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PHILOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH METHODS OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

Abstract. *The aim of the research* is to consider the characteristics of “philological” and “historical” research methods in classical studies. **The methodology of the research** of the study is based on the principles of science, historicism, objectivity, system analysis, etc., as well as on the use of general scientific methods, special-historical and source study methods. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography the question of “philological” and “historical” research methods in classical studies has been investigated. **The Conclusions.** *At the end of the 19th century, the disadvantages of the philological method of studying the ancient texts became obvious. Where the investigated ancient author referred to the names of his predecessors or at least pointed at them, it was easy to find the “main core” or the main author. But when such links or hints were completely absent, the difficulties arose, and sometimes they were simply insurmountable. The philological method which was based on an unrestrained desire to find the original core of the source under study was reduced to “plus ultra”, i.e. was carried to the point of absurdity. One must fully agree that in one aspect historians were in a better position than philologists, in particular: a historian, in order to explain the facts of an ancient historiography, has a*

greater opportunity to use the appropriate phenomena in the historical literature of different times and places. Historians and philologists have different goals in the study of the primary source of ancient literature, so they cannot replace each other. Both classical philology and ancient history have their own subject and the study methodology and both have reasons to work in an area that we call classical studies. Classical philology and history use a particular research method according to their own subject, goals and objectives which is consistent with the research method of a particular scholar.

Key words: classical studies, philological research method, historical research method.

ФІЛОЛОГІЧНИЙ ТА ІСТОРИЧНИЙ МЕТОДИ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ В АНТИКОЗНАВСТВІ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є розгляд особливостей “філологічного” та “історичного” методів дослідження в антикознавстві. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах науковості, історизму, об’єктивності, системного аналізу тощо, а також на використанні загальнонаукових методів, спеціально-історичних і джерелознавчих. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії досліджено питання “філологічного” та “історичного” методів дослідження в антикознавстві. **Висновки.** У кінці XIX ст. недоліки філологічного методу вивчення античних текстів стали очевидними. Там, де досліджуваній античний автор згадував імена своїх попередників або принаймні натякав на них, було легко знайти “основне ядро” чи головного автора. Але коли такі зв’язки або підказки були повністю відсутні, виникали труднощі, подекуди абсолютно непереборні. Філологічний метод, який базувався на нестримному бажанні знайти оригінальне ядро досліджуваного джерела, зводився до “plus ultra”, тобто доводився до абсурду. Треба повністю погодитися, що в одному аспекті історики перебувають у краціому становищі, ніж філологи, зокрема: історик, щоб пояснити факти античної історіографії, має більшу можливість використовувати відповідні явища в історичній літературі різних часів і народів. Історики та філологи мають різні цілі при вивченні античних писемних джерел, тому не можуть замінити один одного. У класичній філології та античній історії – власний об’єкт та методика дослідження, а тому мають усі підстави працювати в галузі антикознавства. Класична філологія та історія використовують певний метод дослідження відповідно до власного предмета, цілей та завдань, що узгоджується з дослідницьким методом конкретного науковця.

Ключові слова: антикознавство, філологічний метод дослідження, історичний метод дослідження.

The Problem Statement. The origins of modern classical philology and document-based historical criticism should apparently be sought in the Renaissance humanism (see Nauert, 1998, p. 438). Classical philology and history are the two disciplines, that both claim to be studying a classical antiquity. The first their commonality lies in the fact that both of them belong to the Humanities. And it is not a coincidence that in the past, as well as sometimes now, classical studies have taken place at the combined historical and philological faculties. This was the case in Germany (although they were called “philosophical” there), and so it was in the Russian Empire. However, the study of ancient history clearly revealed the differences in the research approaches that philologists and historians have practiced and still continue to practice. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the text is the object of study for both classical philologists and historians. And this statement is correct not only for the two mentioned disciplines: to paraphrase Xin Liu Gale, once published, texts belong to all of the communities of scholars (Gale, 2000, p. 383). According to the famous philosopher M. M. Bakhtin, every humanities discipline begins with a text, and is generally a discipline about texts (Bachtin, 2000, p. 299). But a different matter is how classical philologists explore this text and how historians study it. In other words, both classical philology and ancient history each have their own subject and study methodology.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Since the development of classical studies is directly related to Germany, it is natural that the priority in the development of a methodology for the study of historical sources on antiquity belongs to the German scholars. And they were originally the representatives of classical philology. The evolution of the philological method of classical antiquity studying took place under the immense influence of a German philologist, a professor at the University of Berlin, August Immanuel Bekker (1785 – 1871). The critical method he developed was based on two principles: the principle of the interrelation of manuscripts and the principle of “interpolation” in the broad sense of the term. If the manuscript was rewritten, in fact, it was the same scientific work, not just a duplicate, although in a rare case it was a compilation, but it was not an outright mechanical reproduction of one source (Mandes, 1898, p. 10). The eminent German scholar Theodor Mommsen considered himself not a historian, but a philologist. An esteemed scholar of the Saint Volodymyr University in Kyiv, Professor Julian Kulakovsky, who, during his academic mission, attended classes by Theodor Mommsen, mentioned the memorable meeting of the students with the great scientist at his home. At the very end of the meeting Theodor Mommsen said: “All hail our German philology... not history, no... philology should live!” (*Lebe hoch unsere deutsche Philologie... nicht Geschichte, nein... Philologie soll leben!*) (Kulakovsky, 1904, p. 101). History, according to Theodor Mommsen, is included in the broad concept of “philology”, the spirit of which is the study and cognition of the source. “A deeper analysis, the “refinement” of the research method, a vivid and improving knowledge of the historical records – that is, in the opinion of the German scholar, classical philology” (Kazarov, 1997, p. 13). The “philological approach” to an ancient history, founded in the nineteenth century by German classical scholars, has survived to this day. Recently, a Russian classical scholar Askold Ivantchik reminded us of this statement by a modern German scientist, Professor Hans-Joachim Gehrke: “A good story is philology” (Ivanchik, 2014, p. 229). The statement of such an authoritative scholar may shock our historians who, after the establishment of the Soviet power and the actual elimination of the classical education system in the 1930-ies, lost a direct relationship with philology. However, no one can deny that good historical work is based on the deep analysis of sources. The texts of the ancient authors are primarily the sources for the study of the classical antiquity. According to some contemporary scholars, classical philology is just as necessary for a historian, as a classical philologist needs history, because both these disciplines are in close interconnection. Moreover, there is a debatable assertion that the basis of a unified historical-philological discipline is based on the constant, daily reading of the texts by ancient authors in the original form, understanding their grammar, without which a profound historical or philological study is impossible (Belousov, 2016, p. 14).

The Purpose of Publication is to consider the characteristics of “philological” and “historical” research methods in the classical studies.

The Statement of the Basic Material. What was the philological method of source analysis? At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, some historians, who had been influenced by German historiography, also expressed their views on the subject. An interesting opinion on this topic was expressed by Michael Mandes (1866 – 1934), a professor at Imperial Novorossiia University. According to him, the researcher’s task is strictly determined by the complexity of the compositions of ancient sources. To determine this composition, to unravel in our text those elements of which it is composed, is what should be done, and this can be done only through the philological analysis (Mandes, 1898, p. 10). There are also very interesting

arguments of Serhiy Vechov (1857 – 1919), a classical philologist at the Imperial University of Warsaw. In his view, the participation of philology in the study of an ancient literary monument is correct theoretically and preferable in practical terms. To be convinced of this it is sufficient to pay attention to the fact that classical philology aims to study the spiritual activities of the ancients in all branches and manifestations; therefore, historiography is not excluded. According to Serhiy Vechov, a philologist has significant advantages over a historian. These advantages are based on a closer acquaintance with the ancient literature in general and on the greater ability to use correctly those formal criteria, which often play a decisive role in the matters of this character (Vechov, 1888, p. 10).

However, as it seems to us, at the end of the 19th century, the disadvantages of the philological method of studying the ancient texts became obvious. Where the investigated ancient author referred to the names of his predecessors or at least pointed at them, it was easy to find the “main core” or the main author. But when such links or hints were completely absent, the difficulties arose, and sometimes they were simply insurmountable. It was then that the German classical scholars, in search of the “original source”, had to resort to far-fetched schemes, which often bordered on outright fantasy. One of those, who could validly be criticized for it, was Rudolf Schubert (1844 – 1924), a prominent German classical scholar, a professor at the University of Königsberg, the author of a number of works on the original sources for the study of Ancient Greece. Let us give one very typical example connected with the attempts to find the original sources of “Life of Pyrrhus” by Plutarch of Chaeronea.

As we know, Rudolf Schubert and Rudolf Scala (1860 – 1919) assigned a great role in the study of the history of Pyrrhus to the works of the ancient Greek historian of the 4th – 3rd centuries BC, Duris of Samos (Scala, 1884, s. 53–63; Schubert, 1894, s. 11–22). What was Duris of Samos and was his work a source for the next generations of historians who studied the life and work of King Pyrrhus? The information about him that has survived to our days is scanty and fragmentary. What has been preserved does not allow us to make judicious judgments about Duris of Samos. However, the lack of certain information did not stop these German scholars, but, on the contrary, it pushed them into very risky and dubious conclusions. The philological method of Rudolf Schubert and Rudolf Scala aimed at finding the original source of certain event in the life of Pyrrhus, is rather primitive. They refer to the authorship of the Samian historian everything related to scenes with the exchange of clothes, theatrical performances, various anecdotes, statements by various poets, without bothering any arguments, not to mention textual analysis. In general, the above-mentioned German scholars came to the conclusion that those passages of Plutarch in the biography of Pyrrhus, which deal with the exchange of clothes, descriptions of clothes, theatrical performances, various anecdotes, are entirely based on the lost excerpt of Duris of Samos (Kazarov, 2008, p. 50).

In addition, due to the endeavor to show the persuasiveness of their arguments, Rudolf Schubert and Rudolf Scala, without hesitation, listed those passages which, in their opinion, were borrowed by Plutarch from the Samian historian. What passages were they talking about? Firstly, there was an excerpt in which Plutarch told that when Pyrrhus was a child and his fate was being decided he crawled to Glaucias, an Illyrian king, gripped the king’s robe and cried (Plut. Pyrrh. 3.2); secondly, a portrait of the king of Epirus, indicating the features of his abnormal teeth and upper jaw (Plut. Pyrrh. 3.4); thirdly, a comparison of Pyrrhus with his idol Alexander the Great, a description of the purple garments of the one and the other, and the mentioning of the well-known statement of Antigonos about him (Plut. Pyrrh. 8.1–2); fourthly, the above-mentioned German scholars included in the list some legends

from the life of the king of Epirus, describing his personal qualities (Plut. Pyrrh. 8.4); fifthly, according to the German scholars, the ninth book, which tells about the matrimonial affairs of Pyrrhus and his sons, is also based on the work of Duris of Samos, who is also credited with poetic phrases, allegedly said by Pyrrhus in response to a question about the future heir that the kingdom would be given to that of his sons, whose sword would be sharper (Plut. Pyrrh. 9.2); sixthly, the description of the helmet of the Epirian King Pyrrhus with a plume and goat's horns, which served as a reference point for the Macedonian warriors who decided to quit Demetrius I Poliorketes and join Pyrrhus (Plut. Pyrrh. 11.5); seventhly, the information about the alliance of the king of Epirus and Lysimachus against Demetrius and sharing out his domain between them (Plut. Pyrrh. 12.1); eighthly, a description of the personal qualities of Cineas, accompanied by the aphorism of Euripides who claimed that what is achieved in battles with weapons, is sometimes achievable by eloquence (Plut. Pyrrh. 14.1; see Kazarov, 2008, p. 51).

In addition to the above-mentioned, there is another topic, which Rudolf Schubert considered to be typical: the exchange of clothes between Pyrrhus and Megacles, thanks to which the king of Epirus avoided death, but his life was saved at the cost of the loss of a close comrade and companion-in-arms (Plut. Pyrrh. 17.1). Moreover, the German scholar related all Plutarch's curious cases to Pyrrhus, without any evidence, he considered those as associated with the works of Duris of Samos (Schubert, 1894, s. 21).

Similar thoughts ten years before Rudolf Schubert had been expressed by his colleague and contemporary, another esteemed German scholar, Rudolf Scala. If we read his work carefully, we will see that he brought in the philological method to an even greater absurdity than his follower. Without any doubts and any arguments, he ascribed to Duris of Samos the information from the eighth and nineteenth chapters of Plutarch's "Life of Pyrrhus" (Scala, 1884, s. 61). According to Rudolf Scala, not only Plutarch, but also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Cassius and even Zonaras used the works of Duris. The episode of the exchange of clothes between Pyrrhus and Megacles, which we also find in Dionysius (D.H. 19.12.6), for no reason, he ascribed to Duris of Samos (Scala, 1884, s. 60).

The methodology of studying the original sources, which was used by Rudolf Schubert and Rudolf Scala, first caused skepticism, and then a clear rejection by both modern and subsequent generations of researchers. In one of the reviews of the book by R. Schubert, esteemed German scholar Julius Kaerst (1857 – 1930) wrote that all the author's attempts to link the description of costumes, theatrical scenes, and poetic quotes with the works of Duris were unproven and baseless. And next the reviewer directly called such a methodology "biased and arbitrary" (Kaerst, 1894, s. 1033). Soon, a passage about the exchange of clothes between the king of Epirus and his closest comrade, which Rudolf Schubert and Rudolf Scala undoubtedly regarded as one that went back to Duris, was subjected to valid criticism. Thus, German scientist Oswald Hamburger opposed such an interpretation of this passage: even if it was accepted that Duris had a penchant for theatrical scenes and presented scenes of dressing up, it still could not be said that this scene was depicted by him. In addition, he claimed that one could talk about a Roman source, but not about Duris (Hamburger, 1927, s. 24). The French historian Pierre Leveque dealt with that issue in his monograph devoted to the original sources of the issue of the Pyrrhic War. According to the scholar, it is not possible to link at least one of the extant passages of Duris with the history of Pyrrhus. He directly describes the methodology used by the aforementioned German historians as naive, and their conclusion as "baseless" (Leveque, 1957, p. 27). Pierre Leveque came to a final conclusion

about the futility of all the attempts to find at least some passages from the works of Duris in the works devoted to Pyrrhus.

It is difficult to deny the fact that Plutarch used the works of Duris, especially since he confirmed this himself (Plut. Per. 28.1). However, he did not hide his skepticism about the works of Duris. Plutarch stated that Duris usually was not notable for truthfulness, even in those cases where he had no private interest: “Δοῦρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ’ ὅπου μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν ἴδιον πάθος εἰωθῶς κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας” (Plut. Per. 28.3). As an alternative to Duris, there were such authors as Hieronymus, Ephorus, Theopompus and Thucydides, who represented a kind of model of honesty and objectivity.

Let us return to the question of Plutarch’s borrowing from the Samian historian. As far as we are concerned, the point of view put forward by Rudolf Schubert and Rudolf Scala about the significance of the works of Duris as a source for writing Plutarch’s “Life of Pyrrhus” is flawed for another important reason. Composing the biography of the Epirian king Pyrrhus, Plutarch possessed quite reliable and solid works by authors such as Proxenus, Hieronymus, Phylarchus and Timaeus. Therefore, he would not risk using such an unreliable historian as Duris, whose credibility he questioned himself. Plutarch, mentioning the sources used by him in the “Life of Pyrrhus”, refers to the commentaries of the Epirian king himself and some historians: “according to the king’s own commentaries”, “according to Hieronymus” (Plut. Pyrrh. 21.8) *etc.* But he made no mention of Duris. So the methodology, used in this case by Rudolf Schubert and Rudolf Scala, is absolutely unconvincing and can hardly be considered as a scientific one. As a matter of fact, the philological method which was based on an unrestrained desire to find the original core of the source under study was reduced to *plus ultra*, i.e. was carried to the point of absurdity. However, as stated above, the classical antiquity is studied not only by classical philology, but also by history. What is the relationship between these two disciplines?

According to Serhiy Vechov, historians and philologists have different goals in the study of the primary source of an ancient literature, so they cannot replace each other. For the historian, in this case, the main goal is to determine the degree of significance of the literary monument as a historical source and to bring it closer, through its examination, to the legend or events of the period under study. A philologist, starting a research on the sources of the same literary monument, intends by this research to form a clear view of the author’s work and his “literary physiognomy”, to more accurately determine the monument’s meaning in a series of others like it and the place that befits it in the literary history. Consequently, there is no doubt that neither historians nor philologists can claim the exclusive right to work in the area that we call classical studies (Vechov, 1888, pp. 10–11).

Eduard Frolov, who had an academic argument with classical philologist professor Aristid Dovatur, who was one of his teachers, quoted in his monograph an interesting passage about the relationship between the classical philology and the history. According to Aristid Dovatur, in the study of classical antiquities, only classical philology is of paramount importance, whereas history itself is relegated to a secondary role (Frolov, 1999, p. 495). Eduard Frolov did not agree at all to this line, despite his profound respect for Aristid Dovatur. On the contrary, he put history in the first place among the Humanities, clearly defining the goals of both classical philology and history: “the study of the works of ancient writers mainly for the sake of comprehending the works themselves, for example, an analysis of ... mainly Solon’s elegies, not of the archaic revolution of the 7th – 6th centuries; an examination of the novelistic tradition of the Herodotus’ tyrants, not of tyranny; Aristotle’s analysis of the problem of the

decline of the Greek poleis, and not of the crisis of the polis itself. Such an approach in classical studies could not have been possible without a philological one-sidedness, which inevitably should have affected the quality of the final general judgments” (Frolov, 1999, p. 496).

As for history, as it is known, in contrast to philology, its main task is the reconstruction and interpretation of past events and, on the basis of all this, the identification of historical development patterns. Of course, all this is impossible without studying historical sources. However, before extracting useful information from a source, the historian needs to criticize the source, i.e. to determine the degree of its reliability. Under conditions of scarcity of the source base (which is typical of the ancient history in general) historians are sometimes forced to use even a myth, a source, doubtful from the point of view of the credibility of its version. Such examples were successfully demonstrated by Yury Andreev when studying the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations (Andreev, 1990, pp. 3–7). But even classical philologists had to admit that in one aspect historians were in a better position than philologists, in particular: a historian, in order to explain the facts of ancient historiography, has a greater opportunity to use appropriate phenomena in the historical literature of different times and places (Vechev, 1888, p. 11). As far as we are concerned, one must fully agree to this statement. At the same time, one must take into account one more important point: the reproduction and interpretation of events from the past is not only the result of the mental efforts of a representative of historical discipline, but it also has some ethical and aesthetic tinge, which is a kind of reaction of the historian to historical events interpreted by him (Frolov, 2004, p. 14).

The Conclusions. To sum it up, we shall state the following: historians and philologists have different goals in the study of the primary source of ancient literature, so they cannot replace each other. Both classical philology and ancient history have their own subject and study methodology and both have reasons to work in the area that we call classical studies. Classical philology and history use a particular research method according to their own subject, goals and objectives which is consistent with the research method of a particular scholar.

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IDENTIFICATION OF ANTI-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA (METHODOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM)

Abstract. *The aim of the study is to show the problems associated with identification of anti-communist resistance in Czechoslovakia and to suggest a methodological concept to address them. The research methodology is based on theoretical generalization of a multiannual core empirical research work. The scientific contribution is evident in the proposed methodological conception of searching for the phenomenon of anti-communist resistance in a specific historical area, not only in a connotation with the repressive measures taken by the regime, but especially in its share in the overall weakening of the regime and, eventually, its demise. The analytical core research would be “blind” and “deaf”, if it wouldn’t be framed by a synthesis. This suggests, in addition, the possibility of identifying the degree of accountability of the anti-communist resistance to the downfall of the regime, and thus the possible correction of the wording of Slovak Act No. 219/2006 on the Anti-Communist Resistance. The Conclusions. The methodical concept of directing anti-communist resistance research indicated by the study enables understanding of the anti-communist resistance in a broader sense, including not only visibly organised anti-regime activities, but also a wide range of spontaneously emerging non-political activities. These activities gradually mutated, under the influence of a series of facts, into politicized manifestations of dissatisfaction significantly differentiated (so much so, that they could perceive each other as hostile). An opportunity to find out how the indicated resistance in all its wide-spectrum form had infiltrated into individual components and structures of the society and social groups, and thus significantly contributed to the weakening of the social base of the regime, offers itself.*

Key words: *anti-communist resistance and its identification, methodology of the problem, anti-regime activities, Czechoslovakia.*

ІДЕНТИФІКАЦІЯ АНТИКОМУНІСТИЧНОГО СПРОТИВУ В ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНІ (МЕТОДОЛОГІЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ ПРОБЛЕМАТИКИ)

Анотація. *Метою дослідження є вказати на проблеми, пов'язані з ідентифікацією антикомуністичного руху опору в Чехословаччині, та намітити методологічну концепцію їх розв'язання. Методологія дослідження базується на теоретичному узагальненні багаторічних базових емпіричних аналізів. Наукова новизна полягає у запропонованій методологічній концепції пошуку явища антикомуністичного спротиву в конкретному історичному просторі, і не тільки*

в конотації з репресивними заходами режиму, але особливо в площині його внеску в загальне ослаблення режиму і, нарешті, в його дезінтеграцію. За відсутності такого – синтезом рамкованого – аналітичного фундаментального дослідження, це було б «сліпо» та «глухо». Це, крім іншого, визначає можливість ідентифікації ступеня відповідальності антикомуністичного резистенсу за падіння режиму, а також можливої корекції формулювання словацького закону № 219/2006 про антикомуністичний рух опору. **Висновки.** Окреслений у статті методологічний концепт спрямування досліджень антикомуністичного спротиву, дає змогу розуміти його у більш широкому значенні, яке містить не лише видимо організовану антирежимну діяльність, але й цілу низку неполітичних дій, що вочевидь виникають спонтанно. Ці дії поступово, під впливом багатьох фактів, мутувалися на політизовані прояви незадоволення дуже диференційовано, навіть так, що взаємно могли сприйматись вороже. Таким чином, це дає можливість виявлення, як вказаний опір (у своїй широкій спектральній формі) проник у різні компоненти і структури суспільства та до соціальних груп громадськості, посприявши тим самим значною мірою ослабленню соціальної основи режиму.

Ключові слова: антикомуністичний опір та його ідентифікація, методологія проблематики, антирежимна діяльність, Чехословаччина.

The Problem Statement. Extensive theoretical reflection on the nature and character of the anti-communist resistance in former Czech-Slovak Republic literally provoked the enactment of the **third resistance**, thus creating a historical judicial precedent. It happened first in Slovakia in 2006 and, subsequently, in the Czech Republic in 2011. Both laws represented the assertion of a typically post-November radical commemorative self-reflection of former political prisoners of the 1950s, according to which the downfall of the Communist regime brought about an anti-communist resistance interpreted as a continuation of the national struggle for freedom and democracy. Even though the Slovak Anti-Communist Resistance Act of 2006 did not define this idea explicitly, to morally acknowledge the resistance members by its diction, it is directly linked to the Act No. 125/1996 on the Immorality and Illegality of the Communist Regime, which bluntly formulates the merits of anti-communist resistance on the downfall of the Communist regime (Act No. 125/1996).

