls, who occupied the position of laboratory assistant (in 1941 he was replaced by another graduate ethnologist at the university, Antin Budzan) (Ivashkiv, Markiv, 2010, pp. 20–21; Stankevych, 1998, p. 430).

As an assistant of the Department of Folklore and Ethnography, I. Nestiuk collected materials for the research «Village Veterinarian», «Labor Songs of the Ukrainian People», and prepared «Bibliography of Folklore and Ethnography of the Western Areas of the USSR from 1916 to 1936» (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 403, pp. 2, 10) (in other sources – «Ethnographic bibliography of the Western Regions of Ukraine 1919 – 1939») (Koval-Fuchylo, 2011, p. 157). It is possible that the lower chronological boundary of this exploration (1916) is related to the work of Oleksandr Andriyevskyi, a member of the Ethnographic Commission at the NASU «Bibliography of Literature in Ukrainian Folklore. T. I. (until 1916)» published in 1930 in Kyiv. On the state of I. Nestiuk's work, F. Kolessa later noted that its index had «large gaps and shortcomings» (Koval-Fuchylo, 2011, p. 50).

I. Nestiuk's teaching activity consisted of conducting classes at the newly created correspondence department of the University (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 404, p. 5, 17, 29). I. Nestiuk was also a researcher at the Ethnographic Museum of Lviv University, which, under A. Fischer's leadership, was organized in the early 1940s on the basis of collections of the Ethnological Institute (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 404, p. 11).

From 8 July to 27 July 1940 I. Nestiuk was the leader of the field ethnographic expedition on the territory of the historically-ethnographic Volyn, organized by the Department of Folklore and Ethnography (according to its results she wrote an article-report «Ethnographic Experiments in Volyn in 1940»). The route of the expedition was as follows: Lviv – Radekhiv (now – Lviv region) – Merva, Kutriv, Berestechko (now all three settlements – Gorokhiv district of Volyn region) – Vovkovyi (now Demydivka district of Rivne region) – Povcha (now Dubno district) – Dubno – Zbytyn (now Dubno district) – Zalibivka (now Zdolbuniv district) – Zamyn (now village Steblivka of Zdolbuniv district) – Taikury – Rivne – Antopil – Kustyn – Liubomirka (now, apparently, Nova Liubomyrka village) (all settlements – Rivne district) – Lviv. Expedition members were required to collect materials on the traditional culture of the local population and purchase a number of exhibits for the University Ethnographic Museum (about 30 exhibits were brought) (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 403, p. 2, 10; Starosta, 2012, p. 357–361; Koval-Fuchylo, 2011, p. 50; Ivashkiv, Markiv, 2010, p. 21).

In the summer of 1941, I. Nestiuk, together with H. Perls, planned to carry out a monthly (15 June – 15 July) expedition to the Volyn lands of Volyn and Lviv regions. The departure was agreed with the management of the university, which planned to allocate funds for this scientific journey (AIFNUL, f. P-119, d. 1, c. 412, p. 7, 26). Unfortunately, more details about this expedition – whether it began (before the attack of Nazi Germany on the USSR on 22

June 1941 should have lasted a week), what its results were, etc. – could not be found.

Documents on the University of Lviv from the first months of the Nazi occupation of Lviv indicate that I. Nestiuk continued to work at the Department of Folklore and Ethnography until its closure. Clarification regarding nationality, origin, place and time of holding the position opposite to her surname is given as follows: «I. Nestiuk – Ukrainian, Drohobytsh, Lemberg, 1940» (Museum of History of Lviv University, Copy of the document «Lehrkanzel der Ethnographie u. Etnologie»).

Unfortunately, information about I. Nestiuk's fate after 1941 could not be found. According to pending verification, she emigrated from Lviv and died in Chicago (USA) on 10 October 1995 (Irene Nestiuk, <http://www.ancientfaces.com/person/irene-nestiuk/49424717>).

The Conclusions. Characteristics of the biography and scientific activity of the native of Drohobych region I. Nestiuk reflects the specifics of the development of ethnology at Lviv University in the 1930s – early 1940s, in particular, the education peculiarities of future ethnologists at the Departments of Ethnology and Slavic Studies (1930s), and at the Department of Folklore and Ethnography (early 1940s), the development of science (subject and methodology of scientific works, directions of ethnographic field studies, etc.) in these divisions. I. Nestiuk's biography also reveals the Ukrainian dimension of Lviv Ethnological Science School of A. Fischer, one of the most powerful natural sciences in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1920s and early 1940s.