From the beginning, first in Slovakia, some historians questioned the diction of the Anti-Communist Resistance Act mainly due to an imposing **black-and-white layout** of the social movement way of functioning, which *a priori* excluded the possibility of mutual intersection. By excluding certain professionally defined social groups, the law divided the society into **holders of power**, for which the law made it *a priori* impossible to reveal resistant ambitions, and **the rest of the society**, which – due to its status of subordination to power – had a high potential to implement active or passive resistance against Communism. The optics set up in this way made it impossible to identify anti-communist resistance in its infinite variety and metamorphoses. Not only personal observers, but also historical research had confirmed that joining the Communist Party was by no means evidence that the adept identified with the ideological postulates. On the other hand, the anti-communist resistance member, or any Communist dissenter, did not necessarily have to profess democratic attitudes and principles¹.

¹ Such findings were explicitly stated during the international conference on resistance and opposition against Communist regime in Czechoslovakia and Central Europe held in Prague in April 2009. Martin Tichý summarized it in the introduction to the conference proceedings, or rather Norbert Kmet' pointed out the non-conformity of some Communists, and even government employees and members of the National Security Corps, with the ideological postulates of the regime in his scientific paper on the forms of resistance among churches and believers (Kmet', 2010, p. 183). A similar disagreement in the ranks of the Communists is also confirmed by the research of different topics, for example in connection to the regime's efforts to the village collectivization (compare Varinský, 2014, p. 69).

The Analysis of Recent Researches. Historiography has started to pay increasing attention to the issue of anti-communist resistance in former Czechoslovakia, or rather Slovakia, only after 1989, i.e. after the downfall of the regime. With characteristic effort to finally carry out an objective, de-politicized history, devoid of obligatory ideology, a methodological solution to historical research was sought in an empirical description. This empirical-bound research methodology, especially in the Czech Republic after the adoption of anti-communist resistance laws, looked for expressions of resistance in every manifestation of disapproval and in resistance members (who were subsequently glorified) at all costs in an effort to update the results of its research. The activities of three institutes played an important role in this period of research: Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in Prague, Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAV) in Bratislava and Nation's Memory Institute (ÚPN) in Bratislava. These, either by themselves or in cooperation, organised several international scientific conferences between 2008 and 2011. The course of discussions at these international meetings and their published conclusions only confirmed that the research in this respect, especially in Slovakia when compared to the involvement of Czech historians, is only in its beginnings. In spite of its methodological uncertainty and relatively extensive contribution in the basic research of the issue, it has been shown that not only the whole complex of forms of resistance, but especially its theoretical evaluation, is missing, i.e. looking for an answer to what can be considered an anti-communist resistance. Subsequently, as an expression of the effort to find an answer to the question and the way out of the dead end (in which the research of the third resistance found itself) in argument with persistent self-reflection of the radical interpretation of the "third" – anti-communist resistance (for example by historian Václav Veber or, in the "softer" version, by Zora Dvořáková – searching for parallels with the 2nd anti-fascist resistance), first attempts to search for synthesizing optics as a methodological solution enabling meaningful analysis of empirical material were conducted. To the detriment of historiography, historians did not reach for their own theoretical generalizations of historical research, but as in the past when a conflict between historicist – descriptive historiography and an effort to theorize – to make historiography more scientific was being faced, a solution in theoretical instructions offered by related disciplines of political sciences and sociology is being sought. For example, the Czech historian Vítězslav Sommer, apparently under the influence of American political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott, encourages historians not to seek heroes, but to focus on finding everyday forms of resistance. It should, however, be noted that thanks to this initiative, the theoretical reflection of the issue is considerably more developed on the Czech side. Unfortunately, the "theoretical" does not always stay a hypothesis, or rather a synthesizing framework for research, but also an ultimate goal of research, the "truthfulness" of which historians work hard to find in archives, of course only using the method of verification. Or else, factual research serves only to illustrate a predetermined form of history.

The Purpose of the Article. The aim of the scientific paper is to point out the issues associated with the identification of the anti-communist resistance and to indicate a methodological concept for their solution.

The Statement of the Basic Material. My first scientific paper dedicated to the issues of identifications of the anti-communist resistance already pointed out some of the limits that the legal diction creates (Varinský, 2009). Because the research has shown that formal approval of

the regime, also expressed by an active participation in its functioning, could only be a pretext for implementation of anti-communist ambitions. Or else, it could represent a hidden form of resistance representing a *quasi* underground for future open resistance. I am referring to cases, when active supporters of *Ludák* regime expressed an interest in joining the ranks of the Communist Party (e.g. A. Púčik²) after the war, and there is enough direct and indirect evidence to suggest it was not just an attempt to “hide” within the post-war regime. In 1959, the State Security (ŠtB) registered 9 former county and district commanders of HG (Hlinka Guard) and PO-HG (Hlinka Guard Emergency Divisions) and 2 former authorities of the State Security Headquarters in KSS (Slovak Communist Party) in the Banská Bystrica Region alone. Their activities, not only of those 11 persons in KSS already mentioned, for there were further overall 198 “former members” in high economic and political posts in the new regime according to the Department of Ministry of Interior for Regional Administration of the State Security in Banská Bystrica, were directly related to the slow resolution of the criminal liability of persons arrested in the case of the so-called Ďurčanský’s affair³. The identification of persons relevant in the *Ludák* regime was relatively simple. It was worse in the case of secret society and organisations’ members. I am referring to the Hlinka Youth Intelligence Agents (*Hlásky*), predecessors of the Slovak Secret Security (STO) and Kolarovič’s society Family⁴. Among the Hlinka Youth Intelligence Agents, or rather STO, the ŠtB had a list of ninety graduates from Hlinka Youth Higher Leadership School (VVŠ HM), who only represented a higher management structure of the intelligence network. Due to the investigation of some of them, and the subsequent cooperation, it turned out that over 300 persons, mostly women, had passed the HM Headquarters’ intelligence course. During the 1950s the ŠtB registered only 66 of them, 14 were abroad and 2 were in the Czech part of the Republic (AMISR, f. B9/II, i. No. 4: 10). After switching into second illegality, these persons worked in various unknown positions and, according to the interpretation of the ŠtB, they represented a hostile anti-communist resident network in Czechoslovakia. It was even more complicated in the case of the secret society Family. With its organisational struc-

² Albert Púčik – born 7 Oct. 1921 in Dolné Motešice, Bánovce nad Bebravou District. As a student of medicine, he graduated in 1944 from Hlinka Youth Higher Leadership School (VVŠ HM) in Belušké Slatiny. He joined KSS after the war and, simultaneously, co-operated with Dr. Š. Chalмовský’s White Guard in spreading *Slovákjournal*. Arrested on 3 Dec. 1945 and sentenced to 7 months of prison and 6 months of forced labour in labour camp. After the release in early November 1947, he left for American zone in Austria to join J. Vicen. Since this moment until his arrest on 6 Jan. 1949, he worked for J. Vicen as an agent – connection in Slovakia. In 1949, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. His sentence was altered, and together with several other Vicen’s associates (A. Tunega, E. Tesár, L. Gálík) he was executed (AMISR, P 10/3, i. No. 22; see Letz, 2008; Letz, 2010).

³ Up until 1952, no more than 60 persons were sentenced from the overall number of more than 400 arrested. Many were granted an amnesty or light sentence, or avoided conviction by constant appeals (AMISR, f. B9/II, i. No. 4).

⁴ Hlinka Youth Intelligence Organisation *Hlásky* was established circa in November 1944 from the graduates of VVŠ HM initiated and led by Dr. L. Jankovič. Members of the steering committee included J. Vicen and Dr. Š. Chalмовský from the Family. Other members included Dr. Fundárek – led the administrative and personnel matters, J. Šiky – in charge of the management of the organisation together with Dominik Kvietok. Viktor Magdolen and Kornel Piaček ensured the creation of informant network in Slovakia (AINR, 509–1–5). As a result of the coordination of the activities of *Hlásky* MNO, namely by the Head of the Intelligence Unit Maj. Alexander Matúš, the originally planned purely intelligence activities of *Hlásky* were expanded to include police operations when uncovering the Slovak National Uprising (SNP) participants as well as arresting operations carried out by the Hlinka Guard authorities and the German units (see Varinský, 2003, pp. 24–27).

⁵ ThDr. Tomislav Kolakovič, proper name Poglajen, was born 8 Sept. 1906 in Croatia. Before deciding to become a clergyman in the Society of Jesus, he studied philosophy, completed several semesters in medicine and also got his clinical practice. After completing basic clerical philosophical and theological studies, he continued his studies of Christian philosophy and sociology at university in Leuven, Belgium. At the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, he completed a decree in Eastern theology and liturgy. He devoted his life to the restoration movement in the Church, to spreading the modern way of the apostolate, mainly the lay apostolate. In autumn 1943, he came to Slovakia where he created the secret society called Family to carry out his intentions. Died probably in 1990 in Paris (Vaško, 1986, p. 5, 62).

ture⁶, copying the system of cells used by Communists during illegality, became a nightmare for the ŠtB. Isolated cases of individual cells' exposure did not provide opportunity to detect the entire network of the organisation. The investigation of individuals confirmed (an important source of information were the statements of J. Vicen during his investigation in Ruzyně) that the Family members, in addition to the visible strictly non-political religious activities as private persons, had the task to infiltrate various areas of social life, without excluding KSS, implementing the plans of the Family (AINR, 509-6-1, *Anti-Communist Org. in Slovakia*)⁷. A sure, although only an indirect evidence is the case of MUDr. Šesták – Kolakovič's successor as a leading representative of the secret society Family. In 1950s, after his arrest, Šesták showed interest to cooperate with the ŠtB. However, as assessed by the ŠtB itself, no benefit from this cooperation and preparation of Šesták for intelligence activities was visible. On the contrary, a suspicion that the entire initiative's intention was to infiltrate and identify the working methods of ŠtBarose (see Varinský, 2009).

By setting a precedens for the existence of the third resistance in the above-defined interpretation, the law also pushed its historical evidence within politics of history (so to speak) at all costs. Quite naturally, the task of revealing the third resistance, in such parallels as it was carried out in the first and second versions, methodologically proposed itself to the historiography. Thus, it was traditionally perceived as a **national-liberational, democratic and, most of all, political** resistance carried out and organised in the form of opposition and resistance groups and related activities (circulation of illegal leaflets, press, intelligence or diverse activities). Although, the Czech historians accept this interpretation very differently and some even sceptically – especially regarding the national-liberational nature of the resistance (see Sommer, 2012, p. 30) – I believe that this monitored dimension has developed a very specific form in Slovakia.

The cited Act No. 219/2006 on the Anti-Communist Resistance presents the anti-communist resistance in Article 2 as a continuation of the national struggle for liberation and, as

⁶ Although written documents on the organisational structure of the Family never existed, evidence of its existence is provided by J. Vicen's protocol testimonies of 1957 – 1959, recorded during his investigation in Ruzyně. The central cell represented the managing headquarters of the Family. It was made out of about ten people, according to J. Vicen they were Dominik Bartosiewicz, Dr. Vaško, prof. Bugan, prof. Mária Pecíková, J. Šrámek, Rudolf Šesták, Dr. Chura, reportedly also Bishop Škrábik and, of course, Kolakovič as well. This headquarters, located in Bratislava, was superior to a number of unlimited primary cells, which were supposed to function as the executive body of the headquarters. These professionally organised primary cells (student, medical, clerical, legal etc.) were led by individual members of the headquarters. Only those who had closer contacts with Kolakovič and attended his lectures became members of these cells. This gave rise to cells at individual faculties and during the summer of 1944 they spread throughout Slovakia. Members of the primary cells had the duty to build in the environment they lived and worked secondary cells, composed of four to six members. According to J. Vicen, many such cells were created. However, they were not closely bound in organisational terms and the head of such a cell was under no obligation to keep lists of members. Within the organisation of the Family, they represented the last element, whose members should know they are members of Family. In principle, they were supposed to be religiously conscious people whose mission was to spread the Family's programme, thus were obliged to know its aim. The last link in the organisational structure of the Family were supposed to be the so-called tertiary cells. These, not larger than twenty-member groups, were built by only some selected members of the secondary cells. Although these cells basically no longer formed an organised group of the Family (its members were not supposed to know about the existence of the Family), they were of great importance for the realization of the Family's intentions. The organisers of these cells were obliged to religiously influence workers in various fields in order to protect them from the Communist influence. Inclusion in the different stages was governed by religious maturity, activism and reliability of said person. The lower cell controllers were not obliged to report the status of members or their names to the higher cells. Members of any cell were not supposed to know about other cells; they should only have the general idea about the Family's existence (AINR, 509-1-3, Protocol of J. Vicen).

⁷ It is necessary to add, however, that in this respect the documents of the ŠtB origin are fundamentally contradictory. For example, the report of the 1950s Main Intelligence Report mentions the dissolution of Family as a whole as early as 1952 – 1953 (compare SSA, f. HSR, No. 10442/300 I. S. Family/Report/). This contradiction is lost if we evaluate the reports in time lapse and historical context. Then, as a result of further investigation, it can be assumed that the uncovering of individual groups of the Family and the arrest of its more prominent representatives served as dissolution of the Family only under pressure from higher places, expressing the commitment to resolve the case as quickly as possible. After all, this report admits that certain residues of the Family have remained intact.

a part of the Cold War in the World, in Article 3 (Act No. 219/2006). Since it dates the beginning of this struggle back to the time of WWII, more precisely from 6 October 1944 (the Czech law cites 25 February 1948), it assumes its coexistence, not even excluding a direct merger, with anti-Nazi resistance. Although it seems contra-productive from the formal-logical point of view (the fight against Nazism was carried out in cooperation with the Red Army's advance), dialectic optics does not exclude such coexistence (contradictory unity) of anti-communist ambitions manifesting on both sides of the front line. On the one hand, national-liberating activities objectively seeming pro-Nazi appear to be anti-communist as well (i.e. by the logic of the then ongoing struggle carried out in direct cooperation with German military units), since these were objectively and subjectively directed against the arrival of the Red Army into Slovakia, or rather they tried to prevent the establishment of the Communist regime in Slovakia (I mean a spectrum of *Ludák* regime representatives' activities, which were carried out by the end of the war and were prepared for the post-war period). The perception of anti-communist resistance from this point of view enables it to be interpreted as a certain manifestation of anticipation of the WW II's evolution which, when it was over, almost immediately transformed into its Cold-War form. Once more, it was a conflict between democracy and totalitarianism, but this time, it was between two former allies of the anti-fascist coalition. It should be noted that the anti-fascist activities of the Red Army were perceived, not only in Slovakia and not without a reason, in two negative levels – as a threat of Marxist atheism to Christian tradition and, at the same time, by proclaiming the restoration of Czechoslovak statehood as a threat to the national state. However, this orientation had only a very little chance to succeed given the development of WW II. At the same time, in the case of Kolakovič's Family, the anti-communist activity from one source, in addition to the cooperation of individual members with the pro-Nazi resistance (specifically the activities of Jozef Vicen and Štefan Chalmovský among Hlinka Youth intelligence agents and STO), sought space for its implementation in active participation within anti-fascist resistance in order to gain credit for the defeat of fascism and subsequent elimination of the Communist influence on the creation of new post-war conditions. The proclaimed cooperation with anti-fascist resistance forced renouncement of national ambitions in order to maintain Slovak statehood, even though not completely, it was only put aside for the time being. A creation of post-war democratic space, in which it was assumed it would be possible to eliminate the Communist influence on the creation of state politics, became a priority (see Varinský, 2012). From our research point of view, it is irrelevant whether the legislator sought to create this space for free interpretation, anyway, the optics set enables the interpretation of anti-communist activities towards the end of the war and shortly after to be **national-liberational**, in case of their cover within anti-fascist resistance also as **democratic** and, finally, as **political**, since they pursued clear political objectives.

I admit, this interpretational concept is accepted in Slovak historiography (not to mention Czech) very demurely and, in certain connotations, even negatively. The difficulty is caused by the clearly determined long-term refusal to accept the status of the resistance member and *Ludák* resistance direction by the politics of history, apparently caused by their pro-Nazi past, visible anti-Czechoslovakism and, clearly, as a result of their ambivalent relationship to democracy. Questionable, or unresolved is, however, the issue of internal transformation of this resistance direction in political objectives of the resistance. Or rather, did the issue of re-establishment of the Slovak statehood represent the only existing problem with the issue of the regime's nature being irrelevant, or had this question been adjusted to new circum-

stances over the time? In this respect, the persistent one-sided interpretative dimension of the so-called April Agreement seems equally questionable. Historical research to date has almost forget to notice the possibility to perceive the formed “alliance” between Catholics and the Democratic Party (DS) representatives under the April Agreement as a result of efforts to seek opportunities to carry out the Slovak national interests mainly by legal means within the post-war political system of the National Front. Since the Catholics were in the alliance only to benefit from it, the weakest link of this alliance was a different attitude towards the post-war Czechoslovakia arising as a result of seeking a form acceptable for that time period, which would enable to conceal the resolution of the Slovak question. According to the 1949 Report on Slovak Political Emigration completed by Dr. Jozef Mikuš⁸ on the request of Robert Schuman, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Protestants considered the post-1945 Czechoslovak Republic to be a definitive solution, Catholics viewed it only as temporary, i.e. to be a lesser evil than its annexation by the Soviet Union (SSA, 323-13-4, Slovak emigration, pp. 21–22). The above-mentioned preference for predominantly legal means was determined, among other things, by the interest of the Family, which, in pursuit of its anti-communist resistance within the intentions of legal political space, had contributed through the Family-controlled Central Catholic Office (ÚKK)⁹ not only to the formation of this alliance, but also to its effective results during the 1946 elections¹⁰. On the other hand, ties between emigration and *Ludák* underground created in the past really existed, but there was no interest in cutting these ties. Results of the research corroborate that the activities of the Family during the war were only an organisational and ideological preparation to save Christianity from Communism-planned post-war period. Part of this preparation was also to ensure control of the *Ludák* resistance activities (STO), also planned for the post-war period, but prioritizing the restoration of Slovak statehood. Mutual contacts therefore continued in line with the planned objectives but were carried out in the most secret form¹¹. However, it was important to create a new subordination respecting the internal political possibilities. These had given a new dimension to the solution of the Slovak question, namely the anti-communist focus. Apparently, however, this was a dual task, whilst the solution to the Slovak question had already been derived from the results of the anti-communist battle. The fact that the “April Alliance” occurred in the context of the elections confirms that the issue of political power was a priority. The results of the elections in Slovakia were then perceived as proof that Slovakia voted by an overwhelming majority against Communism and yet surrendered to

⁸ Dr. J. Mikuš was one of the activists of the so-called black opposition and, although he was an emigrant in Paris as early as in 1949, he had to be familiar with the intentions of the Catholic wing in the DS.

⁹ The ÚKK ensured an operational information link between the Slovak bishops in the intentions of the Family through its members Anton Botek (director of the ÚKK) and Dominik Bartosiewicz (compare Mikloško, 1991, p. 159). It was authorized in summer 1945 as a result of negotiations between Pavel Čarnogurský and Gustáv Husák in connection with finding a leader to form a political party for the Slovak Catholics. At the same time, permission was given to publish the Catholic newspaper *Katolíckenoviny* (see Letz, 1994, p. 32).

¹⁰ According to ŠtB's evaluation of late 1950s, without the involvement of this organisation, it would be impossible to persuade the population, in such a short time, to vote for DS and not to vote by invalid ballots (according to the instructions of Ďurčanský – author's note), which would benefit the Communists (AINR, 509-6-1, Anti-Com. Org. in Slovakia: 116). For more on the direct involvement of the Family in the election campaign, see R. Letz (Letz, 1994, p. 37).

¹¹ The above-mentioned J. Vicen, who, after returning to Slovakia in August 1945, served as a co-ordinator of the forming residency of STO in Slovakia and at the same time as a connection between Family and the illegal resistance, played an important role in this respect, allowing the coordination of illegal resistance with the legal activities of the Family (compare AINR, 509-1-3, Protocol of J. Vicen, 29 June 1957: 1-3). This fact was observed by the ŠtB operative as well. This report notes the timing of the first speeches of the illegal groups with the first organised speech of the Catholic clergy against the secularization of education (SNA, PV – presidium/1946, box No. 37, Summary Report on the Detected...).

Moscow's usurpation only thanks to the Czechs. According to the above-mentioned report of Dr. J. Mikuš, the Czech surrender to Communism, unprecedented among Central-European nations, led in Slovakia to a serious cut in the number of supporters of the joint state. Thus, not only in Ďurčanský's interpretation presented abroad¹², but also in domestic circumstances represented by the Catholic wing of the DS, the battle against Czech central power was perceived as an anti-communist struggle. This idea was explicitly formulated by J. Mikuš in the conclusion of the aforementioned report when he wrote that the Slovaks are fighting both against Communism and for their national liberation (SSA, 323-13-4, Slovak emigration, p. 27). The previously mentioned interpretation suggests, although this political concept implemented in a very secret form will be quite problematic to empirically prove by the direct method, that the anti-communist resistance had a rational dimension to it in Slovakia already during this period, which significantly differed from the anti-communist resistance in the Czech part of the country. By overlooking these well-known facts from documents, the historians, paradoxically, in an attempt to highlight the unfair Communist practices in the ongoing power struggle, apparently unknowingly and, unfortunately, still continue to overlook and question not only the basics of forming anti-communist resistance¹³, but also the manifestations of state-forming activities, which could only be carried out in high secrecy, i.e. in the context of possibilities offered during that time. A certain, though not much happier attempt to bring new perspectives into this issue was represented by the initiative of Ján Bobák, who used the previously unknown diary of Rudolf Komandera¹⁴ for this purpose. To the detriment of Slovak historiography, Bobák used a very controversial form of communication, which led not only to the rejection of the chosen form, but also its content that offered new possibilities of interpretation (Medvecký, 2013, pp. 119–124). But no matter how it was like with the past political ambitions of the Slovak Revolutionary Resistance abroad (organised by

¹² F. Ďurčanský, both in the General Guidelines for Domestic Activities of 1946 and later in the White Book published in 1954, identified the Beneš regime (the People's Democratic regime, or more precisely the National Front regime – author's note) with the Communist regime, and as a result the Communism merged with the fight against Czech imperialism in his eyes, or rather as he used to say "against the temporary Czech occupation" (Ďurčanský, 1991–1992, p. 892). It should be added, however, that the battle against Communism did not certainly belong to the priorities of Ďurčanský's political concept, since the issue of the political organisation of the Slovak State had never been theoretically elaborated and presented by Ďurčanský. According to J. Vicen's protocol testimonies of 1957 – 1958, Ďurčanský was indifferent towards this issue (compare AINR, 590-6, Political activities of the Slov. Emigration, p. 9). On the contrary, according to what J. Kirschbaum wrote, it was a deliberate lack of interest, as the Slovaks were primarily concerned with the independence of the state (compare Kirschbaum, 1994, pp. 42–45, cited by Špetko, 1994, p. 169). This unilateralism in Ďurčanský's political concept, shared by most of the Ľudák exile, put separatist emigration in complete political contradiction with allies, where seeking personal support, legal protection and political ground for their activities (compare Špetko, 1994, p. 166). It can be assumed that it was one of the causes of the gradually weakening influence of Ďurčanský and his supporters in exile.

¹³ For example, Jablonický, in the case of T. Kolakovič, purposely disputes the results of the ŠtB's investigation, which confirmed the ideological connection of Kolakovič with the uncovered anti-state activities of Dr. Štefan Chalmovský, despite the fact that this connection was confirmed by the testimonies of brothers Jozef and Augustín Hubovec. All similar statements, which in the context of revealed anti-state activity showed Kolakovič in a negative point of view, Jablonický marks as manipulated by investigators and, vice versa, those that confirmed Kolakovič's innocence as true (compare Jablonický, 2000, pp. 44–47, 51). Again, this effort seems counterproductive with the results of an investigation of Jozef Vicen 11 years later (1957 – 1958) (compare AINR, 509-1-3, Protocol of J. Vicen /1 June 1957/, p. 6). After all, the link between Kolakovič and the anti-state activities of Š. Chalmovský is pointed out in the newly published diary of Komandera, in which he states (it must be noted that without the pressure of the ŠtB) that Chalmovský's resistance movement was supported by several state officials, but mainly Dr. Kolakovič (Bobák, 2012, p. 458).

¹⁴ R. Komandera, even though Lutheran, was a member of those former "Hlásky", who emigrated prior to the approach of the front and, together with Dr. L. Jankovič, formed the Slovak Revolutionary resistance (SRO). In 1946, considering that the SRO did not have sufficient number of volunteers willing to travel as messengers to Slovakia, Komandera accepted the position of a messenger. He took his first trip in 1946 according to the instructions of Dr. L. Jankovič in order to evaluate the political situation and the possibility of starting the resistance work (compare Bobák, 2012).

Dr. L. Jankovič), the research of the *Ludák* emigration confirms that one part of this resistance group, represented by Dr. Jozef Mikula¹⁵ with J. Vicen, later fully independent and as an intelligence co-operating with the American party, was forced to put anti-communism as a first item on its political agenda for existential reasons, thus putting the issue of the restoration of Slovak statehood second (Varinský, 2017, p. 47). Although, the sources do not offer explicit evidence, it cannot be ruled out that, even in this case, its solution was directly linked to the defeat of Communism (see: Varinský, 2003; Letz, 2017; Zelenay, 2012).

Let us now look at how the Czech and Slovak historiography has responded to the new interpretation set by legislation. Just as immediately after November 1989, after the adoption of the above-mentioned laws, there had still been an effort to carry out historical research more or less through an empirical description, which have been wrongly considered to be the application of the methodology of positivism. Among the causes of this situation are the post-November absence of theoretical preparation, resulting in an overall value and ideological disorientation of historians, and especially the effort to create a somehow objective, de-politicized history, deprived of compulsory ideology. Unfortunately, not even this ongoing aim of historians could be executed, as it did not satisfy either side of an objectively divided socio-political reality. “History” without a resourcefulness of the historian and his visible strength in value, additionally enclosed in its academic form, does not guarantee the meaning of a full interpretation of history. It could not fulfil its social function, because it did not deal with current issues. Again, an alternative solution to the situation has been offered by the politics of history by the diction of the earlier cited anti-communist resistance laws. An ideologically motivated space for the involvement of historians in interpretation was created. Mainly because of this, the empirical-bound methodology of anti-communist resistance research, in an effort to update the results of its research, found manifestations of resistance in every demonstration of disapproval and resistance fighters, subsequently glorifying them¹⁶. It cannot be ruled out that, especially in Slovakia, an exile interpretation offered a certain pattern in this respect. For example, Dr. Jozef Lettrich’s book entitled *History of Modern Slovakia*, first published in 1955 in the USA and in 1993 in Czechoslovakia, presents the anti-communist resistance in a largely glorified form as part of the nation-wide resistance, while considering various demonstrations of social incompetence (e.g. deficiencies in work ethics, etc.) to be manifestations of resistance¹⁷. Likewise, some Czech historians (e.g. Tomáš Bursík) in an effort to define the term anti-communist resistance and give this phenomenon the widest possible scope of interpretation, incorporate all possible activities, including spontaneous (i.e. unconscious) society’s manifestations of resistance during major events, or rather agricultural and industrial sabotage¹⁸ etc., into this purely political phenomenon (Bursík,

¹⁵ Dr. Jozef Mikula was the chairman of the Association of the University Students (ZVŠ) during the First Slovak Republic. He emigrated to Kremsmünster in Austria together with the leaders of the First Slovak Republic in March 1945. He was taken into captivity and transferred to Germany. After proving that he was not a member of the Slovak army, he was released. He returned to Austria, where he met P. Lyon through the wife of K. Murin (she worked as an interpreter for the Counter Intelligence Corps /CIC/). Since then, he worked for the CIC as an adviser on the Central-European issues, especially Slovakia (AINR, 509–1–3, Protocol of J. Vicen, 14 June 1957).

¹⁶ V. Sommer, in his reflection on how to get the historiography of the third resistance out of the dead end in an attempt to decisively reject this politicized empiricism, albeit paradoxically but quite logically, considers the most empirical description of the selected topics to be the most beneficial (Sommer, 2012, p. 10).

¹⁷ The author writes about extensive nationwide anti-communist resistance, which he sees as an internal activity, while the third Czechoslovak (anti-communist) resistance was supposed to operate in a free world (Lettrich, 1993, pp. 225–226).

¹⁸ In addition to these facts, it should be stated that in most cases recorded in agriculture, these were not the result of politically motivated intentions but rather the inability of immediate producers to carry out bureaucratic tasks as perceived by the regime (compare Varinský, 2014).

2010, p. 17). After all, the aforementioned V. Sommer, as a way out of the dead end radical interpretation of the third resistance got into, encourages historians not to seek heroes, but to concentrate on the whole spectrum of the population's responses to the challenges of communism, or more precisely to search for everyday forms of resistance (Sommer apparently adopted this idea from the American political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott) (Sommer, 2012, pp. 13–16, 35). Although historiographically it is extremely problematic to speculate about some kind of national resistance, more precisely about Bursík's civil war (Bursík, 2010, p. 19, 23), the selected models also implicitly offer a new methodological dimension of reasoning, namely the fact that non-political activities may also become a political force. However, it will be very important to distinguish in which connotations we can speculate about something like this.

Contrary to this, parallel research into the repressive measures of the totalitarian regime has shown that the regime created its own opponents, at least until 1953, not only by its Communist intentions and violent methods used, but also by the applied ideological postulates. In a way, it considered the growing opposition of class enemies – anti-communists in the spirit of Stalin's perverted thesis of intensifying the class struggle for socialism to be one of the conditions of its existence and progress. Nowadays, there is a number of evidences supported by research¹⁹. For example, the research of anti-communist organisations of the White Legion in Slovakia confirmed, by several indirect indications, not only the encouragement of the already exposed groups or individuals opposing the regime to carry out anti-communist activity, but in one case even suggested a possible direct participation of the ŠtB in the establishment of anti-communist organisation White Legion – 3 in Eastern Slovakia (Varinský, 2006). Such activity of the political police was not allowed even in the Communist regime, but the system-realized thesis on the intensifying class struggle for socialism “forced” the ŠtB authorities in their own way, if they did not want to risk accusations of delaying socialist progress, thus becoming victims of suppression themselves, to carry out such activity in top secrecy. Of course, this was not the case of a transformation of the ŠtB members into anti-communist resistance fighters unintentionally carried out by the regime, but merely an attempt to prove the validity of perverted ideological postulates, with the personal gain of the investigators themselves being another significant element. Likewise, those who became part of such games were in most cases, undoubtedly, only victims of the regime and less of a *de facto* resistance fighters (many later rehabilitated), although after the downfall of the regime, in their recollection they currently include themselves into this category. The victims suddenly became resistance fighters. Later, after the thesis on the intensifying of class struggle for socialism had gone into the past, judging at least by the source material of official provenance (State Security files) in Czechoslovakia, there was, with some exceptions, no open and organised resistance detected (Sommer, 2012, p. 16). Individual and natural resistance are more often observed. Interesting is thus the opinion of the representative of a radical interpretation of the “third resistance”, Czech historian Václav Veber. He claims that in the conditions of developed totalitarianism, the resistance *de facto* did not exist. This is explained by the fact that the regime's practices, including oppression, had been carried out in absolute range not by fanatics but by normal, that is, ordinary people (Babka – Veber, 2002, pp. 16–17, cited by

¹⁹ Among other things, the regime's attitude towards rich farmers, the so-called Kulaks, who, even after 1953 (after Stalin's death), were prevented from participating in any kind of forced collectivization changes, and thus at least hid themselves from the retaliations. It would be very exaggerated to consider this group of population to be a priori anti-communists, only the reprisals of the regime provoked hatred in them and, consequently, more or less hidden opponents of the regime. The question is when and in what time span.

Bursík, 2010, p. 19). Veber thus obviously unknowingly pointed out an important fact – the difference between a classical dictatorship and totalitarianism. Unlike the classical dictatorship, the totalitarian regime is not satisfied with the political passivity of citizens, but requires their active political support. In order to achieve full identification with the regime, it seeks, as a matter of priority, a total control over the citizen by ideological instruments. In an effort to ideologically isolate the citizen from other ideological influences, it led an irreconcilable war against religion. At the same time, again unknowingly, pointing out differences in the scope of the 2nd and 3rd resistance, he drew the attention to the differences in the leadership of the resistance against the regime established by a foreign power (for example the regime of the Protectorate) and the regime that had arisen, so to speak, especially in the Czech lands, from domestic sources.

If we fully accepted Veber's point of view, we would have to conclude that there was no organised anti-communist resistance²⁰, or rather only in a very marginal and barely identifiable form, perhaps exclusively during the early years of Communist rule. Adopting this interpretative dimension would make it considerably more difficult to answer the question what did actually overthrow the regime and it would essentially challenge the diction of the above-cited Act No. 125/1996 on the Immorality and Illegality of the Communist Regime, expressed in Article 3. Yet, contrary to the previously outlined Veber's optics, the above-mentioned exceptions to organised disagreement with Communist practices can be identified. I am referring here to the secret (hidden) church, but especially to the lay apostolate. This institution, not only at the time of the establishment of totalitarian regime still within the intentions of Kolakovič's Family, but also later, almost exclusively through religious activities, objectively weakened the ideological and thus social basis of the regime. In this sense, a hidden organised form of anti-communist resistance can be recognized in the lay apostolate. Historiographic research to date suggests that this form of resistance persisted, except for short periods of time enforced by repressive regime interventions, in various metamorphoses until the end of the regime. In this respect, the activities of Vladimír Jukl, Silvester Krčméry and others inside the later established Fatima Circle can be identified as a hidden form of organised and relatively mass resistance within the intentions of Family²¹. According to the Report on the State Security Situation in the Slovak Socialist Republic (SSR) for 1988, on the basis of monitoring the activities of the secret church, the ŠtB assessed the social base of this institution to approximately 3,000 laypeople (1988. Rokpredzmenou, 2009, p. 203). The fact that this non-political activity was not just a political force constructed by the ŠtB was confirmed by later events in 1988 predating the downfall of the regime, namely a signing event in support of the demands of Moravian Catholics for freedom of the church (a petition of 31 requests was compiled by Augustín Navrátil), but especially the Candle Demonstration in Bratislava.

It should also be added that by signing the Helsinki Accords in 1975 and with it the so-called third basket devoted to respecting civil rights, a new space for drawing gradual attention to a general but very differentiated feeling of dissatisfaction was created, although unwillingly, by the representatives of power even in the totalitarian regime. They were not only those the regime had previously perceived as potential opponents, but also the rest of the forming civic public which, again in a differentiated manner, could essentially be loyal, or more precisely

²⁰ Most historians of the older generation believe that considering anti-communist resistance in the bipolar world has no foundation, as from around mid-1949 there was no interest by Western democratic power in supporting armed coup in Central and Eastern European countries (Bursík, 2010, p. 17).

²¹ The Fatima Circle was established as a secular institution in Slovakia in 1974 on the initiative of V. Jukl and S. Krčméry, fully in the intentions of the ideological legacy of prof. Kolakovič.

have an indifferent attitude towards the regime, but demanded correction of the issues still unresolved by the regime. The spectrum of dissatisfied people was quite wide and infiltrated, albeit in a latent form, all strata of society, including the Communists (not only the so-called reform Communists, those affected by *normalization*). This created space for a new form of visible opposition. It is how, in the Prague reform Communist and intellectual environment, Charter 77 was created two years after the signing of Helsinki Accords, which came up with an unconventional visible form of resistance. The peculiarity of this visible resistance was, according to Ján Budaj, an effort to suppress the regime by mentioning its own ideals (Budaj, 2009, p. 113). In terms of the number of those involved, it was a very small group, which according to the ŠtB, apart from culture and information resources, could in no way undermine the state and social structures. In the ten years since the founding of the Charter, the number of signatories had increased to about 1,800 people, but most of them used their signature as a form of declaration of their attitude and had not pursued any politically motivated opposition activity (Lorenc, 1992, p. 100). Moreover, by ignoring the Slovak question and the constitutional arrangement, it did not find wider support in the Slovak environment and thus remained more or less a “Czech affair”²². It can be assumed, and research must prove that this had become one of the causes of unsuccessful attempts to create a broader common platform – unifying the Czech and Slovak dissent. This also seems to explain the relatively low number of activists from Slovakia in the newly formed, openly politically oriented opposition group Movement for Civil Freedom (HOS), whose founding members were 130 (or 126) nationwide, of which approximately 9 were from Slovakia. Later, several more joined the group and according to Dubovský their number had risen to about 25²³. In this respect, it will be important to find out how the Slovak question had established itself into the demands of the leader of the Slovak part of the HOS Ján Čarnogurský, expressed at Bradlo on 7 May 1989 for restoring the Štefánik tradition and returning the traditional Slovak coat of arms into the Czechoslovakian one, for which he was also accused of favouring and promoting fascism (Dubovský, 2012, pp. 212–213).

By far, however, this above-mentioned dissent, monitored by ŠtB as a priority, was not the only one. In the second half of the 1980s, Gorbachev’s perestroika created space for the establishment of several various “opposition” groups. The pacifist activities of the young generation were organized in various peace movements and clubs as well as various environmental groups. According to Milan Otáhal, since 1987 the number of dissident groups in Czechoslovakia increased from the original 5 to 39 in August 1989 (Otáhal, 1994, p. 70, cited by Balun, 2009, p. 32). This increase of non-political (at least on the outside) opposition activity, enabling to relieve tension in liberal society, was devastating for the totalitarian regime. A difficult situation arose for the State Security forces, forcing them to look for new forms and methods of work. On the one hand, it was a manifestation of change in the social system in the whole Eastern Bloc and was not to be restricted in this respect, but at the same time it created a presumption of its abuse for political purposes²⁴. It was therefore important

²² In his recollection of 1988, J. Budaj expressed doubts as to whether it was conscious or subconscious intention to carry out the Charter 77 as an expression of national, Czech resistance (Budaj, 2009, p. 115).

²³ HOS was founded on 15 October 1988 in Prague on the initiative of Rudolf Battěk. The Democracy for All HOS’s Manifesto was signed at the time of its creation in Slovakia by J. Čarnogurský, Anton Selecký, Hana Ponická, Ján Langoš, Ivan Hofman, Milan Simečka, Miroslav Kusý, Jozef Jablonický and Vladimír Maňák (compare Dubovský, 2012, pp. 210–211).

²⁴ Compare the report submitted in February 1988 by the Federal Minister of Interior František Kincl to the praesidium of the Central Committee (ÚV KSS): February 1989, Prague. Report on the State Security Situation in the SSR in 1988. Report on the State Security Situation in the Slovak Socialist Republic in 1988 (1988. Rok pred zmenou, 2009, p. 202).

to bring these activities under control by strengthening the operative measures. Although the State Security forces did not consider most of these organizations dangerous for the state, nor did they qualify the activities of Charter 77 as resistance²⁵, they perceived them as the activity of anti-socialist forces and potential threat to the regime, and therefore as a special form of resistance²⁶. However, the elimination options, in particular of the Charter, due to the greatly counterproductive consequences of the use of force, were severely limited by the commitments made in Helsinki. Therefore, the focus was more on intelligence infiltration by agents and redirecting to the non-political, rather ecological area²⁷. And while such political leaders had managed to temporarily sustain the growth of dissatisfaction in the form of regime-tolerated loyal opposition, the preconditions for its gradual internal erosion had been created. The plurality of opinion created, initially put forward as an intention to humanize (improve) the totalitarian regime, was in fact the beginning of its end.

The mode of resistance, deliberately realised in an externally non-political form, merely by seeking public dialogue with power and with the secret aim of revealing it as unable to solve the current problems of society, ultimately led to provoking deep scepticism spreading to all structures of society, and *a priori* we cannot exclude individuals in the party apparatus. As I suggested earlier, I think, and research will have to verify it, this scepticism, expressed in wider, often individual and in particular spontaneous manifestations of dissatisfaction, had not, in most cases, an anti-regime form in its origin (born and performed in the purview of Gorbachev's glasnost), but objectively weakened the social base of the regime. Perhaps I will not be far from reality if I assume that, together with increasing scepticism, even in the party structures themselves, it created conditions for the internal revolution of the regime in a "velvet way".

The Conclusions and Prospects for Further Study of the Issue Discussed. The outlined concept of the methodological direction of anti-communist resistance research allows, although not in line with the diction of the above-cited laws, to understand anti-communist resistance in a broader sense, including not only visibly organised anti-regime activities, but also many explicitly non-political activities arising spontaneously. These activities, although not having *a priori* anti-regime nature determined in the historical context by Gorbachev's perestroika, gradually, under the influence of other facts (also due to the inability and unwillingness of political elites to start perestroika in Czechoslovakia in bolder dimensions) mutated into politicized manifestations of dissatisfaction. In the context of the political crisis of the regime and the search for reform alternatives to the regime, there is polarization in the very core of the so-called power holders²⁸. Paradoxically, the Communists also get into the social base of critics of the regime, i.e. also those whose ambition was not a parliamentary democracy, but, as in 1968, only the improvement of the regime.

²⁵ It cannot be ruled out that this is only an issue of semantics of the term, as only foreign activities were perceived as resistance.

²⁶ For example, the Charter deliberately emphasized its apolitical point of view, but the ŠtB perceived the political nature of the people in the Charter as hidden behind the imperative of morality and human rights. It sought public dialogue in which it pursued public questioning of the Communist Party's policies, thus acting as a political opposition (compare Lorenc, 1992, p. 100).

²⁷ A. Lorenc acknowledges an infiltration as an agent into the Charter at the time of its establishment, with the network of agents still being supplemented later on. Similarly, it also infiltrated into various political groups initiated by the Charter, or rather it created such groups itself to prevent them from being politicized and confronted with the regime (compare Lorenc, 1992, pp. 100–102).

²⁸ Oskar Krejčí's speculations also support the outlined concept of thinking: "Among the members of the Communist Party, both in factories, offices, the State Security and the KSC apparatus, a despair and desire for change prevailed long before the Velvet Revolution. The demand for change was expressed by most Communists in private conversations or public opinion polls – that is, only a little specifically, unorganised, non-politically" (Krejčí, 2014, p. 15).

As early as at a 2009 conference on resistance against the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia held in Prague, the presentations of the experts clearly stated that the anti-communist resistance displays a very differentiated manner, so much so that its individual components can have a mutually hostile relationship.²⁹ If we had a problem with the “digestion” of such an optics of research, I would only remind you that even one of the toughest supporters of the radical interpretation of the anti-communist resistance, Václav Veber in his scientific paper, apparently under the influence of Lech Wałęsa, admits that after eliminating the armed resistance into non-existence, the resistance infiltrated into the Communist movement, where an increasingly strong opposition was born into the party and other branches of power taking over the resistance (Veber, 2012, p. 345).

The research thus offers an opportunity to find out how the implied resistance in all its broad-spectrum form infiltrated into various components and structures of society and social groups of the civic public, and it is possible to assume that this had contributed significantly to weakening the social basis of the regime. Essentially, it is an acceptance of the methodological concept of Vítězslav Sommer, which, following the methodological concept of resistance presented by American political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott (Sommer, 2012, pp. 13–16), came up with the concept of everyday, non-public hidden resistance carried out without visible political activities. He thus expanded the classical interpretation of resistance (opposition), carried out in the form of collective and organised actions, by the hidden individual and mostly unaware forms of resistance. But beware, this methodology research of the everyday life has a certain danger in it. Again, it offers a possibility to reveal resistance at any cost as being nationwide, and therefore in such activities which were neither subjectively nor objectively anti-communist in nature. Or otherwise metaphorically, so that we would not consider using Lenin’s writings in the lavatory due to lack of toilet paper to be an act of anti-communist resistance. But in principle this cannot be excluded either. Research-confirmed connotation with the historical context in which it takes place is important.

In other words, the same event may have a completely different meaning in another historical context. It will therefore be important to assess how much these activities had contributed to the overall weakening and deepening of the regime’s crisis. Thus, the answer to the question offers itself. Is it even possible, from the point of view of a methodological concept like this, to work with some kind of *a priori* created definition of anti-communist resistance by fellow sociologists, political scientists etc.? I believe that any such attempt will only lead to annihilation of the historical image, as factual research will merely illustrate a predetermined form of history. It remains a duty for us to look for this phenomenon in a specific historical space, not only in connotations with the repressive measures of the regime, but especially in terms of its contribution to the overall weakening of the regime and finally its dissolution.

Although we work with abstractions to navigate the often controversial history, let us not forget in the spirit of Goethe’s message that “theory is grey and eternal green is the tree of life”. Thus, the importance of the historian’s intellectual abilities is increasingly important. Only from them (not from what the sources/documents offer) will depend what methodological concept will be applied when working on such complex themes. It may sound paradoxical, but in the dialectical meaning of the word, subjectivity in the historical image, perceived as a meaningful interpretation by the historian, is one of the basic preconditions for his

²⁹ The conclusions of the conference are summarized by Martin Tichý at the beginning of the conference proceedings *Resistance and Opposition Against the Communist Regime in Czechoslovakia and Central Europe (Odboj a odpor...*, 2009, p. 10).

objectivity. We are not looking for an irreversible form of the historical image, and not at all with a timeless dimension, we just try to produce a meaningful interpretation. But how can we carry out meaningful analytical research without the risk of slipping into a dead end, if there is no synthesizing perspective of history? This is an issue the latest historiography will have to deal with for some time, no matter what the subject of research focusing on the second half of the 20th century will be. That is also why I have taken this consideration to compensate, at least in part (although not sufficiently eloquently), for the existing handicap.

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**NEW FIND OF OLBIAN COINS.
TARASHCHA DISTRICT, KYIV REGION, UKRAINE**

Abstract. *The aim of the study is presentation of a new hoard of ancient coins discovered in the Ukraine. In the Summer of 2019 fifteen bronze coins of Olbia (Greek polis in the North West Black Sea region) were found in the Kyiv region. Research methodology – principles of science, historicism, objectivity, methods of analysis, classification, generalization, historical-genetic and historical-typological. Scientific novelty. All coins are of “Borysthene” type (head of river god Borysthene / Scythian axe, bow in case, OABIO). An assemblage has been described by the founder as found in the ground between village Lukyanivka and the town Tarashcha (Kyiv region), near the highway P 04. The coins are dated to the end of fourth and the middle of the third century BC. The assemblage is one of interesting finds of Olbian coins on the way from the North Pontic Region to the West. The hoard from Lukyanivka is one of finds registered very far outside of Greek states of the northern coast of Black Sea. The cognitive value of the hoard lies above all in the region of its finding. The find from Lukyanivka is an important find as in recent years Olbian bronze coins as well as Bosporan coins were found on Celtic settlements in Poland (Upper Silesia; other coin finds were registered in Central Poland) and Czech Republic (Celtic oppidum at Němčice, Moravia; a very rich assemblage of Greek and Roman coins). The find from Lukyanivka is a new important element in the discussion on inflow of Olbian coins to the West. The Lukyanivka hoard consists of 15 bronze coins with the*

head of river god Borysthene, one of the most popular coins of Olbia. According to data obtained from the founder, the coins were found together in 'one place' but at 'different depth'. In the founder's opinion the value of the information on the find can't be negated. Following to the chronology of "Borysthene" coins proposed by P. O. Karyshkovskii coins found not far from Lukyanivka should be dated from the late fourth century BC to the ca. 250 BC. The most coins are dated to 290 – 250 BC. The structure of the Lukyanivka hoard should be treated as 'typical' for hoards of Olbian coins. **The Conclusions.** The find from Lukyanivka confirms that in the third century BC the most popular Olbian pieces of "Borysthene" type penetrated the area of the Central Ukraine, precisely Middle Ros river region, in significant quantity. The "assemblage" is important find as the majority of Olbian and Bosporan coins in Central Europe – find from Germany is doubt all are single finds. The coins described in the article fills "a gap" between finds from Dnieper and Dniester rivers and Central European finds. The find is located inside the "tongue-shaped" area of finds from the North Pontic region). The "tongue-shaped" area dominated by single finds. The area of Olbian and Bosporan coin-finds indicates that the appearance of coins minted by Pontic Greek poleis in Central Europe may be connected with activity of people of Scythian culture. This is extremely important as we have in mind a unique find of Greek amphora from the Scythian settlement located in the south-eastern Poland.