I. Nestiuk's scientific heritage is now virtually unknown among scholars-ethnographers (most of the works are known only by references to names, their texts have not yet been found). However, a strong scientific level of the scholar can be concluded on the basis of her doctoral thesis «Ethnographic Monograph of Zamość County». This work has not yet lost its relevance, as it contains considerable factual and illustrative material (collected by the author during field expeditions), reflecting ethno-cultural realities on the Polish-Ukrainian border as of the late 1930s.

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

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

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

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

У ПОШУКАХ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ: З ЖИТТЯ ВОЛИНСЬКОЇ РОДИНИ ЛЕВЧАНІВСЬКИХ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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UKRAINIAN INTEGRAL NATIONALISM: SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DIMENSIONS

Review: Roman Shukhevych in the Social and Political Life of the Western Ukraine in 1920 – 1939: Memories, Documents, Pictures / Arr. and resp. ed. by Andriy Sova; Independent Historical Studies Center. Lviv: Apriori, 2019. 816 pp.; Posivnych Mykola. Stepan Bandera. Stryi: Shchedryk, 2017. 332 p.

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ІНТЕГРАЛЬНИЙ НАЦІОНАЛІЗМ: СУСПІЛЬНИЙ ТА ОСОБИСТІСНИЙ ВИМІРИ Рецензія: Роман Шухевич у громадсько-політичному житті Західної України 1920 – 1939 рр.: спогади, документи, світлини / упор. і відп. ред. Андрій Сова; Центр незалежних історичних студій. Львів: Апріорі, 2019. 816 с.; Посівнич Микола. Степан Бандера. Стрий: Щедрик, 2017. 332 с.

The Ukrainian researchers, in particular, Oleksandr Zaitsev, made a decent remark that the present day «modern world» was formed up with the help of a global and hundreds of local successful and unsuccessful nationalist projects participation. The Ukrainian integral

nationalism could be singled out among them, which has not been fully implemented, but which is still affecting politics in Ukraine and abroad¹. The Ukrainian integral nationalism originated and spread in the XXth century during the interwar period in the western Ukrainian lands, especially in the Ukrainian military-political emigration environment. The paramount national variants of the common European phenomenon were: the «active nationalism», a political doctrine created by Dmytro Dontsov (born in Melitopol, the southern Ukrainian city, he lived in Lviv before and after World War I; died and was buried in Canada); the «integral nationalism», the illegal ideology of the radical right-wing Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) (founded in 1929 under Yevhen Konovalets leadership); the «creative nationalism», the legal Front of National Unity (founded on Dmytro Paliiv initiative in 1933 and the First November Uprising organizer in Lviv in 1918) In general, the Ukrainian integral nationalism had a radical ideology concerning the Ukrainians national liberation, whose ethnic territories were part of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Soviet Union in the interwar period and even before World War II outbreak – Hungary. At the same time, the Ukrainian nationalists promoted and mobilized the Ukrainians to fight against the national oppression, for the sovereign Ukrainian state restoration, as it was about to become Eastern Europe regional leader. However, the Ukrainian nationalists were constantly persecuted and severely punished by the Polish authorities and the USSR special services as their radical moods were not approved by the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the clergy, the politicians of centrist parties.

The Ukrainian integral nationalism was not only the ideology of a non-state enslaved nation, but also the radical right-wing liberation movement center and representative in 1920-ies and 1940-ies. In the early 1950-ies the Ukrainian integral nationalism transitioned to the democratic foundations gradually. Actually, more detailed information about the Ukrainian nationalism formation and evolution, the functioning of its system of symbols and rituals, and the life of its leaders could be found in Lviv scholars new books, who are reviewed in the aforementioned publication.

In particular, the documentary issue dedicated to Roman Shukhevych (1907 – 1950), edited by Andriy Sova, reconstructs not only the life path of this public-political figure, the UPA future Commander-in-Chief before World War II outbreak, but also actualizes many problems and little-known facts from the history concerning the Ukrainian liberation movement, in particular after the Ukrainian National-Democratic Revolution defeat during 1917 – 1921. The historian uses not only the archival documents, but also the participants' memories and eyewitnesses to some events, the photographs, some small circulations periodicals, which were found in the United States, Canada, Argentina, the United Kingdom, France, and Poland. The young reader would consult the dictionary with pleasure and could take advantage of infrequently used and outdated words. It is also important that the documentary issue is accompanied by the name and geographical indexes, some supplements with the bibliographic materials, Decrees of the President of Ukraine.