Key words: Black Sea region, Olbia, coin find.

НОВА ЗНАХІДКА ОЛЬВІЙСЬКИХ МОНЕТ. ТАРАЦАНСЬКИЙ РАЙОН, КИЇВСЬКА ОБЛАСТЬ, УКРАЇНА

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати монетний комплекс, виявлений літом 2019 р. між с. Лук'янівкою (Тарацанського району Київської області) та м. Тарацею, поблизу автошляху Р 04, до складу якого входило 15 античних мідних (бронзових) монет грецької колонії у Північно-Західному Причорномор'ї – Ольвії. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, історизму, об'єктивності, методи аналізу, класифікації, узагальнення, історико-генетичний та історико-типологічний. **Наукова новизна.** Поблизу с. Лук'янівки археологами було відкрито декілька поселень, які належать до різних періодів скіфського часу. Знахідка комплексу монет давньогрецької колонії Ольвії в цьому регіоні є цілком закономірною, враховуючи добре розвинені торгові зв'язки Скіфії із античним Причорномор'ям. Досліджені у статті монети мають відомі дослідникам диференти, вони карбувалися в період кінця IV – першої половини III ст. до н.е. і належать до шести груп ольвійських оболо. У цьому грошовому комплексі відсутні «борисфени» першої та сьомої груп. Друга група репрезентована 1 монетою з диферентом №20, третя – 1 монетою з диферентом №22, четверта – 4 монетами з диферентами №№ 34, 36, 37, 40, п'ята – 1 монетою з диферентом № 54, шоста – 1 монетою з диферентом № 69, восьма – 6 монетами з диферентами №№ 82 (можливо, 83?), 84, 90, 91, 92, 93. Одну монету ми не змогли чітко класифікувати через майже повну відсутність виразних елементів диференту, які б дозволили його ідентифікувати. Проте метрологічні характеристики цієї монети, зокрема вага і розмір, дозволяють віднести її до останньої групи «борисфенів» за класифікацією П. Каршиковського. Отже, наймолодша монета представлена «борисфеном» з диферентом №93, а період її карбування хронологічно відповідає 260 – 250 рр. до н.е. Зважаючи на даний факт, тезаврацію скарбу, на нашу думку, слід відносити до другої половини III ст. до н.е. Це дозволяє припустити, що в другій половині III ст. до н.е. поблизу околиць сучасного с. Лук'янівки Тарацанського району Київської області проживало населення, яке мало зв'язки з грецькою колонією Ольвією, а ольвійські монети були добре відомі в басейні Середньої Росії, їх використовували не лише в торговельних операціях, а й як засіб накопичення. **Висновки.** Знахідка поблизу околиць сучасного с. Лук'янівки Тарацанського району Київської області підтверджує, що в III ст. до н.е. найбільш популярні ольвійські грошові знаки в значній кількості потрапляли в Середню Наддніпрянщину, зокрема в район Середньої Росії. Когнітивна цінність даного скарбу полягає, перш за все, в локалізації знахідки. В останні роки ольвійські бронзові монети, до речі, як і боспорські, трапляються у знахідках на кельтських поселеннях у Польщі (Верхня Сілезія і Центральна Польща, де зафіксовано знахідки монет) та Чехії (кельтський оптідум у Немцях, Моравія). Описаний у статті монетний комплекс заповнює «лакуну» між монетними знахідками із Нижнього Подніпров'я та Нижнього Подністрів'я і знахідками з Центральної Європи. Поява в Центральній Європі монет, карбованих у Північному Причорномор'ї грецькими полісами, може бути пов'язана з діяльністю представників скіфської культури. Саме на скіфському поселенні, розташованому на Південному Заході Польщі, була зроблена унікальна для регіону знахідка – грецька амфора.

Ключові слова: Причорномор'я, Ольвія, монетні знахідки.

The Problem Statement and Analysis of Recent Researchers. Finds of an Olbian ‘Borysthenes’ at the Celtic settlement at Nowa Cerekwia, Upper Silesia, Poland (Bednarek & Molenda, 2011) – the settlement existed from the middle of the third century to the middle of the second century BC (Czerska, 1964, pp. 24–231) and of Bosporan bronze coin at the Celtic oppidum at Nĕmčice (Moravia, Czech Republic), recognized as an important local Celtic trade center (Kolníková, 2012), have changed character of discussion on the penetration of coins minted in Olbia very far from ancient Greek states of the northern coast of the Pontus Euxinus (cf. Mielczarek, 1989, pp. 65–66 and catalogue; Mielczarek, 2008, p. 12). Each new find of Olbian coins (in Central Europe were found only bronze pieces of “Borysthenes” type – Mielczarek, 1989) or Bosporan coins (for instance Beidin & Myzgin, 2010; Myzgin & Beidin, 2012; Bodzek & Madyda-Legutko, 2018; Myzhin, Stepanenko & Sytiy, 2018) is a significant ‘element’ in the discussion on the “trade route from Black Sea to the Baltic sea”, using terminology popular especially in the nineteenth century studies (Sadowski, 1876; Mielczarek, 2017; see also Mielczarek, 2011).

Coins of Olbia found in the Central Europe are published (Mielczarek, 1989; Mielczarek, 2008; Shestopal, 2007), including finds on Scythian settlements in the forest-steppe zone (Skory & Zimovets, 2014, p. 145).

The list of Olbian coins found far from the *polis* can be supplement by the assemblage found accidentally in 2019. Detail evidence on time and place of finding are not complete (see Kotsur, 2016a; Kotsur, 2016b; Kotsur, 2017; Orlyk, 2013).

The Statement of the Basic Material. According to the founder, the assemblage, described as a hoard, was found in June of 2019, in the forest near Lukyanivka village (Tarashcha



Fig. 1

district, Ukraine), near the highway P 04 not far of Tarashcha, Kyiv region (Fig. 1). The assemblage consists of 15 bronze Olbian coins. The coins were found together in “one place” but at “different depth” – there is no information on a vessel (no data on pottery, potsherds) or other coin packaging (“different depth” – textile?). Coins are still in hands of respondent.

Discussing the reliability of information on the find, it should be noted that, several Scythian settlements of different periods are registered near Lukyanivka village (Romanyuk, 2003, p.109).

In effect the value of the information on the find can't be negated. The data on the find are worthy of note as a significant quantity of finds escapes the notice of archaeologists and numismatists.

Fifteen “Borysthenes” coins found in June of 2019 near Lukyanivka village should be attributed to six groups of Olbian coins of this type, after P. O. Karyshkovskii (2003). The time for depositing the coins should be placed the second half of the third century BC.



Fig. 2.
Coins found in June 2019 near Lukyanivka village

Table 1

List of coins found near Lukyanivka village

Description	Chronology	<i>Wt (g)</i>	<i>Diam. (mm)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 20 (Fig. 2, 1)	End of IV B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 320-310 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 88-89, 779-797]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 60, 312].	8.37	23	11
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 22 (Fig. 2, 2)	End of IV B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 310-300 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 90-91, 821-826]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 60, 314].	8.00	23	9
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 34 (Fig. 2, 3)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 300-275 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 95, 894-896]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 62, 327].	7.15	22	11
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 36 (Fig. 2, 4)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 300-275 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 94-95, 887-891]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 62, 325].	7.88	22	11
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 37 (Fig. 2, 5)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 300-275 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 96, 905-910]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 62, 329].	7.43	22	5
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 54 (Fig. 2, 6)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 300-275 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 100, 968-973]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 64, 343].	6.47	21	12
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 69 (Fig. 2, 7)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 275-260 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 106, 1066-1070]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 66, 360].	7.07	22	11
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 82 (83?) (Fig. 2, 8)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 260-250 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 110, 1117-1124]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 68, 373].	4.84	19	2
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 84 (Fig. 2, 9)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 260-250 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 111, 1126-1140]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 68, 375].	6.26	20	6
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 90 (Fig. 2, 10)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 260-250 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 113- 114, 1177-1192]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 70, 383].	6.58	20	5
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 91 (Fig. 2, 11)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 260-250 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 114- 115, 1193-1206]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 70, 384].	5.13	19	6
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 92 (Fig. 2, 12)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 260-250 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 115, 1207-1221]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 70, 386].	4.57	18	3
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram № 93 (Fig. 2, 13)	290-250 B.C. [Karyshkovsky 2003: 174] 260-250 B.C. [Frolova & Abramzon 2005: 116, 1222-1251]. 310-280 B.C. [Anokhyn 2011: 70, 385].	4.44	19	7
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram 40 (Fig. 2, 14)		5.95	21×18	12
Obv. head of Borysthene left. Rev. OABIO, axe, scepter, bowcase, monogram; the coin belongs to the latest group of "borysthene". (Fig. 2, 15)		4.96	19	2

The Conclusions. The find from Lukyanivka confirms that in the third century BC the most popular Olbian pieces of “Borysthenes” type penetrated the area of the Central Ukraine, precisely Middle Ros river region, in significant quantity. The “assemblage” is important find as the majority of Olbian and Bosporan coins in Central Europe – find from Germany (Mielczarek, 2003, p. 21) is doubt all are single finds (Mielczarek, 2008, p. 11). The coins described in the article fills “a gap” between finds from Dnieper and Dniester rivers and Central European finds. The find is located inside the “tongue-shaped” area of finds from the North Pntic region (Mielczarek, 1989, pp. 65–66 and Map 7; Mielczarek, 2008, p. 21). The “tongue-shaped” area dominated” by single finds. The area of Olbian and Bosporan coin-finds indicates that the appearance of coins minted by Pontic Greek *poleis* in Central Europe may be connected with activity of people of Scythian culture (Domański, 1999; Boltryk, 2009; Koško & Klochko, 2009). This is extremely important as we have in mind a unique find of Greek amphora from the Scythian settlement located in the south-eastern Poland.

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RELIGIOUS THEMATICS IN UKRAINIAN MUSICAL CULTURE OF THE XIXTH CENTURY: HISTORICAL PREREQUISITES

Abstract. The purpose of the article: *the analysis of socio-historical circumstances of musical and religious creativity of Ukrainian composers of the 19th century under the conditions of belonging of the Ukrainian lands to the different empires – Russian and Austrian (Austro-Hungarian). The methodology of the research includes the historical method necessary for the peculiarities analysis of the composers'*

music-religious creativity development of the Dnieper and Western Ukraine in the long evolutionary process, the traditions of performance and the formation of the foundations of composer's creativity; retrospective and structural-systemic methods in the studios of specific music and religious artifacts; historical and comparative principle in tracing the socio-political circumstances of composing religious music of the nineteenth century, as well as in determining its role in a particular socio-historical environment. **The research novelty of the article** is to present the religious works of the most prominent representatives of the musical culture of the Dnieper and Western Ukraine of the 19th century, M. Lysenko and M. Verbitsky – canonical or religiously related – from the standpoint of the historical processes in the Russian Empire and the Austrian Empire, as well as in covering the peculiarities of the musical language of the works mentioned. The connection between the choice of genre model and the system of musical and expressive means and the specific historical and social circumstances in which they were written, allows understanding the motivation of the composers' appeal to sacred genres or religious subjects, the intensity of their creative ideas regarding the choice of means and forms of spiritual content. **The Conclusions.** Thus, the historical and political prerequisites that emerged in the Ukrainian society of the nineteenth century in the Russian and Austrian empires, conditioned both the motivation of the composers to appeal to religious genres and themes, and the specificity of their individual interpretation of the musical language in these works. For M. Lysenko, the most important thing was to emphasize the national and patriotic orientation of spiritual works, as well as the reliance on folk-ritual sources and the conscious continuation of the centuries-old tradition of spiritual music. Instead, the post-Lysenko school, especially his students and followers, give such vivid examples of spiritual music as the liturgical opuses of Kyrylo Stetsenko, Mykola Leontovych, Oleksandr Koshyts and others. In them, the “sacral and secular” parity is already being revealed in a new worldview dimension, in accordance with new historical realities in the struggle for the consolidation of the Ukrainian idea. In Western Ukrainian music and religious work, the Bortniansky tradition, and more broadly – the spiritual concert of the eighteenth century, played the role of a national standard up to the beginning of the twentieth century, when young generations (Stanislav Liudkevych, Vasyl Barvinskyi, Nestor Nyzhankivskyi, etc.) define the task of music in society in a new way, and thus rethink its artistic and expressive system. They do not abandon the numerous and varied allusions to biblical themes, the use of characteristic intonational appeals formed in spiritual genres, but give them a completely different, more modern figurative-aesthetic and stylistic interpretation, consistent with the historical changes in the life of Ukrainian society.

Key words: musical and religious creativity, historical context, confessional affiliation, spiritual works of M. Lysenko, “Przemysl school”.

РЕЛІГІЙНА ТЕМАТИКА В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ МУЗИЧНІЙ КУЛЬТУРІ XIX СТ.: ІСТОРИЧНІ ПЕРЕДУМОВИ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – здійснити аналіз релігійної творчості українських композиторів XIX ст., які діяли в різних соціально-історичних умовах в умовах бездержавності української нації та поділу між двома імперіями, – Наддніпрянської України, що була у складі Росії, та західних земель, передусім Галичини, що належала до австрійської імперії Габсбургів. Акцентується передусім історичний аспект музично-релігійної творчості, обумовлений об'єктивними обставинами розвитку українських релігійних громад і напрямів їх діяльності. **Методологія дослідження** включає історичний метод, необхідний для аналізу особливостей розвитку музично-релігійної творчості композиторів Наддніпрянської і Західної України в тривалому еволюційному процесі, традиції виконавства та формування засад композиторської творчості; ретроспективний і структурно-системний у студіях конкретних музично-релігійних артефактів; історико-компаративний принцип у відстеженні соціополітичних обставин komponування релігійної музики XIX ст., а також у визначенні її ролі в конкретному соціоісторичному середовищі. **Наукова новизна статті** полягає у представленні релігійних творів найяскравіших представників музичної культури Наддніпрянської і Західної України XIX ст. М. Лисенка та М. Вербицького – канонічних або пов'язаних з релігійною тематикою – з позиції тогочасних історичних процесів у Російській імперії та Австрійській імперії, а також у висвітленні особливостей музичної мови згаданих творів. Зв'язок вибору жанрової моделі та системи музично-

виразових засобів і конкретних історико-суспільних обставин, в яких вони писалися, допомагає зрозуміти мотивацію звернення композиторів до сакральних жанрів чи релігійної тематики, інтенції їх творчих задумів щодо вибору засобів і форм втілення духовного змісту. **Висновки.** Історико-політичні передумови, які витворились в українському соціумі XIX ст. в Російській та Австрійській імперіях, обумовили як мотивацію звернення композиторів до релігійних жанрів та тематики, так і специфіку їх індивідуального трактування музичної мови у них. Для М. Лисенка найважливішим було підкреслення національно-патріотичної спрямованості духовних творів, а також опора на фольклорно-обрядові джерела та свідомо континуація багатовікової традиції духовної музики. У західноукраїнській музично-релігійній творчості М. Вербицький і його послідовники синтезують системи виразових засобів світської і духовної творчості, що обумовлює специфіку композиторської техніки і акцентування «мирських» ліричних суб'єктивних образів у духовних жанрах. Еталоном для них служила традиція Бортнянського, а ширше – духовного концерту XVIII ст.

Ключові слова: музично-релігійна творчість, історичний контекст, конфесійна приналежність, духовні твори М. Лисенка, «перемисьська школа».

The Problem Statement. Religion has not only played a significant role in the traditional outlook of the Ukrainians, but also has a number of specific characteristics related to the historical development of the nation over the millennia. These peculiarities are reflected in professional music, not only in its purely canonical genres, intended to accompany the liturgy, but also in a very wide range of a spiritual and secular creativity, in the broadest thematic and figurative and stylistic continuum. One of the leading contemporary Ukrainian culturologists Volodymyr Lichkovah described this phenomenon as “metareligious”: “A spiritual space of meta-religiosity – sanctified, “trembling” attitude to the world as a shrine, to the affirmation of culture as a cult – to the deep reverence of divine spiritual entities (sanctuary) is formed” (Lichkovah, 2010, p. 18). Therefore, in each case, the historical context, all sociopolitical and existential conditions in which particular works related to the spiritual sphere should be carefully considered.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. A spiritual creativity of Ukrainian composers has constantly been the focus of attention of humanitarian direction researchers: cultural scientists, musicologists, historians, ethnologists. Thus, in the research paradigm of “music and religion”, the fundamental works of M. Antonenko (Antonenko, 2018), B. Kudrick (Kudrick, 1995), F. Kolessa (Kolessa, 1978), M. Hrushevsky, K. Levitsky (Hrushevsky & Levitsky, 1991) and others should be mentioned. A significant compendium of literature concerns the study of the creative heritage and activities of Mykola Lysenko and Mykhailo Verbitsky. M. Lysenko’s creative activity was studied by M. Yurchenko (Yurchenko, 1993), F. Kolessa (Kolessa, 1978) and others.

The Purpose of the Article: the analysis of socio-historical circumstances of a musical and religious creativity of Ukrainian composers of the 19th century under conditions of belonging of the Ukrainian lands to the different empires – Russian and Austrian (Austro-Hungarian).

The Statement of the Basic Material. National and historical prerequisites for attending to religion, its place in the life of a person, which have been formed in Ukraine for many centuries, were expressed primarily in folk rituals and customs that are inextricably linked to the song. “The cultural impact of a liturgical music has always been extremely powerful. Originally, religious and spiritual culture is a standard of living for all sections of the population. Religious rituals accompany a person all their life, from birth to death – christening, communion, wedding, funeral service, etc. Therefore, the world of the special beauty of

liturgical music accompanies the life of the broad sections of the Ukrainian population, and for many people it is a sphere of high moral ideals” (Antonenko, 2018, p. 234). Therefore, on the one hand, the Ukrainian nation’s religiosity and people’s attitude to spiritual leaders are marked by closer communication and trust in their judgments, not only on church issues but also much broader, in the existential field of daily life. On the other hand, the priests themselves, especially the Greek Catholics ones, who were active in Halychyna, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia in the 19th century, were much more involved in various forms of “a secular” activity – political, economic, and above all artistic. This peculiarity was defined by M. Hrushevsky and K. Levitsky as following: “the main features of the internal order of the West Russian Orthodox Church in the period less or more until the mid-16th century should be considered: a) the elective principle in the discussion of church and hierarchical governments and b) the wide participation of secular people in church affairs. These peculiarities were equally in agreement with the spirit of the ancient cathedral traditions of the Orthodox Church, and with the nature of the concepts and social views of the Ukrainian people” (Hrushevsky & Levitsky, 1991, p. 18).

This explains the most important and numerous layers of a national culture and tradition, which, even in the most “secular” manifestations, in all forms of art, appealed to the Christian origins. It can be argued that this deep mental “core of the nation” helped to preserve national consciousness despite any, even the most aggressive and cruel, attempts to assimilate the Ukrainians completely. Therefore, the awareness of the Divine essence of the universe manifests itself in the full spectrum of the intellectual and artistic heritage of the people in various forms. The first Pope was a Slav, John Paul II defined this attitude to religion as “an authentic value” (John Paul II, 1995, p. 98).

Therefore, in order to create an unbiased picture of Ukrainian musical culture in general, it is necessary not only to turn to the generalizing sphere of the national composer’s heritage, to church music, which is central in our cultural tradition, but also to present its historical motivation at every stage of the evolution of the nation. Only by comprehending the essence and true value of this part of the composer’s work, its deep historical conditionality, will we be able to appreciate the other creative achievements of national music that arose in the cantato-oratorio, instrumental, opera genres. It is worth taking into account the great tradition of church creativity for many centuries, from Kievan Rus up to the so-called the “golden age” of Ukrainian music (Kudrick, 1995, p. 128), which developed much more intensively and occupied a much more prominent place in the history of national spirituality than other figurative and artistic spheres. This preference for church art in Ukrainian culture is due to several factors: first, by the above mentioned mentality features, secondly, by the awareness of a stateless nation of those indisputable values that were not influenced by time and were preserved in the spiritual tradition, and thirdly, by certain historians’ worldview principles of social development. Therefore, it is necessary to state the fact that church music has been manifested for many centuries, up to the present day it is one of the cornerstones of the composing process and always reflects the moods and hopes of society very sensitively.

Since this article is about the creativity of the leading Ukrainian composers of the 19th century, a few more introductory remarks should be made. During this period, it was a sacred creativity in many European vocational schools that became secondary; giving way to secular orientation, first of all, stage syncretic genres, opera, as well as chamber-vocal genre and instrumental miniature. These priorities were asserted in the aesthetics of romanticism and subsequent styles, reflected not only in the creative work of leading artists, but also in

numerous theoretical and philosophical works. Obviously, such aesthetic and philosophical orientation of the creativity assessment is quite different from previous epochs defining the role of the artist in society and its right to the exclusiveness of creative revelations. Many important testimonies to the exclusive “missionary” interpretation of the artist’s role in society and his/her right to originality, exclusivity, are included in the works of composers – Hector Berlioz, Ferenc Liszt, Robert Schuman, and philosophers, especially Arthur Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

German culture under this survey gives perhaps the most striking examples, but when we remember Hector Berlioz in France, Alexander Scriabin in Russia and other similar examples, we can state the universality of the aforementioned worldview tendency towards the role of the artist in society. Even in those national schools, that were in the process of becoming, and where this trend was not explicitly declared (as in Czech, Spanish or Finnish), the religious creativity of leading composers was still not at the forefront – let’s remember at least Bedřich Smetan, Antonín Dvořák, Stanisław Moniuszko or Isaac Albéniz.

Church music continues to evolve in the work of these and other composers, but it already occupies a secondary place, despite its appearance in the nineteenth century such notable works as *Requiem* by Berlioz and Giuseppe Verdi, *Stabat mater* by Gioachino Rossini and A. Dvořák, *German Requiem* and *Motets* by Johannes Brahms, *Litania Ostrobramska* by S. Moniuszko or *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* by P. Tchaikovsky. Despite their undoubted artistic value, not these works ultimately represent the individual style of the leading musicians of the last century.

Ukrainian musical culture in this sense is typical enough – after all, the quantity of church works in the 19th century appeared in it is not much. At the same time, the sacred roots of each of the leading artists are more important than they might seem at first glance. We can draw parallels with T. Shevchenko’s poetry in music: biblical themes, religious ethics, Christian symbols and analogies permeate literally all of Kobzar’s artistic system, even if the work is in a purely “secular” plane. That is, in the works of both writers and composers, we see a completely different interpretation, in comparison with many other national traditions, of religious symbolism on a larger scale. The special position of the religious worldview of the Ukrainians is embedded in their folklore picture of the world: “Religious syncretism envisaged a symphonic interaction of pagan and Christian systems, their merging in the body of culture at the level of diffusion and intertwining of Christian meanings and pagan archetypes, church images, and subconsciously inherited folk symbols. Ukrainian folklore fully absorbs the religious syncretism of popular culture” (Sadovenko, 2019, p. 42).

Within the short article we will give examples of works of leading representatives of Ukrainian musical culture of the 19th century Mykola Lysenko and Mykhailo Verbitsky. Each of them represented typical traits inherent in a single Ukrainian tradition, and for one and the other composer the overriding task was to assert national identity in professional music, whether secular or religious. But the accomplishment of this task had its specific historical prerequisites, reflecting the socio-historical position of religion in two different states, between which Ukraine was divided – the Russian and Austrian (from 1867 Austro-Hungarian) empires, which should be considered in the study of their heritage.

First of all, the position of the Ukrainian church in each of the empires should be clarified. The Orthodox Church in the Dnieper Ukraine in the 19th century was fully subordinated to the ecclesiastical statutes of the Russian Empire. Therefore, “the Orthodox Church... functioned as a state institution, it obeyed the orders of the imperial power, and the tsarist looked

at its servants as state officials. On the other hand, the canonical norms of the Orthodox Church required the parishioners to submit unconditionally to the authorities” (Kondakov, 2003, p. 82). According to this state function of the church, religious music was obliged to subordinate itself to the applied liturgical functions, so the artistic innovation of musical language in the liturgical genres was not only not welcomed, but was highly undesirable.

Instead, the activities of the clergy in the western territories of the Austrian Empire, which belonged largely to the Greek Catholic denomination, were not limited to pastoral care at that time, and priests were actively involved in the process of national revival of the Ukrainians. The Greek Catholic intelligentsia contributed to the development of Ukrainian society in all spheres: architecture, literature, theater, music, painting, science, education, politics, business, etc. An active social position also inspired a greater freedom of creativity, a wider range of genres – secular and spiritual – priest artists, above all representatives of the “Przemysl school”. The musical component of the Divine Worship was also interpreted much more freely, particularly in spiritual music. M. Novakovich rightly notes that “unlike Bortniansky, Verbitsky almost does not use ancient church songs in his liturgical works” (Novakovich, 2019, p. 128).

Accordingly, the composers’ religious creativity was in one way or another coordinated with the position of the church in society. In the Dnieper Ukraine, the ecclesiastical sphere functioned quite closed, preventing any innovations in its artistic range, so the creativity of the majority of national artists who aspired to self-expression was unfolding mostly in the secular plane, as everywhere in the European continuum. If we consider the work of Mykola Lysenko, it will fit perfectly into the overall process. In fact, he has only a few religious works, only six, and all of them – except for the prayer *Bozhe velykyi, yedynyi* (*God is Great, the Only One*) by A. Konysky – written in the last decade of the composer’s life, at the beginning of the twentieth century. The main inspiration was, in our opinion, his practice as a choir conductor, which he had practiced since 1876 upon his return from St. Petersburg, and especially intensified at the end of the 19th century – four large trips with the chapel took place in 1893 – 1902 and led to the further development of the Ukrainian choral business. For the most part, the choir members were seminary students, so *volens nolens* spiritual music had to be the focus of the conductor’s exclusive interest. Moreover, his assistants were known authors of church music, Yakiv Yatsynevych, and later Kyrylo Stetsenko, who was in holy orders. As Oleksandr Koshyts recalls, “As I was in the fifth or sixth grade of seminary, Mykola Vitaliyovych was preparing for a concert trip with a small choir. The choir consisted almost exclusively of seminarians. My comrades also took part in it ... The first rehearsals took place at the St. Michael’s Monastery and at the premises of the bishop’s choir, which was then headed by Yakiv Yatsynevych. They were led by Yatsynevych, sometimes by Lysenko himself” (Kosice, 1968, p. 471). The second reason, perhaps not so explicit, was his age-old rethinking of life values (such cases are not common among artists). Mystically, it was M. Lysenko’s choral concert *Kamo poidu* on verses from David Psalm 138, written three years before his death in 1909, performed by the choir of the University of Kyiv under the direction of O. Koshyts, sounded at the funeral of the composer. Academician F. Kolessa recalled: “This work, wrapped in a mystical mood, was written by the deceased, apparently in anticipation of death, reaching thought into eternity and infinity” (Kolessa, 1978, p. 26).

O. Makarenko expresses a very interesting opinion on the conceptual integrity of the artist’s religious heritage: “At first sight, M. Lysenko’s spiritual work consists of quite diverse works, styles, genres and themes. However, in the seven well-known spiritual compositions

one can trace the expression of Lysenko's tenets of the *Symbol of Faith*: the choral chant of *Kamo poïdu* corresponds to the lines "Viruiu v Yedynoho Boha, Ottsia, Vsederzhytelia, Tvortsia neba i zemli" (I believe in One God, Father, Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth); in the author's genre defined, the big Christmas carol "*Diva dnes presushchestvennogo rozhdajet*" (Today the Virgin gives birth to the superessential) – with the words "i tilo pryiniav vid Dukha Sviatoho i Divy Marii" (and the body received from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary); Cant *Khresnym drevom* (Cant for the crucifixion of Jesus) reveals the dogma of salvation by the sacrifice; the doctrine of the Trinity and the prophetic lines that he "rose again and will come again in glory" was embodied in the *Cherub song*; the pious song *God the Great, the Only One* in the words of A. Konysky (which in the Ukrainian diaspora is called "Prayer for Ukraine") reflects faith in the unity of the Church of Christ; the psalm *Holy Virgin, mother of the Russian land* is a refraction of the cult of the Theotokos" (Makarenko, 2018). Thus, in the historical context, Lysenko's musical and religious heritage was, first and foremost, a national-patriotic one, since work with the choir served as an impetus for writing works of spiritual subjects; secondly, it grows mainly from the folklore and religious tradition, rather than being created in a strictly canonical line, which in the realities of the Russian Orthodox Church was not too close to the composer.

One of the most famous works of M. Lysenko till today is considered the song *God is Great, the Only One* (1885) on the text of the famous Ukrainian poet O. Konysky. This work was officially recognized as the spiritual anthem of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate, "... it became an expression of the centuries-old hopes of the Ukrainian people, its true "Prayer for Ukraine" (Yurchenko, 1993, p. 5). At the heart of the text is the saying characteristic for many European monarchic hymns – "God, save" (queen, king, kaiser, etc.). Compare, for example, the Austrian anthem *Gott erhalte Franz den Keiser*, the English *God Save the Queen*, the Russian *Bozhe, tsaria hrani* (*God save the Tsar*) with the initial phrase of Lysenko-Konysky's work "God is Great, the Only One, Keep Ukraine to Us". In Konysky's poem, the only significant difference lies in the "depersonalization" of the image of the Fatherland, which is not associated with any particular ruler's face, and in the saying "Give him freedom" as a hint of the nation's statelessness. However, in music, the features of the difference from other hymns are noticeably greater than in the verbal text.

While most hymns are dominated by progressive marching intonations, majesty and energy are demonstrated, the sayings are clear and squarely emphasized, then in Lysenko's *Prayer* the singing chantel is typical which is characteristic of the slow parts of spiritual concerts and cherubims. In particular, parallels arise with the famous Cherub No. 7 of D. Bortniansky. Stylistic sources also form a figurative worldview of the work. If these hymns are an allegory of strength and power, then M. Lysenko's work is an allegory of faith, hope and love, the most religious of all feelings.

Another socio-historical context is related to the activities of the composers-priests of the "Przemysl school" – Mykhailo Verbitsky and Ivan Lavrivsky, and their successors – Viktor Matyuk, Isidor Vorobkevych, and Osyp Kyshakevych. The creativity of these composers continued the tradition of spiritual music in a new situation and produced a rather unique sacred romantic musical culture at that time.

Halychyna composers of the 19th century, first of all, sought to preserve, continue and develop the traditions of Ukrainian choral singing. The center of this movement, from 1829, became the music school and choir at the Cathedral of Przemysl, founded and maintained at its own expense by Bishop I. Snihursky and his chaplain Y. Levitsky. It was in its walls

that the so-called “Talitsk-Przemysl” musical revival began, and the undoubted impetus was D. Bortniansky’s spiritual concerts performed by the chapel of Andrii Rozumovsky, which was heard in Vienna by the future bishop Ivan Snihorsky and he brought their notes to Przemysl. As V. Matyuk wrote, “Ukrainian youth carried the living word of divine music of Bortniansky even “under a poor peasant roof” (Matyuk, 1899, p. 2). D. Bortniansky’s name became a true artistic and spiritual ideal for activists of the Ukrainian revival in Halychyna, who encouraged the composer-priests to “... initial work on national awareness and detention of people in the Ukrainian nation” (Wozniak, 1924, p. 47).

Thus, the model of romantic spiritual creativity became the heritage of the composer, a representative of classicism, who came from the Dnieper Ukraine and belonged to the Orthodox rite, and lived almost all his life in St. Petersburg, the center of the Russian Empire, and became an integral part of the imperial community. This paradox can only be explained by the historical imperative of the ecclesiastical tradition in the Ukrainian artistic outlook, since it was stronger than all external circumstances, such as political situations, the subjective orientation and goals of the author, even the difference of religion. D. Bortniansky proved to be a model of national spiritual culture for Western Ukrainian musical culture, which perfectly met the needs of *the new era*.

However, it would be wrong to seek direct imitation of D. Bortniansky’s manner in the works of Western Ukrainian composers. Due to the ideological position of these authors, a special social function of art, they synthesize systems of expressive means of secular and spiritual creativity, which determines the specificity of the compositional technique and the accentuation of “worldly” lyrical subjective images in spiritual genres.

One of the central religious works of West Ukrainian music of the nineteenth century, The Liturgy of M. Verbitsky, can be compared with some expressiveness principles of D. Bortniansky’s concerts. Thus, an important factor of expressiveness in M. Verbitsky’s Liturgy, becomes the composition, in particular its peculiar “function variability”, that is, the deliberate alternation of a short chord statement of the Liedertafel type, a folk-mouthed tertiary and sextus second, contrasting and imitative polyphony, and also rhythmic imitation. The variety and variability of composition types is also used by the artist as one of the essential expressive means. On the example of the composition, we can speak about the sensitivity of M. Verbitsky to certain achievements of Bortniansky’s choral manner, as indicated by S. Ludkevych:

“... It is hard for us to imagine what our church music would be without Bortniansky. All that is more valuable and interesting in it are the works of more or less talented followers and epigones of Bortniansky, such as ... Verbitsky, Lavrivsky and others. All of them were fed almost exclusively by the juices of the music of “our Mozart”, as Bortniansky was called by his closest spirit and form M. Verbitsky” (Ludkevych, 1999, p. 225).

M. Verbitsky takes from Bortniansky, first of all, differentiation of the composition, admiration for spatial comparisons of soli, ensemble sounds and tutti (indicative is the part *Hallelujah*, in which the main thematic motif is performed several times in different timbre colors – initially with tenors in unison, with only male voices capturing each time the lower range down to the deepest profundo basses, then it is thrown into female voices, so that the unison of soprano is gradually supplemented by the whole mass of choral sound). From Bortniansky, Verbitsky probably also imitates a certain level of polyphonic technique, which denies the belief of some musicologists, in particular, the categorical statement of Kudrick in the following quote:

“The polyphonic elements in M. Verbitsky’s church music play a very modest role. Very often we find only a distinct rhythmic imitation, which means that the presented rhythmic

figure turns alternately to different voices without holding melodic contours. Correct rhythmic and melodic imitation is found only in two mixed choirs: *Mercy of the World* Es-dur and *Angel Cried* C-dur. We see fugato in the second conduct of the theme of the last work. These few examples of polyphony in church music by M. Verbitsky are undoubtedly a consequence of the composer's acquaintance with Bortniansky's choral work. Instead, the fact that M. Verbitsky did not maintain this direction beyond the examples presented is indicative of a lack of systematic science of counterpoint" (Kudrick, 1995, pp. 16–17).

However, the scientist does not take into account one very important circumstance: M. Verbitsky used polyphonic elements, but in the line in which it was accepted in his time – romantic music was never distinguished by the superiority of the polyphonic type of presentation, but rather tried to rethink its expressive function, to give polyphonic episodes of defined semantic direction. We see similar examples in M. Verbitsky's works. Polyphonic imitation is performed twice in the Liturgy, both times in the form of fugato, at the end – in the parts of *The Mercy of the World* and in the last one *Angel Cried*, instead, contrasting polyphony, interweaving of independent voices, with elements of inaccurate imitation are used more and more frequently; this technique is especially frequent in the final episodes of the parts (*Be fulfilled* and *Be the Name of the Lord*). Each time, it is used with the important expressive purpose – to emphasize the unity, harmony of earthly and heavenly, serves to affirm the leading idea.

The Conclusions. Thus, the historical and political prerequisites that emerged in the Ukrainian society of the nineteenth century in the Russian and Austrian empires, conditioned both the motivation of the composers to appeal to religious genres and themes, and the specificity of their individual interpretation of the musical language in these works. For M. Lysenko, the most important thing was to emphasize the national and patriotic orientation of spiritual works, as well as the reliance on folk-ritual sources and the conscious continuation of the centuries-old tradition of spiritual music. Instead, the post-Lysenko school, especially his students and followers, give such vivid examples of spiritual music as the liturgical opuses of Kyrylo Stetsenko, Mykola Leontovych, Oleksandr Koshyts and others. In them, the "sacral and secular" parity is already being revealed in a new worldview dimension, in accordance with new historical realities in the struggle for the consolidation of the Ukrainian idea.

In Western Ukrainian music and religious work, the Bortniansky tradition, and more broadly – the spiritual concert of the eighteenth century, played the role of a national standard up to the beginning of the twentieth century, when young generations (Stanislav Liudkevych, Vasyl Barvinskyi, Nestor Nyzhankivskyi, etc.) define the task of music in society in a new way, and thus rethink its artistic and expressive system. They do not abandon the numerous and varied allusions to biblical themes, the use of characteristic intonational appeals formed in spiritual genres, but give them a completely different, more modern figurative-aesthetic and stylistic interpretation, consistent with the historical changes in the life of Ukrainian society.

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**CYRILLIC AND LATIN ALPHABETS IN UKRAINIAN DISCOURSE
OF HALYCHYNA IN THE 30s OF THE XIXth – AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE XXth CENTURIES**

Abstract. The purpose of the research: to show the character, features, dynamics of the development of Ukrainian discourse on the choice of the Cyrillic or Latin alphabets as an alphabetical system for the formation of Ukrainian literary language in Halychyna in the 30-ies of the XIXth – early XXth centuries through the prism of unfolding its two main stages. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of scientific knowledge, objectivity, historicism and general scientific (analysis, synthesis, comparison) and special-historical methods (historical-genetic, periodization, historical-systemic, historical-typological). **The research novelty** consists in the systematic reconstruction of the unfolding of a public discourse on the choice of the alphabetical system of Cyrillic or Latin for the formation of Ukrainian literary language in Halychyna; substantiation of the periodization of this process, which is manifested in the personification and display of its essence, nature, tendencies,

features at two stages of development: the first, covering the 30-ies – 50-ies of the nineteenth century and consists of two phases separating the “Spring of the Peoples” in 1848 and the second, which dates to the 60-ies of the nineteenth – the beginning of the twentieth centuries when a substantive understanding of the phenomenon of “alphabet wars” began, which appeared in the emergence of a number of source and analytical studies, which greatly influenced the further study of this problem. **The Conclusions.** Thus, the social discourse in Halychyna in the 1830-ies – early XXth centuries according to the choice of an alphabet system – Cyrillic or Latin – for codification of the Ukrainian literary language is a distinctive phenomenon in the history of the culture of the Ukrainian people and the formation of its literary language. Each party had its own compelling arguments, so there was no perfect solution to the problem. The supporters of the Cyrillic alphabet argued that it was a symbol of Ukrainian identity, and its replacement with Latin would lead to a split in the Ukrainian movement, enhance its polonization, slow down the development of national culture, and not bring the Ukrainian literary language closer to European one. Latin adherents were correct in arguing that it more accurately conveyed the features of the Ukrainian vernacular in writing, and that Church Slavonicisms in Cyrillic prevented the formation of the Ukrainian literary language on a lively national basis. The alphabetical discourse became an important factor in the development of the Ukrainian national social movement and a marker of the ideological orientations of its participants.

Key words: Halychyna, “alphabet war”, public discourse, Cyrillic alphabet, Latin alphabet.

КИРИЛИЦЯ І ЛАТИНИЦЯ В УКРАЇНСЬКОМУ ДИСКУРСІ ГАЛИЧИНИ У 30-х рр. XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ.

Мета дослідження: показати характер, особливості, динаміку розвитку українського дискурсу щодо вибору кирилиці або латиниці як азбучної системи для формування української літературної мови в Галичині у 30-х рр. XIX – на початку XX ст. крізь призму розгортання його двох основних етапів. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах наукового пізнання, об’єктивності, історизму та методах загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, порівняння) і спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, періодизації, історико-системний, історико-типологічний). **Новизна дослідження** полягає у системній реконструкції розгортання суспільного дискурсу щодо вибору азбучної системи кирилиці або латиниці для формування української літературної мови в Галичині; обґрунтуванні періодизації цього процесу, що виявляється у персоніфікації та показі його суті, характеру, тенденцій, особливостей на двох етапах розвитку: першому, що охоплює 30 – 50-ті рр. XIX ст. і складається з двох фаз, які розділяє «Весна народів» 1848 р., та другого, який припадає на 60-ті рр. XIX – початок XX ст., коли розпочалося предметне осмислення феномену «азбучних війн», що виявилось у появі низки джерелознавчих й аналітичних студій, які значною мірою вплинули на подальше вивчення цієї проблеми. **Висновки.** Суспільний дискурс у Галичині в 30-х рр. XIX – на початку XX ст. щодо вибору азбучної системи кирилиці або латиниці для кодифікації української літературної мови становить самобутнє явище в історії культури українського народу та становленні його літературної мови. Кожна зі сторін, яка обстоювала свою позицію, мала переконливі аргументи, тож не було ідеального варіанту розв’язання проблеми. Прихильники кирилиці доводили, що вона є символом української ідентичності, а її заміна на латиницю призведе до розколу в українському русі, посилить його полонізацію, загальмує розвиток національної культури, не наблизить українську літературну мову до європейської. Прибічники латиниці мали рацію, коли стверджували, що вона точніше передає особливості української народної мови на письмі, а церковнослов’янізми кирилиці перешкоджають формуванню української літературної мови на живій народній основі. Азбучний дискурс став важливим чинником розвитку українського національного суспільного руху та маркером ідейних орієнтацій його учасників.

Ключові слова: Галичина, «азбучна війна», суспільний дискурс, кирилиця, латиниця.

The Problem Statement. The confrontation on linguistic issues accompanies the development of human civilization. It creates contradictions in the social, ethnic, intellectual environments of individual countries, affects relations with neighbouring peoples, and leaves

a deep mark on national memory, history, and literature. This telling example is the story of the three hundred years of confrontation between the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets in Ukraine. Its vivid episode became the so-called alphabet wars in the 30-ies – 50-ies of the nineteenth century in Halychyna. It is a phenomenal fact that the local phenomenon, at first glance, became a subject of discourse that encompassed a wide range of Ukrainian and European cultural figures and scholars of the XIXth – early XXth centuries.

We consider the “alphabet wars” as a socio-cultural movement of the enlightened Ukrainian circles of Halychyna and the confrontation between different ethnopolitical factors of the Habsburg monarchy caused by the efforts to introduce the Latin alphabet instead of Cyrillic into the Ukrainian writing. The participants in the Ukrainian public discourse on this issue were church activists, community activists, scholars, who advocated the preservation of the old or the introduction of new linguistic and cultural models. Its important component was the accumulation of sources and scientific studies on the language and alphabetical confrontation.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The historiography of the problem of confrontation in the line «Cyrillic – Latin alphabets” in Halychyna has more than a hundred and fifty years of tradition, interdisciplinary character (history, linguistics, etc.) and is represented by the work of modern Ukrainian (M. Barchuk, M. Vakulenko, S. Zabrovarnyi, M. Lesiuk, V. Moiseienko, I. Raikivskyi, N. Sovtys, F. Steblii, O. Sukhyi, Ye. Tymchenko, I. Chornovil), Polish (K. Dvornik, Ya. Kozik, D. Novatska, A. Sviatek), Russian (O. Miller, O. Ostapchuk, N. Pashaieva, L. Sofronova, L. Shchavynska), Austrian and German (A. Wendland, M. Moser), Canadian and American (P. R. Magocsi, K. Struve) researchers. Focusing on the vicissitudes of the “alphabet wars” of the 30-ies – 50-ies of the XIXth century, the scientists differently, often contradictory and fragmentary, reflect their course and overlook the continuation of this discourse in the 60-ies of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries.

The Purpose of the Research: to show the character, features, dynamics of the development of Ukrainian discourse on the choice of the Cyrillic or Latin alphabets as an alphabetical system for the formation of the Ukrainian literary language in Halychyna in the 30-ies of the XIXth – early XXth centuries through the prism of unfolding its two main stages.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Character, dynamics, tendencies of public discourse development on formation of the Ukrainian literary language on the basis of Cyrillic or Latin alphabets were determined by the socio-political development in Halychyna in the XIXth – at the beginning of the XXth centuries and appealing to the experience of other Slavic peoples, who encountered similar problems.

After three divisions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, Ukrainian Halychyna and the part of the Polish lands that were artificially integrated into the province – the crown region of the Kingdom of Halychyna and Lodomeria, were departed to Austria. With the formation of the dualistic Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1867, Halychyna gained a cultural autonomy, but the Poles had advantages in administering it. Under these conditions, the Russian-Ukrainian population of the region remained a denationalized ethnic mass for a long time: the nobility and the most educated Greek Catholic clergy were colonized; the parish clergy were not characterized by a high level of education and national consciousness; the peasantry self-identified on the basis of religion. This ethno-cultural situation created the ground for polonization and germanization in the linguistic sphere and led to the fact that the study of the original culture of the Ruthenians-Ukrainians of the region was initiated by foreigners, who represented it in their linguistic dimensions.

We distinguish two main stages in the development of the discourse on the line of confrontation “Cyrillic or Latin alphabets”. In the first one, covering two “alphabet wars” of 1833 – 1837 and 1858 – 1859, we distinguish two phases, the boundary between which of them became the “Spring of the Peoples” in 1848; the second stage – the 60-ies of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries – presented the first experience of understanding the essence and consequences of the “alphabet wars” in the source and scientific studies.

The prologue to the first “alphabet war” was two events. The first one related to the initiative of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Mykhailo Levytskyi of Halychyna to introduce the Russian (Ukrainian) language study in Eastern Halychyna. The officials and Roman Catholic clergy, who reformed public school in the region from 1815 to 1818, insisted on maintaining the Polish-language schooling and printing of Ukrainian educational literature in Latin. The situation was then resolved by the intervention of Emperor Franz I, who spoke on the side of the Halychynan Ruthenians (Siropolko, 2001, pp. 509–514).