Stepan's Shah historical and memoir essay, written in 1965, depicts and reconstructs Roman Shukhevych family roots: Joseph Shukhevych, the great-grandfather, the Greek Catholic Father and his sacrificial public and writing activities, whose work was appreciated by young Ivan Franko; the scientific and educational work of his grandfather – the famous ethnographer Volodymyr Shukhevych, his cousins – lawyers Mykola Shukhevych and

¹ Zaitsev O. Ukrainian Integral Nationalism (1920ies – 1930ies): Essays on Intellectual History. Kyiv: Krytyka, 2013. 488s.

Stepan Shukhevych (Stepan became the Galician Army Chieftain (Ataman)); Joseph Shukhevych, Roman's father, talented singer and County Judge in Krakivets. While studying at the Academic Gymnasium branch in Lviv, the young man read a lot of historical literature, especially Roman was fond of Mykola Hohol's story «Taras Bulba»; he gladly visited Lviv's historical nooks and crannies, museums, Knyazha Halych. According to the book's documents, Roman Shukhevych travelled around the city, visited the Carpathians, participated in illegal national holidays celebrations, for instance, the proclamation of ZUNR anniversaries, the Act of UNR and ZUNR Union in 1919, Petlyura's Holidays, the trips to the legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and the Galician Army soldiers' graves as he was the part of «Lisovi Chorty» (Forest Devils), the plast (boy scout) kuren and «Tury» (Tours), the tourist group.

The book depicts Roman's Shukhevych interests, who was already the OUN member, while studying at Lviv Polytechnic (studied at bridges and dams department), his arrest and imprisonment for attempting to assassinate the Polish Interior Minister Bronisław Pieracki at Lviv Bryhidka prison and in Bereh Kartuzkyi Concentration Camp (1934 – 1935) (p. 281). It is noted that in 1928 – 1929, the young man obtained military combat training in the Polish army – Gdańsk officers' school and Volodymyr-Volynskyi artillery school of gunmen in (pp. 48–50, 150). Roman's Shukhevych reminiscences are also included (pseudo «Shchuka») as he was the Carpathian Ukraine defender – young and energetic the Carpathian Sich Chief of the staff (1939), the OUN member (1941), who as the UPA Commander-in-Chief in 1943 headed the «anti-German struggle» (p. 62–63, 83, 155, 170, 451–466).

The book's pages on Roman's Shukhevych personal life and interests are considered to be the most interesting and exciting as there is much unknown information, which the foreign authors did not cover on purpose. It is known that the young man was the co-founder of the plastun (boy scout) sports group «Yasnyi Tryzub» (Bright Trident), the Carpathian leshchetarskyi club, Zaporizkyh games (ihrushch) participant in Lviv, where he won the 100-meter swim, the 400-meter hurdles race. He played chess, volleyball and basketball with pleasure, did gymnastics, participated in cross-country skiing for 10–15 kilometers near Lviv, and won in a motor-free hang-glider flights in Gdańsk (pp. 191–205, 215, 662, 664, 708). He skillfully played the piano and sang concerts with the «Bohema» (Bohemian) Quartet (pp. 206–207). The young man quickly learned the laws of business, hence, created a successful advertising firm «Fama», which became the OUN financial donor (pp. 286–307). As a matter of course the book presents facts about Roman's Shukhevych relationship with Yevhen Konovalts, Stepan Bandera, Mykola Lebed', Bohdan Pidhainyi, Zinoviy Matla, Osyp Boydunyk, Vasyl Kuk and other OUN figures.

In general, the book contains a rich variety of documentary material, but for the unprepared reader (especially the young one), for the deeper understanding, it was vital to submit in the book introduction not only the archeographic remarks, but also a generalized prosopographic essay on Roman's Shukhevych life and activities, mention not only the Ukrainian but also the foreign researchers, who dealt with the Ukrainian liberation movement.