The second event is related to the appearance in 1833 of the collection of Waclaw Zaleski from Olesko (in 1848 – 1849 he was the governor of Halychyna) “Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu galicyjskiego” (“Polish and Russian Songs of Halychynan People”), where Ukrainian works were printed in Polish. In his introduction, the author assured that soon all Slavic peoples would switch to Latin, because the Cyrillic alphabet is a sign of a lower “non-European” culture, which hinders its integration with the European one (Waclaw z Oleska, 1833). The book has resonated in Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Austrian cultural circles.

Some researchers believe that this event triggered the first “alphabet war” of 1833/1834 – 1837. More justified its beginning is associated with the appearance in 1834 on the pages of the literary weekly publication “Rozmaitości” the article “O wprowadzeniu abecadła polskiego do piśmiennictwa ruskiego” (“On the introduction of the Polish alphabet into Russian writing”) by the famous priest and philologist Yosyp Lozynskyi. He claimed that the Russian language was “unprocessed”, “illiterate”, “uneducated” and still not literary, because all the property was written in Church Slavonic. Inspired by the ideas of the Slovenian linguist Bartholomew Kopitar, Y. Lozynskyi argued that instead of the traditional but already “dead” Cyrillic alphabet, which does not correspond to the phonetic basis of the Russian language, the Polish “abecadło” (alphabet) should be introduced, the letters of which are “very capable” of transmitting “every Russian sound”, so they are more rational, better suited for reading and writing (Lozynskiy, 1834).

Justifying the core principle of “one sound – one letter”, Y. Lozynskyi argued that a complex and cumbersome system of letters and their names in the Cyrillic alphabet made their reading different and made it difficult to remember the sounds they indicated. And the alphabetical reform eliminates these shortcomings and brings the Russian language closer to European literature (Lozynskiy, 1834). Demonstrating the expediency of such changes, in 1835 Y. Lozynskyi published in Latin alphabet the folk collection “Ruskoje wesile” (“Russian wedding”) (Lozynskiy, 1835).

This performance produced the effect of a “time bomb” that detonated until the beginning of the twentieth century. The discourse was initiated by the three most resonant speeches of the opponents, reflecting the essence and the course of the first “alphabet war”, which unfolded in the form of a heated debate between representatives of the Russian spiritual state and secular intelligentsia.

The first public reaction was an article “Odpowiedź na zdanie o zaprowadzeniu abecadła polskiego do piśmiennictwa ruskiego” (“Response to the statement on the introduction of

the Polish alphabet into Russian literature”) by the priest and linguist Yosyf Levytskyi in the same weekly publication “Rozmaitości” (№ 52). As it turned out later, it was a plagiarism of D. Zubrytskyi’s handwriting, but then, in 1834, it became the first deployed platform for supporters of the Cyrillic alphabet. Its main arguments were as follows: Cyrillic was created especially for the Eastern Slavs, had a long tradition of use. The Cyrillic letters are not spelled by their names, so it is able to adequately reflect the letter of sound of the Ukrainian language, while the Poles borrowed Latin and were forced to add dialectical characters to their alphabet, so the sounds [ʃ], [ʃ̨], [ʃ̨], [x] in the Polish language are indicated by several letters and in Ukrainian – by one. The introduction of the principle of “one sound – one letter” will lead to the emergence of new homonyms, and the use of additional characters will only complicate the spelling (Text and commentary are contained: Vozniak, 1925; 1929).

In the context of the development of the Ukrainian national revival, arguments of ethno-cultural character were important. The Cyrillic alphabet became a symbol of the national identity of the Halychynan Rusyns, so the conversion to Latin “will not be understood by descendants”, will cause a split in the Ukrainian movement, will lead to increased polonization, and will harm the development of Ukrainian culture. It is unclear at what expense the Russian books will be reprinted in case of conversion to Latin, because earlier its use by Uniates for the printing of liturgical books was conditioned by the lack of costly Cyrillic fonts. It was argued that the promotion of Ukrainian literature should not be facilitated by the change of the alphabet, but by the creation of outstanding works that would be interesting for translations in other languages (Vozniak, 1925; 1929).

A significant social resonance and influence on the subsequent discourse was made by the Polish-language brochure “Alphabet and Abecadło” by Markiyian Shashkevych, who, being a student of the seminary, showed a broad outlook and a deep knowledge of the problem. Recognizing the “good intentions” of Y. Lozynskyi and affirming the active development of folk literature in the Slavic peoples, M. Shashkevych emphasized the essence and meaning of the annexation of the Russian literature to European literatures. If it was the introduction of other people’s references and ways, then literary language would not reflect the way of thinking, soul and life of the people. If one joined in order for a European to be able to better read Slavic works, then what kind of European literature should be guided, since there were as many peoples, as many individual literatures (Shashkevych, 1836).

Having shown the variance in the graphic correspondences in Cyrillic letters of ж, с, ш, у, ы (zh, s, sh, ts, ch) which exists in the Slavic languages, M. Shashkevych argued that the adoption of the alphabetic system of one of them would not solve the problem, because then the spelling would not be understood by the other Slavic peoples and they would have a distorted vision of the Russian language, and the Slavic unity would not benefit from this. He believed that the alphabet was not the primary literary language, but should clearly reflect it. Therefore, it is worthwhile to focus on the living vernacular and solve this case based on its properties, features and laws of development. Refuting the advantages of the Abecadło over the Cyrillic alphabet, M. Shashkevych put forward his famous principle of “write as you hear, read as you see” (Shashkevych, 1836), which he later realized in the famous “Rusalka Dniistrova” (Dniester Mermaid), published by the so-called “hrazhdanka” (reformed Cyrillic).

Y. Lozynskyi gave sharp responses to the speeches of Y. Levytskyi and M. Shashkevych, but they were not published then because of censorship; so, in order not to violate the logic of the course of discourse, we will recall this episode later.

Thus, the first “alphabet war” of 1833/34 – 1837 defined the essence and format of discourse in the “Cyrillic or Latin” dilemma as an important component of the ethnocultural

development of Ukrainian Halychyna and actualized the need for its solution. It identified a situation where, despite the perception of the Russian intellectual elite of Cyrillic as a symbol of national identity, a matured understanding of the need for its perfection to codify the Ukrainian literary language. The next decade was accompanied by public and private discussions on ways, principles of creating a new, closer to the national language, “Halychyman-Russian” alphabet, introduction of “hrazhdanka”, the need to approach different Slavic languages, etc.

Another aggravation and politicization of the Ukrainian discourse on this problem (the second phase of the first stage) was caused by the “Spring of the Peoples” in 1848. It accelerated the political and cultural self-organization of Halychynan Ukrainians, which appeared in the emergence of the first national political organization, the Main Russian Council, the Ukrainian newspaper “Zoria Halytska”, the Department of Russian Literature at Lviv University, in holding a congress of Russian scholars, etc.

The actualization of the issue of national self-identification of Halychynan Rusyns led to the transformation of discourse into a Cyrillic or Latin dilemma. Previously, it was primarily linguistic in nature. The proponents of different positions understood the importance of the Cyrillic alphabet as a symbol of “Russianness”, so with good intentions they sought practical ways to solve it in order to enhance the status of the Russian language and its use in various spheres of public life. From now on, apart from the linguistic aspect, this issue is becoming a factor of exacerbation of interethnic and internal political confrontation and a kind of marker of its participants’ division.

The confrontation between Cyrillic and Latin in Halychyna’s public discourse at that time became a form of conscious confrontation between the Ukrainian and Polish national attributes. This is proved by the analysis of propaganda texts, proclamations, poems, spread during the “Spring of the Peoples”, which testify that the alphabet became a symbolic symbol of different models of the language and types of a literary standard. Admittedly, it was Latin that fixed the vernacular closer to a live spoken language, and the Cyrillic alphabet – Church Slavonic, related to cultural and church tradition.

Indicative in this sense was “Dnewnik ruski” (“A Russian Journal”) – the body of formed in 1848 Polonophilic organization “Cathedral Ruthenian”, which was published by a former member of the “Russian Trinity” Ivan Vahylevych. Its Latin publication was intended to demonstrate the pro-Polish cultural and civilizational orientation of the Halychynan Ruthenians.

The herald of the second “alphabet war” was the appearance in 1858 of a Ukrainian-language collection with the eloquent title “Nowyi poezyi małoruskii t. j. pisny, dumy, dumki, chory, tanci, ballady etc. w czystom jazyci Czerwono-Rusyniw, wedla žytia zwyczaiw ich i obyczaiw narodnych” (“New Little Russians poetry, songs, thoughts, choirs, dances, ballads, other in pure Russian language, in accordance with the customs of the people”), which was published in Latin by the Polish folklorist L. Węgliński (*O neudobnosti*, 1859; Franko, 1986).

Its criticism was made by historian B. Didytskyi, who in the article “New Poetry of the Little Russian in Pure Language of Red-Rusyns” (“Collection” of supplement to the magazine “Vestnik”, Vienna, 1858), emphasizing the low artistic and grammatical level of the collection, proved unfit Latin usage in Russian. Public interest in it quickly faded, because at the beginning of 1859 his thorough work “On the inconvenience of the Latin alphabet in the Russian writing – the reasoning of Bohdan A.D.” appeared. In it, the broad erudition intersected with the author’s ideological commitment. Through the prism of historical ex-

cursorion and comparison with the alphabets of other peoples, he proved the advantages of the Cyrillic alphabet, which most closely matched the spirit of the Russian language. Based on the analysis of two dozen European languages that were built in Latin, the author of the work B. Didytskyi argued that because of significant differences, none of them was suitable for the Russian literary language, which could be reformed only on the main ancient monuments of the 10th – 11th centuries. The only expedient principle of spelling, he considered etymological spelling (O neudobnosti, 1859).

At this time, the linguistic and alphabetical issue went beyond the Ukrainian intellectual circles. The ambiguous reaction among the parish clergy, which had a significant impact on the peasantry, was caused by a letter issued by the government of Vienna to Bishop Spyrydon Lytvynovych, which called for avoiding the use the so-called dialect (“paganism” – an artificial mixture of Church Slavonic and vernacular. Auth.) in sermons and spreading it among believers. Among the parish priests there were many Muscophiles, who began to attack the “ancient traditions” of the use of Church Slavonic in various spheres of life (Korespondent-siia, 1905, pp. 420–424).

Taking advantage of the lively public debate, the Halychynan alderman Agenor Golu-chowski decided to legislate his old intentions to introduce the Polish alphabet into the Russian written language and addressed the initiative to the Ministry of Education and Cults in Vienna. Officials supported it and, considering various options for its solution, settled on the project of the Czech Ministry secretary Joseph Grecek. It was published in May 1859 in the brochure “Über der Vorschlag das Ruthenische mit lateinischen Schriftzeichen zu schreiben” (“On a proposal to write in Russian with Latin letters”). The author had a deep understanding of the alphabet problem in the languages of the Slavic peoples and a sincere desire to solve it in relation to the Russian language. He argued that the creation of a secular literary language based on Ancient Slavs prevented the use of a lively vernacular for that reason, causing them to be mixed. Therefore, even writers trying to write in the vernacular were forced to use the Church Slavonic forms. The exit from the situation was seen in the “adaptation” to the Russian language of the Cyrillic alphabet or the Czech alphabet (Simovych, 2005, pp. 45–67).

Such a “Czech version” did not suit A. Golukhovskiy, who tried to stop russification and strengthen the polonization of the Rusyns of Halychyna. He sent to the Ministry proposals of the Ukrainian school inspector Ye. Cherkavskiy, concluded according to the activity examination results of the head of the department of Russian language and Russian literature of Lviv University Ya. Holovatskiy, who was accused of Muscophilia. He was suggested being dismissed from the post and, in order to prevent russification, introduce the Latin alphabet into the Russian language and a bilingual education in lower grammar schools (Franko, 1986, pp. 624–625).

To resolve this issue, a representative commission of 13 persons was set up, which met in June 1859 in the Halychynan governorate in Lviv. After a heated debate, the immediate introduction of the Latin alphabet was voted by J. Jireček and Ye. Cherkavskiy, while its gradual introduction was led by four government representatives and school inspectors. But most members of the commission, represented by Russian priests and public figures, including Y. Lozynskiy, argued for the preservation of the Cyrillic alphabet (Simovych, 2005).

Contrary to this decision, A. Golukhovskiy submitted to the Ministry of Education a project to introduce a Polish alphabet for publishing Russian textbooks and newspapers. However, following the commission’s decision, the Government of Vienna issued a decree on 25 July 1859, according to which Ukrainian books were still to be printed in Cyrillic; Polish

works in school textbooks – in Latin, and the use of “hrazhdanka” was banned (Simovych, 2005; Franko, 1986).

This event can be considered the end of the second “alphabet war”, which introduced new features in the development of discourse on this issue. It went beyond the professional discussions of representatives of the Halychynan-Russian clergy, who, despite different views, wanted to give the Ukrainian literary proper status and bring it closer to both the vernacular and European literatures. Linguistic and alphabetical contradictions became one of the factors of the split in the Ukrainian national movement and a sign of belonging to its different currents: Ukrainophilic (Narodovetska), Muscophilic, Polonophilic, etc.

At the second stage of discourse development in the 1960-ies – at the beginning of the 20th century, in the first place was the problem of understanding the phenomenon of “alphabet wars”, which appeared in the emergence of a number of source and analytical studies, which greatly influenced the further study of this problem.

The work of O. Makovei “From the history of our philology. Three Halychynan grammars” became significant. Following the evolution of the linguistic and alphabetical issue of the Halychynan Ruthenians since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the author thoroughly reconstructed the course of the first “alphabet war”. In the appendices he published the first article by Y. Lozynskyi, which in 1834 initiated the alphabetical controversy (Makovei, 1903, pp. 77–81) and introduced into the circulation of his unpublished manuscripts the above-mentioned “Response to the review of Mr. Markiyan Shashkevych” (Makovei, 1903, p. 81–83) and “The joint response of Y. Lozynskyi to Y. Levyskyi and M. Shashkevych” (Makovei, 1903, pp. 84–86), as well as two little-known works of 1936 and 1844 on the introduction of the abecadlo into the Russian writing.

The accumulation of source materials was accompanied by discussions about their identification and an in-depth study of various aspects of the “alphabet wars”. Thus, the article “O zaprowadzeniu Abecadła polskiego zamiast kirylicy do ruskiej pisowni” (“About the introduction of the Polish alphabet instead of the Cyrillic alphabet into the Russian writing”), which was invented by the academician V. Shchurat, was dated December 1934, and was attributed to M. Kmytskyevych by the pseudonym (Shchurat, 1908). However, having analyzed its contents (frankly Ukrainian-phobic) and other external features, M. Vozniak proved that it belonged to the pen of D. Zubrytskyi, in particular it was the beginning of his article “Apologia Ciryliki czyli azbuki ruskiej” (“Apology of the Cyrillic or Russian alphabet”) (Vozniak, 1925).

Looking ahead, we note that in the 20-ies of the twentieth century, M. Vozniak, thoroughly analyzing this work, showed the disparaging attitude of D. Zubrytskyi to the Halychynan national language, which he called “Slavic-Polish”, “Polish-Russian”, and argued that it could not become the basis for the Russian literary language. At the same time, M. Vozniak proved that the materials of this article were frankly rewritten by Y. Levyskyi and published in the prescribed article in 1834 “Response to the statement on the introduction of the Polish alphabet into Russian literature” (Vozniak, 1925; Vozniak, 1929).

On the eve of World War I, the alphabetical dilemma “Cyrillic or Latin” intertwined with the problem of spelling (phonetic or etymological) into a tangle of contradictions that emerged in numerous manifestations when discussing various issues of a national political and cultural life.

This phenomenon was revealed in the analytical and polemical exploration of V. Shchurat, who, finding out the genesis of the Cyrillic alphabet, varieties of Ukrainian Latin and “hrazh-

danka”, compared them with the peculiarities of these components of literary languages of different Slavic peoples. The author showed that their complicated transformation in Halychyna led to the formation of a “new kind” of Ukrainian “hrazhdanka”, recognized by the Government of Vienna. Despite the oppression of the Russian tsar, it was “accepted” in the Dnieper Ukraine and became a manifestation of the ethno-cultural unity torn apart by the state borders of Ukraine (Shchurat, 1916).

The most notable achievement of this stage of discourse, which most influenced its subsequent course, was the “canonized” by the scientists of Franko’s work “The Alphabet War in Halychyna in 1859” (1913), which remains the most cited in the studies to this day. It is characterized by a thorough knowledge of the sources and an understanding of the literary languages formation peculiarities of the Slavic peoples, the experience of using them in Latin alphabet, etc. This was reflected in a comparative analysis of the retrospectives of their development and a synthesized analysis of the course of the “alphabet wars” in Halychyna (Franko, 1986). However, it is difficult to explain why the author unexpectedly interrupted the presentation of the material in describing the sharp confrontation surrounding the Latinization of the Ukrainian writing.

A separate page in linguistic-alphabet discourse is the fundamental work of the well-known scientist and public figure Kyrylo Studynsky, who, on the basis of source materials, private letters and official documents, showed the prerequisites and systematically reconstructed the course of the first and second “alphabet wars” against the backdrop of national revival process of Halychynan Ukrainians in the 30-ies – early 60-ies of the nineteenth century. In addition to two volumes of fundamental work, “Correspondence of Yakiv Holovatskyi...” (Korespondentsiia, 1905; Korespondentsiia, 1909), important studies of this problem are presented in his studios “Polish Conspiracies among Russian Citizens and the Clergy in Halychyna in 1831 – 46” (1907), “Lviv Theological Seminary in the Times of Markiyan Shashkevych (1829 – 1843)” (1916) and the others. In the spirit of the classical scheme of positivist historiography (a fact-event in chronology, their interrelation, generalization, evaluation), K. Studynsky proposed the first fairly clear and complete matrix of “alphabet vicissitudes” with their main actors, focusing on the figures of the “Russian trinity”. It is clear from this that this achievement has been substantially researched and used by I. Franko in the aforementioned work “The Alphabet War in Halychyna in 1859”, which became more popular due to its accessibility (Franko, 1986).

The Conclusions. Thus, the social discourse in Halychyna in the 1830-ies – early XXth centuries according the choice of an alphabet system – Cyrillic or Latin – for codification of the Ukrainian literary language is a distinctive phenomenon in the history of the culture of the Ukrainian people and the formation of its literary language. Each party had its own compelling arguments, so there was no perfect solution to the problem. The supporters of the Cyrillic alphabet argued that it was a symbol of Ukrainian identity, and its replacement with Latin would lead to a split in the Ukrainian movement, enhance its polonization, slow down the development of national culture, and not bring the Ukrainian literary language closer to European one. Latin adherents were correct in arguing that it more accurately conveyed the features of the Ukrainian vernacular in writing, and that Church Slavonicisms in Cyrillic prevented the formation of the Ukrainian literary language on a lively national basis. The alphabetical discourse became an important factor in the development of the Ukrainian national social movement and a marker of the ideological orientations of its participants.

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**UKRAINIAN MANORIAL ESTATES CULTURE
IN THE RESEARCHES AT THE END OF THE XIXth
AND THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES**

Abstract. *The aim of the article is to analyze a situation in studies of the problem of the formation and development of the manorial estates on Ukrainian lands as a cultural and historical phenomenon at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries. The research methodology is based on the general scientific and special historical methods. In particular, the basic principles as historicism, objectivity, comprehensiveness, continuity, general methods of the historical research as historical, problem-chronological, comparative, retrospective, etc., and special methods of historiographical research, e.g. historiographical analysis and synthesis have been used. The research novelty consists in the fact that the historiographical analysis of the pre-revolutionary studies of the estate culture of Ukraine has been carried out from the modern positions. The publications on the problem of the culture of manorial estates on Ukrainian lands have been analyzed. They have not yet been the subject of the historiographical research. The periodization of the study of the manorial estates culture in Ukraine is proposed in the article. The Conclusions.* *The Ukrainian manorial estate culture study began in the second half of the XIXth century. The first studies were fragmentary and descriptive. However, at the beginning of the XXth century the manorial estates were explored as a cultural phenomenon. The regional manorial estates heritage consideration of that time, especially from Slobozhanshchyna, became an actual trend. The works of art critics, economists and historians aroused the interest in the manorial estates as cultural centers in the Ukrainian lands. We can emphasize that the publications, which are devoted to the formation and evolution of the individual manorial estates complexes, predominated during that period. Sometimes they contained disjointed historical and biographical information about the inhabitants of the manorial estates or the nostalgic memoirs of staying there. Large palatial and park complexes, which are mostly located close to the two capitals of the Russian Empire, attracted the researchers. But a lot of provincial manorial estates which, particularly, are located in the Ukrainian lands were almost not considered.*

The studies on the early publications on the manorial estates culture of Ukraine make possible to divide the historiography into three major periods: pre-revolutionary, Soviet and modern. The pre-revolutionary researches provided the background for the national research traditions and schools,

which study this issue comprehensively. Therefore, our further task is to analyze in details the domestic publications, dedicated to the manorial estates of Ukraine from the Soviet period till modern one.

Key words: manorial estate, manor, the culture of manorial estates of Ukraine, studies, historiography.

МАЄТКОВА КУЛЬТУРА УКРАЇНИ У ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯХ КІНЦЯ XIX – ПОЧАТКУ XX СТ.

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у аналізі стану досліджень кінця XIX – початку XX ст., що розглядали проблеми становлення та розвитку маєтків на українських землях як культурно-історичного феномену. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на загальнонаукових і спеціальних історичних методах. Зокрема, використані такі базові принципи: історизму, об'єктивності, всебічності, наступності, а також загальні історичні методи: історичний, проблемно-хронологічний, порівняльний, ретроспективний тощо, та спеціальні методи історіографічного пізнання – зокрема, історіографічного аналізу та синтезу. **Наукова новизна** полягає в тому, що у статті вперше з сучасних позицій здійснено історіографічний аналіз дореволюційних досліджень маєткової культури України. Розглянуто наукові праці з проблеми української маєткової культури, які ще не були предметом історіографічного осмислення. Запропоновано періодизацію вивчення маєткової культури України. **Висновки.** Вивчення маєткової культури України розпочалося у другій половині XIX ст. Перші дослідження були фрагментарними й мали описовий характер. Проте вже на початку XX ст. маєтки досліджуються як культурний феномен. Саме тоді стає помітною тенденція вивчення й актуалізації регіональної маєткової спадщини, особливо Слобожанщини. Завдяки працям мистецтвознавців, істориків та економістів пробуджується інтерес до культурно-мистецького світу маєтків на українських землях. Слід відзначити, що у той період переважали публікації, присвячені становленню та еволюції окремих маєткових комплексів. Іноді вони містили уривчасті історико-біографічні відомості щодо мешканців маєтків, іноді ностальгічні спогади та враження від перебування там. Увагу дослідників переважно привертала великі палацово-паркові комплекси, насамперед близькі до обох столиць Російської імперії. Значно більша кількість провінційних маєтків, зокрема на українських землях, майже не розглядалися. Дослідження з маєткової культури України початкового періоду, роблять можливим створення періодизації цієї проблеми, зокрема виділення трьох основних періодів: дореволюційного, радянського та сучасного. Дореволюційні дослідження стали основою формування вітчизняної дослідницької традиції і напрямів, що всебічно вивчають цю проблему. Тому подальшим завданням дослідження має стати глибокий аналіз вітчизняних праць з проблем маєткової культури радянського та сучасного періодів.

Ключові слова: маєток, садиба, маєткова культура України, дослідження, історіографія.

The Problem Statement. The manorial estates study on Ukrainian lands occupies a special place in the historical and the local lore studies, since the manorial estates have been cultural, economic, educational and educational centers for a long period. According to many researchers, the manorial estates of the XVIIIth – the early XXth centuries became a phenomenon that influenced not only their inhabitants, but also the culture of that period. The manors become a symbol of a national culture in art, literature, music, home education. Most prominent figures of the XVIIIth – the early XXth centuries, who represented the cultural and historical development across the Ukrainian lands were brought up in estates. The revived childhood memories concerning the manorial estates, where the prominent figure grew up and later got older, are the vivid example of the above-mentioned phenomenon. Unfortunately, despite the fact that there are diverse works on socio-economic and economic relations in the Russian Empire, including in the Ukrainian lands, the estate culture historiography has not been the subject of a special study yet.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Nowadays, there is no complete work or article on the Ukrainian manorial estate culture historiography. Some of its

fragments can be found in the articles and theses on the manors regional history. The works among them are, in particular, S. I. Shcherbak's articles on the theatrical art of Kharkiv estates and O. A. Lobko's thesis on the Right Bank manors (Scherbak, 2016; Lobko, 2008). Sometimes, these fragments are represented by simple researchers' names enumeration of the XXth century. Hence, there is no separate study concerning the Ukrainian manorial estate culture status in the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, which are recorded in the national historiography.

The Purpose of the Article is to analyze the state of the research of the end of the XIXth – the early XXth centuries, which considered the manorial estates formation and development issues on Ukrainian lands as a cultural and historical phenomenon.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The study on the manorial estates culture began at the end of the XIXth and in the XXth centuries by the researchers and was associated with the revitalization of both the Russian Empire culture period historical studies and the emergence of art critics' and historians' interest in the manorial estates study. By the second half of the XIXth century there dominated the architectural direction literature regarding the manorial estate culture in general. The tracts on the manorial estates architecture were known since the XVIIth century and were considered in terms of its expediency and functionality. The tracts included the estate planning examples, some recommendations concerning their placement and location. The authors of these tracts were the Poles, who gradually created the classic Polish estate image, establishing its importance in architecture (Kozhar, 2018, pp. 7, 8).

The nobility establishment and activity issues, including their estates, were briefly presented in the works of the following researches O. M. Lazarevskiy (Lazarevskij, 1896), D. P. Miller (Miller, 1897), V. L. Modzalevskiy (Lukomskij & Modzalevskij, 1914), I. F. Pavlovskiy (Pavlovskij, 1906). But the preconditions for considering the manorial estates as a cultural phenomenon were initiated in the study of the outstanding architect and art critic G. K. Lukomskiy (Lukomskij, 1916). The issues concerning the manorial estate culture development and preservation were considered in his works.

In G. K. Lukomskiy's works we can come across the tendency of changing the methodological approach to the manorial estates description, when they explored not some individual buildings, but in general the whole estates complex, which included not only the ensemble of buildings and parks, but also some information about the owners. Owing to his works, the concept of "estate" is included in the scientific circulation.

In 1917 G. K. Lukomskiy's work was devoted to Kharkiv huberniya manorial estates and a noble family life (Lukomskij, 2005). The researcher described Bohodukhivskiy povit, Valkivskiy povit, Vovchanskij povit, Okhtyrskij povit, Sumy povit and Kharkiv povit manorial estates. The detailed description of the interior decoration and architectural forms of these estates formed the material uniqueness, and the information on their founding and owners was successfully supplemented by data on the degree of their preservation at the beginning of the XXth century. In addition, the work contained photographs that reflected the property itself and the interior elements. The G. K. Lukomskiy's preface to the work included the historical sketch on Slobozhanshchyna estates, which was written by Count M. V. Kleinmichel, who sponsored its publication.

The scientific interest in the estate architecture emerged from the second half of the XIXth century. The studies of this period are aimed at exploring the individual estates. Thus, G. K. Lukomskiy had many works devoted to the individual estates. He explored Lutsk Castle, the architectural and historical monument of the national importance. He briefly

described the history of its creation, functions, the construction features, the architectural elements. The work contained unique photographs (Lukomskij, 1917). He also published the work, dedicated to Vyshnevetskyi castle history and description, which is located in Ternopil region (Lukomskij, 1912).

It is possible to enumerate numerous works on the Russian manorial estates, which generally characterize the noble families and gentry estates, which was also characteristic of the Ukrainian estates. Among such works is the study, written by Baron M. M. Wrangel (Vrangel', 1999). He regularly contributed to the articles and the messages in the "Stari Roky" (The Old Years) Magazine, which is credited with having a major role in promoting the estate culture.

The following magazines the "Stari Roky" (The Old Years) (1907 – 1916) and the "Stolytsia I Sadyba" (The Capital I and the Manor) (1913 – 1917) drew attention to the problems of preserving estates and their artistic value. In 1910, a special issue of the magazine "Stari Roky" (The Old Years) – the "Stari Sadyby (The Old Manors). The essays on Russian Art and Life" was published. The special issue contained descriptions of already destroyed houses, park ensembles, art and household items. There were many authors of the articles on estates in the above-mentioned journal, for example, I. E. Bondarenko, P. P. Weiner, I. E. Hrabar, G. K. Lukomskiy, S. K. Makovskiy, O. O. Trubnikov, and the others (Lur'e, 2007). The interest in publishing facts concerning the estates grew so much that the readers even sent their own researches on the manorial estates and some readers have been able to publish their findings as articles (Minkina, 2007, p. 138, 139). The "Stolytsia I Sadyba" (The Capital I and the Manor) magazine also published the articles and photographs on the architecture, the interiors and art collections of the ancient estates.

Such journals functioning made it possible to identify, to register and to systematize a large number of the estates, to conduct a thorough art analysis, but there was no comprehensive assessment of the estates culture. The contributors to these journals mainly drew attention to PidMoskovye (the area near Moscow) palace-park complexes, while the provincial estates, in general, and in Ukrainian lands, were hardly considered. The main reason for this was, first and foremost, the lack of the factual material, since small provincial estates did not leave the information for the contemporaries by themselves, and the wealthy ancestral archives were sometimes destroyed by the estates transfer to other owners.

The information about the owners of the estates, the social status in the society, their real estate (movable) and immovable property were also published in the historical journal "Kyivska Staryna" (The Kyiv Antiques). Thus, A. Lazarevskiy's works were published on its pages, in particular, a series of works on the ancient Ukrainian families: Borozhnyh, Rakovych, Obolonskyh, Manuilovych and their estates. Despite the fact that the author focuses more on these families history, a brief information about their estates can also be found (Lazarevskij, 1887).

In the XIXth century a series of economic and statistical studies appeared on the individual farms in the Russian Empire, including on the Ukrainian lands. Some information about the estate was provided by the economist T. I. Osadchyi, who lived with his wife, the historian O. Lazarevskiy's daughter, in Hyryavka, Konotop povit (district), in Lazarevskiy's family estate (Osadchij, 1899). There were numerous economists, who considered, to some extent, the estates' problems and the landlord economy in general, in particular V. A. Kosinskyi (Kosinskij, 1906) and V. F. Levytskyi (Levitskij, 1907). Moreover, there are many statistical studies on the estates development in the Ukrainian lands at the end of the

XIXth century, some of which can be considered as the separate studies on the estates and family history. Hence, V. Holovnia wrote the work “Smela” with the Bobrynskyi counts’ assistance (Golovnya, V., 1913). In addition to the statistical tables, the work analyzes all areas of the graphs activity and their administration, uses the estates reports, the factories and the head office, the archival and private materials.

Certain aspects of the Russian Empire estate culture consideration can be found in the classics historical science writings of the XIXth century, in particular in the works, written by S. M. Solovyov, V. O. Klyuchevskiy, M. I. Kostomarov. The historian, D. I. Bahaliy paid attention to the Ukrainian estate culture among the others. The renowned Slobozhanshchyna historian made a significant contribution to the study of Kharkiv hybernia estates history. In the following essays: “The Outlines of the Russian History” (Bagalej, 1911 – 1913) and “Slobidska Ukraine History” (Bahaliy, 1918), he discussed the first settlements establishment issue, the Cossack elders life, the formation and land ownership of the “Slobidsko-Ukrainian” nobility in detail., D. I. Bagaliy analyzed the life of three Kharkiv colonels of the first quarter of the XVIIIth century: Fedor Donts, F. V. Shydlovskiy, L. I. Shydlovskiy in his work dedicated to Kharkiv city history (Bagalej & Miller, 1905, pp. 491, 492). He used the Shidlovsky family archival materials and documents collections, as the the Old Merchyk, the famous and oldest estate was the family’s property. Apart from the icons, the paintings, the carpets, the crews, the fabrics supplies and the other household items, the researcher’s attention was attracted by the available amount of money and the factory property. Men’s and women’s clothing, shoes, ornaments were considered separately (Bagalej & Miller, 1905, pp. 500–503). D. I. Bagaliy points out that even then, despite the Ukrainian basis of the estate culture, some foreign influences could be spotted, which were reflected in the domestic sphere, including the Russian ones (Bagalej & Miller, 1905, p. 504). In his writings there is no clear Slobozhanshchyna description and individual estates analysis, but his works became the basis for further estates culture in-depth studies, which were conducted by the modern researchers.

Owing to D. I. Bagaliy’s editorship and support, O. Ya. Efymenko’s work, the Ukrainian historian and ethnographer, the first woman in the Russian Empire to hold Doctor’s degree in History, was published (Efymenko, 1922). O. Ya. Yefymenko is the author of an article on Slobozhanshchyna estates interior design (Efymenko, 1887). The basis of her research is an archival case concerning the Okhtyr colonels Ivan and Danylo Perekhrestov’s property confiscation, the purpose of her research is to study the life and attire of the Ukrainians in the Slobozhanshchyna region at the beginning of the XVIIIth century. It is very peculiar to explain the choice of the research concerning the wealthy colonels’ estates interior decoration. According to O. Ya. Yefymenko, all the lower classes in the society strive for the rich man’s estate as it is an ideal, a role model. Moreover, the difference between a wealthy man and a middle-class man at that time was only quantitative but not qualitative. The use of the archives made it possible to analyze things purchased by the colonels for money but not made in the household. As a certain amount of furniture and clothing were made out of home fabrics directly in the estate, so they were not taken into account in the description (Efymenko, 1887, p. 171). The article describes in detail men’s and women’s clothing, women’s jewelry, weapons are described as the decoration of men’s clothing, and the furniture in the colonel’s estate is enumerated. Moreover, the author depicts the rooms decoration, where there were many personal and household things, including the paintings, the watches, the icons, the dishes, the travel items and more. However, it should be noted that O. Yefymenko actually

presents not only the list of things and property of the colonels, but also tries to understand the psychology of the people of that time, whose lives were spent in the estates. She turns to the analysis of the whole estate culture. So, in her opinion, the wealthy people of that time preferred not to buy things, but to organize their production directly in their own estates. If something was purchased for the vital needs, such as the fabrics or the utensils, the purchased amount was about to meet not only for their own needs but also their grandchildren requirements. The money for the wealthy people had a variable value, served only as the barter, they were estimated as well as the purchased things, which also made the list of the property and showed the estate's owner wealth (Efimenko, 1887, p. 179, 180).

The researcher, V. S. Ikonnikov studied the manorial estate libraries, the book collections and the private archives. He mentioned D. M. Holitsyn, owner of the Moscow estate, and his collection – the library and museum (Ikonnikov, 1892, p. 1080), as well as Count Razumovsky's library fate (Ikonnikov, 1892, p. 1097). He analyzed Knyaziv (Princes) of Repnin's collection of books and documents, their origin and composition in the Yagotin estate in Poltava region, highlighting its importance by the fact that it had a separate room. Ikonnikov drew attention to other collections, which were kept in the Yagotin estate, including the books and the ancient documents, the art and engravings works (Ikonnikov, 1892, p. 1110). The researcher managed not only to describe and present the estate library and archival collections creation history, but also to carry out their meaningful assessment. However, the vast majority of the collections cited in V. S. Ikonnikov's works belonged to the Russian nobles and the government officials, who kept them in the estates which scattered throughout the Russian Empire.

The Conclusions. The Ukrainian manorial estate culture study began in the second half of the XIXth century. The first studies were fragmentary and descriptive. However, at the beginning of the XXth century the manorial estates were explored as a cultural phenomenon. The regional manorial estates heritage consideration of that time, especially from Slobozhanshchyna, became an actual trend. The works of art critics, economists and historians aroused an interest in the manorial estates as cultural centers in the Ukrainian lands. We can emphasize that the publications, which are devoted to the formation and evolution of the individual manorial estates complexes, predominated during that period. Sometimes they contained disjointed historical and biographical information about the inhabitants of the manorial estates or the nostalgic memoirs of staying there. Large palatial and park complexes, which were mostly located close to the two capitals of the Russian Empire, attracted the researchers. But a lot of provincial manorial estates which, particularly, were located in the Ukrainian lands were almost not considered.

The studies on the early publications on the manorial estates culture of Ukraine make possible to divide the historiography into three major periods: pre-revolutionary, Soviet and modern. The pre-revolutionary researches provided background for the national research traditions and schools, which study this issue comprehensively. Therefore, our further task is to analyze in details the domestic publications, dedicated to the Ukrainian manorial estates of the Soviet and modern periods.

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**LUTSK CITY SPACE EVOLUTION UNDER MODERNIZATION
CONDITIONS (THE END OF THE XIXth – THE BEGINNING
OF THE XXth CENTURY)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze Lutsk city space evolution at the turn of the XIXth and XXth centuries by analyzing the network of educational institutions' development in the city and the city territory arrangement. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, the author's objectivity and the use of the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-typological, historical-systemic) methods. The criticism and classification methods were applied at the archival materials processing stage. The scientific novelty is that for the first time on the basis of the archival materials Lutsk povit development has been illustrated, its territory expansion, the urbanization improvement and the urban population increase have been depicted at the turn of the century, which was the result of urbanization as a manifestation of modernization processes. These processes spheres of life has been determined. The Conclusions.* *One of the modernization manifestations of the second half of the XIXth century was the urbanization processes, which resulted in the increase in the number of cities and towns, territorially increasing existing urban settlements. The modernization also affected Lutsk povit, having a decisive influence on the development of its cultural, educational and territorial space. We have considered the evolution of the educational institutions' network in the city, the cemeteries and squares organization, the urban improvements are some of the most striking examples of the urban space evolution, but not the last. There is a need for a comprehensive study of the city infrastructure development – the city streets construction and improvement, their electrification, the telephone communications emergence, the water supply and more. Due to the ethno-confessional diversity of the city, a separate and thorough study dedicated to the Lutsk City Society should be carried out. Therefore, both special and general works on Lutsk development history in terms of modernization conditions are not only possible but also necessary in the future.*

Key words: *Lutsk, city space, modernization, urbanization, educational institutions, cemeteries, square.*

ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ МІСЬКОГО ПРОСТОРУ ЛУЦЬКА В УМОВАХ МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЇ (КІНЕЦЬ ХІХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ СТ.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – через призму аналізу розбудови мережі навчальних закладів міста та впорядкування його території показати еволюцію міського простору Луцька на рубежі ХІХ – ХХ ст. **Методологія дослідження.** Дослідження спирається на принципи історизму, науковості й авторської об'єктивності, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення, порівняння) та спеціально-історичних (історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. На етапі опрацювання архівних матеріалів використовувався метод критики і класифікації. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі архівних матеріалів показано, що розвиток повітового міста Луцька, розширення його території, поліпшення благоустрою та зростання чисельності міських мешканців на зламі століть було наслідком урбанізації як прояву модернізаційних процесів. З'ясовано, в яких сферах життя вони найбільш відчутно проявилися. **Висновки.** Модернізаційні процеси мали вплив як на економічний, територіальний, так і культурно-освітній розвиток Луцька. Найраніше в місті зміни стали помітними в освітній сфері. Оскільки модернізація промислових та сільськогосподарських підприємств потребувала освічених робітників, влада була змушена істотно розширювати мережу професійних закладів освіти. Їхнє відкриття або подальша реорганізація та діяльність часто ускладнювалися відсутністю додатних приміщень чи вільних земельних ділянок для їх будівництва. У зв'язку з цим деякі проекти так і не були реалізовані. Нестача вільної землі в межах міста та незадовільний санітарний стан вулиць і площ стали характерними особливостями еволюції територіального простору Луцька. Особливо гостро ця проблема проявилася при виділенні земельних ділянок під єврейське та римо-католицьке кладовища, оскільки цвинтарі, розміщені у межах міста, були переповнені і порушували санітарні норми. Саме з цієї причини постало й питання перенесення ярмарків та впорядкування центральної площі міста, причому архівні матеріали засвідчують, що активно до цього долучилися керівництво та вчителі закладів освіти, учні, їхні батьки.

Ключові слова: Луцьк, міський простір, модернізація, урбанізація, навчальні заклади, кладовища, площа.

The Problem Statement. The modernization processes in all spheres of life were the main feature of the European society functioning in the second half of the XIXth century. Later, the above-mentioned evolution also affected Volyn lands that were the part of the Russian Empire. Taking into consideration the needs of that times, seeking to keep up with the leading European powers, the imperial authorities also implemented the innovations. Already in the last decades of the XIX century. these changes have become noticeable, especially in cities.

One of the modernization hallmarks is its specific relationship with the urbanization transition, which, unlike in the European countries (ended there before the post-industrial society formation), has proved to last longer in the Ukrainian lands. The most important urbanization signs as the modernization processes manifestation are the increase in the number of urban settlements and the population, the expansion of existing cities territorially, the impact on the city from the economic, social and cultural point of view. All the above-mentioned features were also characteristic for Lutsk development of in the late XIXth and early XXth centuries.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Nowadays, numerous researchers are particularly interested in the urban evolution issue, as well as the topic of modernization. One of the most recent methodological studies that determine the modernization theory potential in the course study of the history of Volyn in general, and of Volyn urban settlements in particular, is the work, written by O. Karlina (Karlina, 2018). Regarding the history of Lutsk during the above-mentioned period, it should be noted that in recent years there has been

a great deal of research works dedicated to the various aspects of its history. V. Marchuk's research is devoted to the quantitative and ethno-social composition of the city's population (Marchuk, 2016). The researcher, P. Lesnycha (Lesnycha, 2017) puts emphasizes on the city improvement problem during the above-mentioned period. Some records concerning Lutsk development at the turn of the XIXth – XXth centuries could be found in another Lesnycha work, dedicated to Volyn Huberniya (Province) innovations in the population life (Lesnycha, 2017). However, most contemporary studies concerning Lutsk history are either general in nature or focused mainly on the interwar period. There was a historical and architectural study, carried out by B. Kolosok concerning Lutsk Orthodox temples within the framework of the program "Ukrainian National Shrines" (Kolosok, 2003). The city spatial development from ancient times is reflected in the local historians' study (Piasecki and Mandzyuk, 2005). In 2015, a thesis on socio-political, socio-economic and cultural development of Lutsk during 1919 – 1939 was completed and defended (Maleonchuk, 2015). Y. Kramar's research is devoted to the cultural and artistic life of the interwar city (Kramar, 2016). Having reviewed the materials, we can make a conclusion that there is a lack of specialized research on Lutsk city history at the turn of the XIXth and XXth centuries, moreover, some aspects of its history have been illustrated only fragmentary in the studies of a general nature. Hence, the above-mentioned fact further substantiates the relevance of the topic of our study.

The purpose of the article is to analyze Lutsk city space evolution at the turn of the XIXth and XXth centuries by analyzing the network of educational institutions' development in the city and the city territory arrangement.

The Statement of the Basic Material. During the XIXth – XXth centuries Lutsk belonged to povit (district) cities of Volyn Huberniya (Province). The ethno-confessional diversity was one of the main characteristics of the city. According to the First General Census of the Population of the Russian Empire in 1897, 15 804 persons lived in Lutsk (Marchuk, 2016, p. 226). Among them, there were 4251 Orthodox believers, 1314 – the Catholic believers, 207 – the Lutherans believers, 9241 – the Jews believers, 389 – the representatives of the other confessions and religions (Troinitsskii, 1904, pp. 84–85). In 1909 the city population plummeted to 22 109 person's, among them there were 6235 – the Orthodox believers, 1835 – the Catholic believers, 287 – the Lutheran believers, 13 265 – the Jews believers and 487 – the representatives of other confessions and religions (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 821, p. 27). Such a rapid increase in the urban population (over 6305 people in 12 years) has several clear explanations. Certainly, on the one hand, it was the result of urbanization caused by modernization processes. On the other hand, the turn of the XIXth and XXth centuries, according to the findings of the modern researchers, is a period of a high potential for the population growth in Ukraine in general, which is explained, among other things, by the changes in the socio-economic sphere (Shevchuk, 2016, pp. 54–55).

The changes in the educational sphere were noticeable. Following the European countries' example, the imperial power from the 1880-ies sought to introduce a compulsory general education for children aged 8-11 as the rapid industry development required educated workers. On the 18th of March, in 1880, the Ministry of Public Education issued a special order to the curators of the educational districts, according to which in each city and povit a project has to be established concerning the educational institutions' network corresponding to the needs of a particular settlement. (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 821, pp. 1–2). It should be noted that both the local and the central government were reluctant to solve the problem concerning the lack of educational institutions during the period analyzed. In most cases, the following

explanation was given – the lack of funds, the lack of premises, the lack of land for the construction and so on. The delay in opening the educational institutions was also typical of other cities with a much higher status than Lutsk. For example, in Kyiv huberniya (province) city at the beginning of 1880, the question arose about the secondary mechanical and chemical engineering school opening. Due to the lack of funds, the lack of premises, etc., the solution to this issue has been delayed for almost twenty years. Only in 1898, the Polytechnic Institute was established in Kyiv, not a school (Dovzhuk, 2018, pp. 97–98).

On the 24th of August, in 1882 Lutsk City Council decided to establish a gymnasium in Lutsk (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 1–2). Ivan Lernet, Doctor of Medicine donated money for the gymnasium needs as the grand opening and the gymnasium maintenance, which became the main funds (Bilyk, 2010, p. 142). On the 29th of February, in 1884, Lutsk City Duma (Council) adopted a resolution to transfer the premises of Holy Brigitte Monastery, closed during that time, to the gymnasium (nowadays it is a house near St. Peter and Paul's Church). But the Ministry of Education did not approve the documents because it was considered to be more advisable to open a real school in Lutsk – industrial (technical) or agricultural school, which would give students a profession (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 51–55). However, the existing funds were sufficient only for the opening and maintenance of a male four grade protogymnasium, as a result, in November 1891 a request was made to increase the funds, which was addressed to the Ministry of National Education. In the spring of 1893 the Ministry of National Education gave its written consent (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 18, pp. 361, 369). On September, 30, in 1895, after a thirteen-year bureaucratic delay in Lutsk city, a 4-grade men's gymnasium was opened in the premises of the former Bernardine Monastery (today the premises of the youth library on the Theater Square). In 1898, it was reorganized into a 6-grade protogymnasium, and in 1908 – into the 8-grade men's gymnasium.

There were numerous attempts to open other educational institutions in Lutsk at that time. In particular, in September 1898 the local resident, Anna Mykolayivna Kolenko received the permission to open a women's gymnasium in Lutsk. Anna Kolenko rented a Kronstein house for the educational institution (today the office is occupied by the regional prosecutor's office on Vynnychenko Street) (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 396, pp. 1).

It is worth noting that at the beginning of the XXth century the issue of providing Lutsk with educational institutions has intensified. With the increase in population, the need for educational institutions increased. One by one, the requests were sent to Lutsk city authorities, either to subsidize or reorganize existing educational institutions or to open new ones. In particular, on August 23, 1902, Lutsk City Government received an application (51 signatures) from Lutsk citizens concerning the city two-class school (national) reorganization request, which had been operating in the city since 1869, since only 70 students were enrolled for the studies out of 250 people, who dreamed about entering the above-mentioned school due to the lack of space. However, the authorities did not lend a helping hand, referring to the lack of funds (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 526, pp. 1–11).