The historian Mykola Posivnych, the «UPA Chronicle. New Series» multi-volume editorial board member, several documents collection compiler, in particular about Roman Shukhevych («Taras Chuprynka» and Stepan Bandera) was well-known among the readers. The new scientist's book, which was issued in Stryi (Lviv region) in 2018, highlights the new tumultuous life fringes and Stepan's Bandera, the OUN leader political activity (1909 – 1959). First of all, the author tries to demythologize this iconic figure, who is mostly treated

as the fanatical terrorist rather than the Ukrainian patriot in Russia and Poland, sometimes in the east of Ukraine. Instead, Mykola Posivnych portrays Stepan Bandera as an active liberation movement participant and leader of the mid XXth century, as the founder of his political, ideological, tactical and strategic foundations (p. 6–7).

The author traditionally begins the story with Stepan's Bandera family members, first of all, his father, Father Andrew, the Ukrainian National Council of ZUNR member, the Galician Army chaplain. Moreover, the author puts the emphasis on Stryi Gymnasium, «Plast», «Luh», «Sich» communities, members of which he was in Stryi or his native village Staryi Uhryniv (Kaluha povit), as they had influence on the young's man outlook formation. Along with the plastuns, the guy repeatedly went hiking and camped in the Carpathians, worked part-time by giving Mathematics private lessons; Roman loved to sing, played the piano, mandolin, the guitar; he organized amateur performances; participated in hiking trips to the rifle graves on Mount Makivka. While studying at Lviv Polytechnic, the student joined the Ukrainian Military Organization and the OUN activities effectively. In order to reach success and in the name of future victories, the young man tempered his will and body by swimming and jumping in the water, cold pouring, skiing and hiking, basketball exercises (pp. 13–41). He helped «Sil'skyi Hospodar» (Agricultural) Society to promote agronomic knowledge among the peasants, to fight against smoking and alcoholism among the young people.

It is quite fair that the author of the book paid much attention to Stepan's Bandera political activities, who in 1929 became the OUN Stryi District constituent conference participant, in 1930 headed the OUN technical publishing department, and in 1939 – the underground foreign editions supplying department. As a propaganda referent, the young politician wrote a series of articles and instructions on how to deploy the organization, gave recommendations on how the politicians should focus on the peasants and the youth. The book describes in detail the the OUN structure, its program, the pressure apparatus, the struggle tactic; S. Bandera's activity as the OUN Regional Leader is analyzed. In order to prevent the enemy power from establishing on the foreign territory, the organization often used the revolutionary terror acts for the self-defense. On Stepan's initiative, the school campaigns were launched in order to defend the Ukrainian language. Mykola Posivnych paid much attention in the book to the course of Warsaw and Lviv processes (1935 – 1936), during which Stepan Bandera was on trial for the anti-Polish activity, he also tried to turn the authorities into a means of propaganda for the liberation struggle against the invaders (p. 91–118).

The author did not ignore the OUN split issue in 1940, the heated discussions concerning the further actions and tactics between the regional and the foreign leadership of the organization (pp. 133–146). The scientist argues that the new OUN Sergeant S. Bandera did not want to cooperate with the Nazi Germany, and therefore was sent to Hitler's Sachsenhausen concentration camp (1941 – 1944). The book objectively reveals the little-known post-war emigration period of S. Bandera's life, the tragic fate of his family; his death circumstances with the USSR KGB agents participation have been analyzed, the funeral course in Munich, which, in the Soviet special services opinion, «turned into a powerful demonstration of the unity and cohesion of the foreign nationalists» (p. 285). In the «Postscript», the author focuses the readers' attention on Bandera's ambiguous role in Ukraine's current commercialization policy, its image on the social networks.

However, in the reviewed book there are several discussion plots and provisions. In particular, there is a controversial thesis which claims that the OUN was one of the most successful Ukrainian public projects (p. 6). Let's keep in mind that the Ukrainian liberation

movement of the 20–50-ies in the XX century was based mainly on the the Ukrainian Revolution state-building traditions of 1917 – 1921, and was actively fueled by the centrist parties, such as the Ukrainian National Democratic Union and thousands of non-party rebels. The author should have paid more attention to Bandera’s associate work, Petro Fedyn-Poltava, the Deputy Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian General Liberation Council, who is considered to be (in particular, Lviv historian Mykhailo Romanyuk) the main ideologist of the OUN and UPA armed underground forces.

The reviewed books are the indispensable guides in order to the study the Ukrainian liberation movement in the XXth century, the leaders life. The documents and materials of these works should give a lesson to the current adherents of nationalist structures in Ukraine. It is worth translating Mykola’s Posivnych work into Russian and Polish for the neighboring countries readers. At present, there is a further legacy of the nationalist movement ideologies.

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