On November 15, 1902, the mayor of Lutsk, owing to the inspector of the Volyn Huberniya (province) public schools, received an order from the Ministry of Public Education on the need to open a Talmud-Torah Jewish school in Lutsk. (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 529, pp. 1–2). In 1908 it was decided to open evening classes for the girls' needlework at the existing men's two-grade school (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 829, pp. 1–3). In October of that year, the Duma (Council) decided to open an vocational (artisan) school in the city (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 821, p. 12). However, these were only intentions and declarations.

Hence, in the early XXth century there were three lower educational institutions (a city two-class men's school with a women's department and two parish schools) and two secondary schools (a men's gymnasium and a private women's gymnasium) in Lutsk. These institutions were located in unadapted premises, and the authorities were not able to provide new or allocated sites for the construction. As a result, among 1990 school-age children, 453 children studied at lower education institutions, 676 children were in secondary schools, and 861 children were unable to study (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 821, p. 27). The educational institutions' heads appealed to the local authorities with projects of their reconstruction or the proposals to open new educational institutions. As a rule, the authorities responded with a refusal, and when they even undertook to allocate the land and finance the construction, these promises were kept only on paper. In 1904 the already mentioned owner of the private women's gymnasium, A. Kolenko addressed the City Duma (Council). Initially, she applied for the allocation of the premises for the gymnasium, and later asked for the allocation for the construction of a building on a land plot in the city center near the Parade Square (today – the Theater Square). The petition remained unanswered (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 396, pp. 15, 17–19). The shortage of vacant land and premises prevented the Dederkalov Teacher's Seminary transfer to the city in 1909, for the construction of which it was necessary to allocate a land plot of 10 acres (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 864, pp. 15–16, 20 v.).

The land scarcity issue in Lutsk was much more acute than it may have appeared; it arose in the second half of the 90-ies in the XIXth century and admitted, among other things, the terrible sanitary and hygienic conditions in the city. The crux of the matter was that at the same time (in 1896 and 1897) when local authorities received requests for the allocation of land for the Jewish and the Roman Catholic cemeteries. On January 20, 1896, a special commission inspected the existing Jewish cemetery. An act was made that the cemetery is located on the outskirts of the Dvorets near the river Hlushets, burials are flooded with surface and groundwater, it is overcrowded, it is situated near the residential buildings, which violates the sanitary standards. Regarding the above-mentioned fact, on February 17, 1896, the governor of Volyn, Dunin-Borkovskiyi, made an order that the Lutsk City Duma (Council) allocate land for a new Jewish cemetery with all sanitary requirements (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 158, pp. 5–7). Since the city authorities did not have any free land plots within the city, it was recommended that the Lutsk City Government should search for a suitable plot outside the city. On August 27, 1896, at a meeting of the Duma (Council), it was decided to set aside a vacant land plot in the suburb of the Dvorets, a few hundred meters from the already existing Jewish cemetery. The further registration of all documents lasted for more than two years and only in October 1898 the land was allotted (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 158, pp. 21 v.). According to later plans of the city, the Jewish cemetery was located at the Kyiv-Brest highway, bordered on the west by the Karayimske cemetery, on the east by Dvorets village meadows, in the south – the Hlushets river flowed. (SAVR, f. 338, d. 1, c. 24, p. 1). Hence, the sanitary standards were still violated during the allotment of land.

If the land allotment issue to a Jewish cemetery was resolved relatively quickly, it took much longer to make such a decision regarding the Roman Catholic cemetery. On January 28, in 1897 Lutsk County Roman Catholic Dean Stankovskiyi appealed to the Lutsk City Duma (Council) for permission to expand the Roman Catholic cemetery in Yarovytsia (today it is the territory of the Memorial of Eternal Glory on Victory Avenue) from the south at the expense of free land. On March 20, the Duma (Council) granted such permission, and on April 28 of the same year it was approved by Volyn governor (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 216, pp. 1–2, 7 v.).

The issue seemed to be resolved. However, it has emerged that the military unit was claiming for the allotted land.

The archival materials analysis showed that for the next four years a bureaucratic litigation occurred between Lutsk City Council (Duma), the City Government, the Huberniya (provincial) Government, Lutsk-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Consistory and Kyiv Military District Headquarters as the above-mentioned institutions' wanted to find out who was responsible for the allotted land and how did it happen that the Roman Catholic Dean used the land as the cemetery. It turned out that the City Duma (Council), considered the allotted land (it had been vacant for a long time) was owned by the city community, gave it to the Roman Catholics. In 1901, the issue had not been resolved. At Volyn governor insistence, on June 22, 1901, a specially created commission made the decision: the land, through which the Roman Catholic cemetery was expanded, is the property of the city; the expansion of the Roman Catholic cemetery contradicts the sanitary standards, which is why, Lutsk-Zhytomyr Roman Catholic Consistory was offered to buy a plot of land for the cemetery use outside the city, in the suburban village of Bivaky (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 216, p. 31). The City Duma (Council) resolved the issue in the following way, effectively leaving the claims of both the Roman Catholics and the Military Unit unanswered. It should be noted that the mentioned Roman Catholic cemetery was not moved. Despite its overcrowding, the burials were present there during the Great War and during the Second World War, and it was closed only in the 1970-ies. (Piasetskyi, Mandziuk, 2005, p. 125). The citizens' petition, Lutsk city doctor submission concerning the violations of the sanitary standards and the threat for the health of the population remained out of the city authorities' attention.

The central square – Grand Square, where the fairs were held for more than half a century, was the mecca for the violations of the sanitary standards in the city in the early XXth century. The problem of moving fairs from the central part of the city had been around for a long time, but could not be solved because of the lack of the vacant land. In 1903, the City Duma (Council) formally began to address this issue, having received a complaint from the men's gymnasium and women's gymnasium authorities. The teachers and the principals stated that during the fair day, the area, which had no firm surface, was transformed into a solid mud due to the large accumulation of people, horses and carts. The dirt, the garbage – all this from the square was carried to the surrounding streets and lanes. The merchants' rows even reached the gymnasium premises and the students every time fell into the maelstrom of trade, and the environmental pollution had a negative impact on their health, since children were deprived of the opportunity to walk outdoors (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 544, p. 2).

As there were no free plot of land in the city, three private plots of land in the suburbs of Krasne, Vulka, Omelyanyk were given for the Duma (Council) consideration. The authorities opted for the latter two options, but it turned out that these territories had not yet been officially included in Lutsk. The question remained open. During 1904 – 1905 the local authorities received a number of petitions from the individual residents of the city and from the following organizations – Lutsk Agricultural Society, Lutsk Povit Public Health Committee and Lutsk Garrison Command, men's gymnasium and women's gymnasium. The authorities were forced to respond to such collective appeals. On June 13, 1905, a resolution was adopted on the transfer of fairs from the Main Square. Although they were not transferred to the outskirts of the city, but not far from the center, they were placed outside the District Court (nowadays Lesya Ukrayinka Street).

However, the square remained unorganised. The teachers decided to join the case. In February 1907, the Head of Lutsk Men's Protogymnasium, A. Kashpuryev appealed to the

Duma (Council) with the statement that Kyiv educational district authorities did not give the permission for the institution reorganization, due to the disorder of the adjacent urban squares. Already on February 17, the City Council (Duma) decided to lay a city garden on the Grand Square (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 544, p. 158).

During 1908, the square was reconstructed, a fence was built, trees were purchased. 4700 seedlings were planted in the park, 700 of which were coniferous and deciduous trees and the rest were bushes and roses. The plants were taken from the main forest department and nurseries by Count Andrew Zamoyski in Podzamcze, Siedlec Hybernia (Province). Lutsk was decorated with plants such as fir, spruce of eight species, cedars, barberry, amorphous shrub, acacia, quince, deutzia, beech, fontanesia, mock-orange (Philadelphus), tamarix (salt cedar), forsythia – most of them are rare, not characteristic of our region. Taking care of the plants to take root, the city authorities did not open the park for a long time

In April 1913, the Duma (Council) was approached by the Head of Lutsk Men's Gymnasium and A. Kolenko Women's Gymnasium with a request to allow the gymnasium students and their teachers to visit the park for a visual introduction to the plant world. (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 544, p. 252). It was a kind of impetus for the park opening. The grand opening officially took place on May 1, 1913. Since that time Lutsk citizens had an organized center and a great place for family rest.

The Conclusions. One of the modernization manifestations of the second half of the XIXth century was the urbanization processes, which resulted in the increase in the number of cities and towns, territorially increasing existing urban settlements. The modernization also affected Lutsk povit, having a decisive influence on the development of its cultural, educational and territorial space. We have considered the evolution of the educational institutions' network in the city, the cemeteries and squares organization, the urban improvements are some of the most striking examples of the urban space evolution, but not the last. There is a need for a comprehensive study of the city infrastructure development – the city streets construction and improvement, their electrification, the telephone communications emergence, the water supply and more. Due to the ethno-confessional diversity of the city, a separate and thorough study dedicated to the Lutsk City Society should be carried out. Therefore, both special and general works on Lutsk development history in terms of modernization conditions are not only possible but also necessary in the future.

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**ODESA VEGETARIAN SOCIETY AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE XXth CENTURY: ISSUES OF FOUNDATION AND MAIN ACTIVITY
DIRECTIONS. ON THE PERIODIC MATERIALS**

Abstract. *The Purpose of the study* is to reconstruct and analyse the peculiarities of the formation, functioning and main activities of the Odesa Vegetarian Society. **The methodology.** Taking into account the specifics of sources, the research is based on a method of critical analysis of documentary on the ground of such principles as objectivity and historicism. Also, common scientific methods have been used. These are analysis and synthesis, inductive and deductive structural-functional, statistical methods. **The scientific novelty.** For the first time in domestic historiography the topic of the distribution of vegetarian ideas in Ukraine is raised in general as well as the activity of the Odesa Vegetarian Society is analysed in particular. The early 20th century vegetarian periodicals were introduced into scientific circulation. Information potential of these sources has been revealed. **The conclusions.** The Odesa Vegetarian Society was registered for ideological reasons only four years after prerequisites for its creation had appeared in Odesa. Having determined its quantitative composition, it can be argued that it was the largest in number among the societies operating at that time. The analysis of the sources and dynamics of its budget gives grounds to state that financially it was extremely successful. Financial stability was primarily provided by profits from a public vegetarian canteen. That is why this business was constantly in a spotlight of both the leaders and ordinary members of the society. This allowed setting up proper work of a large and successful public catering establishment, which invariably enjoyed popularity and effectively contributed to the promotion of a vegetarian idea. None of active at that time vegetarian societies throughout Ukraine demonstrated such unity and trust in its leaders. The leadership of the company practically did not change during all its existence and certainly enjoyed the authority among its members. Support for all initiatives of the Board of the Society has become the key to its dynamic and successful development, as a result of which the Odessa Vegetarian Society has become the benchmark for all the vegetarian societies of the Russian Empire.

Key words: Odesa, vegetarian, vegetarian society, chart, canteen, lunch, O. Yasynovskyyi.

ОДЕСЬКЕ ВЕГЕТАРІАНСЬКЕ ТОВАРИСТВО НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХ СТ.: ПРОБЛЕМИ ЗАПОЧАТКУВАННЯ ТА ОСНОВНІ НАПРЯМИ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає у реконструкції і аналізі особливостей утворення, функціонування та основних напрямів діяльності Одеського вегетаріанського товариства. **Методологія дослідження.** Зважаючи на специфіку джерельної бази, дослідження базується на методі критичного аналізу документального матеріалу, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. Використані загальнонаукові методи: аналізу та синтезу, індуктивний та дедуктивний, структурно-функціональний, статистичний. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше у вітчизняній історіографії піднімається питання розповсюдження вегетаріанських ідей в Україні загалом і аналізується діяльність Одеського вегетаріанського товариства зокрема. Введено до наукового обігу та розкрито інформаційний потенціал вегетаріанської періодики початку ХХ ст. **Висновки.** Одеське вегетаріанське товариство через ідеологічні перепони було зареєстроване лише через чотири роки від часу, коли в Одесі виникли передумови для його створення. Визначивши його кількісний склад, можна стверджувати, що воно було найчисельнішим з-поміж інших тогочасних товариств. Аналіз джерел та динаміки наповнення бюджету товариства дає підстави стверджувати, що воно було надзвичайно фінансово успішним – стабільність забезпечували передовсім прибутки від громадської вегетаріанської їдальні. Саме тому справи їдальні були постійно у центрі уваги як очільників, так і рядових членів товариства. Це дало змогу належно налагодити роботу великого і успішного закладу громадського харчування, що незмінно користувалося популярністю і ефективно сприяв популяризації вегетаріанської ідеї. Жодне чинне на той час на українських землях вегетаріанське товариство не продемонструвало такої згуртованості та довіри до своїх очільників. Керівництво товариства практично не змінювалося протягом усього його існування і, безумовно, користувалося авторитетом серед членів. Підтримка усіх ініціатив Ради товариства стала запорукою динамічного і успішного його розвитку, в результаті чого Одеське вегетаріанське товариство стало орієнтиром для усіх вегетаріанських товариств Російської імперії.

Ключові слова: Одеса, вегетаріанець, вегетаріанське товариство, статут, їдальня, обід, О. Ясіновський.

The Problem Statement. Vegetarian idea is gaining popularity in the world in general and in Ukraine in particular. Its supporters actively create groups in social networks, organize festivals, and so on. It is hard to ignore a large network of vegetarian catering establishments, which attract not only adherents of the vegetarian way of life but also cause an interest, as something exotic for ordinary citizens. But such a process is not a novel. Another hundred years ago, large cities, and especially Kyiv and Odesa, have already experienced a similar boom of vegetarian dining.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. Unfortunately, neither scientific nor even popular research on this topic in Ukraine actually exist. A tangent issue is covered only in the works of the German linguist P. Brang (Brang, 2006a.; Brang, 2006b). At the same time research of different social aspects of vegetarianism are constantly ongoing (Smart, 2004; Miller, 2011; Yeh, 2013). The lack of publications on vegetarians in Ukraine is primarily connected with a weak general situation regarding the research on everyday history issues on Ukrainian territory. With regard to the problems associated with vegetarianism, on the one hand, this topic has long been considered as marginal, on the other hand, the lack of documentation became an obstacle after the removal of the ideological taboo. Despite the lack of archival sources, we consider discovered periodicals, which have never been in scientific circulation so far to be sufficiently representative.

The Purpose of the Research. To explore the background of a nascence of a vegetarian community in Odesa at the beginning of the 19th century and to analyse the main directions of its activity.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In 1908 a vegetarian society was to be founded in Odesa, but the official bodies refused to register it (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1909, p. 37). One of the charter's paragraphs was not approved by local authorities. This became a formal reason for refusal. Undoubtedly, it was a manifestation of outright prejudice, since the charter submitted for registration was an exact copy of other legalized vegetarian societies' charters in the Russian Empire (Perper I, 1909, p. 25).

Only in three years, in 1911 Odesa vegetarian community dared to file documents on the registration of the society. It happened after the replacement of the mayor of Odesa I. Tolmachov, who was an opponent of the establishment of the Society, primarily due to his anti-Semitic views (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O, 1911, p. 53–54). Active work on the organization of the society was deployed by the initiative group in the spring of 1912 (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O, 1912a, p. 151). In six months, when I. Sosnovskyi became a mayor of Odesa, the Charter of Odesa Vegetarian Society (further – OVS) was approved. On May 26, 1912, the Society was included to the Register of Societies with the number 146. V. Doks, O. Yasynovskyi and V. Zuiev were determined as its founders (Ustav Odesskogo vegetarianskogo obshchestva, 1912, p. 1, 12)

The first meeting of OVS took place at the beginning of June 1912 in the premises of the City Credit Union. The hall was overcrowded. Among the participants, there were many women, prominent public figures, mostly intelligentsia, although a number of officials were also enrolled in the OVS. Also some proletarians visited the opening. There were few of them but still, they were present. The local press widely covered this event (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1912b, p. 231). One of the co-founders of the OVS V. Doks had been chairing these meeting and delivered the first welcome speech. About 270 people were enrolled in the OVS, of which 192 were valid members and 74 were “members-contestants” (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1912a, p. 372). V. Zuiev was elected to act as a Head of the Society, O. Yasynovskyi as a Deputy Head, doctor I. Hershanskyi as a Secretary, S. Fridman as a Treasurer, I. Spafaris as a member of the Board and V. Doks as an honorary member of the Society (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1912b, p. 232).

This brand new Society planned to open a vegetarian canteen immediately. Several special meetings were devoted to this issue. On August 9, the General Assembly meeting approved the project of an arrangement of the unitary canteen with a budget of 4750 rubles with 10 rubles cost of each unit. Subscription for shares among members of the company gave 1000 rubles, which made it possible to start searching for a suitable premise (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1912b, p. 232). But following this, mayor of Odesa immediately prohibited OVS members to collect money for a vegetarian canteen through a subscription for shares (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1912c, p. 274–275). However, the Society managed to circumvent this ban formally and on November, 18 the General Assembly meeting finally decided to open a public vegetarian canteen where vegetarian culinary courses, a library and a vegetarian club were to be organized. Expenditures for these needs had to be covered in the amount of 9,000 rubles with own OVS's funds allocated. 3,000 rubles out of these were to cover rent in the city centre. Since the company did not have this amount, the members of the Board of the Society gave 100 rubles each, and ordinary members added from 10 to 50 rubles each. There were also donations (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1912, p. 232). Thus, the necessary funds have been collected. To manage the canteen it was planned to invite a famous culinary specialist E. Schultz (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1912a, p. 372).

In early 1913, the OVS suffered a great loss. A prominent figure in the vegetarian movement, one of the initiators, founders and active members of the OVS, doctor Oleksandr Yasynovskyi

died on January 10, 49 years old. During annual General Assembly meeting of the Society, which took place on March 31, 1913, as a sign of honour and in order to immortalize the memory of the deceased, its Head suggested renaming the Society to “Odesa Vegetarian Society named after Dr A. Yasynovskiy”. This proposal was warmly and unanimously supported by the General Assembly meeting, which authorized the Board to request this before the state authorities (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1913b, p. 201). This time the mayor gave his consent and throughout its existence, the Society had the name of Dr O. Yasinovskiy.

The long-awaited opening of the public vegetarian canteen in Odesa took place on May 5, 1913, in a primarily renovated premises of the International Restaurant at the Paris Hotel at Derybasivska str., 7. Organizers of the celebration firstly familiarized guests with an exemplary cuisine, which was headed by E. Shultz. After prayer all presenters took a joint photo. In honour of the opening, a gala dinner was held, which was initiated by the Chairman of the Society V. Zuiev. Series of greetings from other societies were read. Few more people came up with toasts and speeches, which sometimes were more like lectures. Since vegetarians did not drink alcohol, kvass was fed as a festive drink. Dinner was held in the elated festive atmosphere. Participants repeatedly expressed their pleasure about delicious food and a variety of dishes (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1913b, p. 201–202).

The next day, May 6, the canteen was open to the wide public. Lunch which included 2 dishes cost 35 kopecks, 3 – 45 kopecks. Discounts were provided for those who bought the subscription. The success of the canteen surpassed the wildest expectations. The very first day it experienced a large queue of people with food to be over by 2 p.m. Given this excitement, the Society’s Board decided to double staff and have daily meetings for rapid response in order to prevent such a situation in future and satisfy all those who want to visit the canteen (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1913b, p. 202; *Otkrytie vegetarianskoy stolovoy*, 1913).

Such interest of Odesa audience to a public vegetarian canteen was not an interest to something fundamentally new. By that time 5 private vegetarian canteens had been operating quite successfully (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1911, p. 32). But the very establishment of the OVS stirred up an interest in vegetarianism and greatly increased the number of visitors to private vegetarian canteens.

The most famous and revered in the vegetarian community was a private vegetarian dining room founded on January 15, 1904, by O. Podunenko. In the first years of its existence, the canteen had a modest name “Vegetarian Lunches”, occupying only one small room at Uspenska str., 15. It had to deal with a few dozens of visitors. In 1910 it was already situated at Uspenska str., 42, apt. 10. In 3 years it moved to a separate adapted building at Zhukovskoho str., 22 on the corner of Rishelievskaya str. In the autumn of 1913, it was expanded and transferred to Sobornaya Square 6 entitled “Normal food” (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914f, p. 36–37; *Vegetarianskie stolovye v Rossii*, 1914, p. 203; *Odessa*, 1914a, p. 15; *Adressa vegetarianskikh stolovykh*, 1913, p. 176).

The opening of a public vegetarian canteen by the OVS did not destroy business of already existing private canteens. The Society’s Board was pleased to announce that since the day it was opened, none of the existing canteen was closed. On the contrary, they noted a desire to improve and increase such business that fully corresponded to the goals and objectives of the OVS (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914a, p. 115).

The issue of ensuring the effective functioning of the public canteen was constantly in the sight of the leaders of the OVS. The most controversial issues were left for the General Assembly meeting. Thus, the report of the Board on the state of affairs of the Society and the canteen,

presented on November 5, 1913, at the extraordinary General Assembly meeting, caused serious debates (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1913d, p. 361). Due to the lack of funds, it was impossible to increase the number of staff of the canteen, but available staff was not able to provide proper service to visitors. Measures taken by the Board were insufficient, given an excitement noted by Odesa local press (В мире печати, 1913, p. 239). Therefore, it was agreed to set an alternate duty for members of the Society in the canteen (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1913a, p. 403).

Separate “Duty Commission” had to ensure such alternation. In fact, it already existed. This issue was considered at the regular reporting-election meeting on April 21, 1914. H. Rubliov was suggested to lead the Commission. As a secretary of the Society, he actively participated in the organization of the public canteen, was very well informed on a wide range of issues concerning this (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914c, p. 155–156). But consideration of the issue of the powers and activities of this commission was, due to lack of preparation, postponed to the next General Assembly meeting.

On May 6, previously postponed meeting continued. The instructions for the mentioned regular commission were provided in 2 parallel editions that were printed out and sent to all members of the OVS for familiarization in advance. In the edition suggested by the Board, the Duty Commission had a role of supporting the commission with a Head appointed by the Board. Another one, which was proposed by the Commission itself, envisaged wider powers, including the right of self-government. General Assembly gave preference to the Board’s version (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914f, p. 7).

This was expected, as the OVS Board enjoyed undisputable authority among its ordinary members. Its composition had practically not changed during the entire period of the Society’s activity. Thus, V. Zuiev was a constant Head of the OVS. M. Dmytriev was a Deputy Head during the first 3 years and replaced by S. Povies in 1915. I. Hershanskyi and then H. Rubliov were Secretaries of the Society and left this position only due to personal reasons (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1913b, p. 201; Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914c: 155–156; Staryy Vegetarianets, 1915b, p. 152).

General Assembly meeting unanimously elected V. Zuiev to be an honorary member of the OVS as far as he was “the chairman of the Society from the day of its emergence and with great love he puts his energy to the affairs of the Society. The latter owes its skilful leader to its present flourishing position” (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1915b, p. 152).

Annual reports of the Society’s Board caused only rare insignificant remarks and were approved by the General Assembly unanimously with no significant discussions, constantly expressing gratitude for the work of the Board. Constant accountant of the OVS I. Kryve has repeatedly been rewarded for his excellent performance as a bonus in the amount of his 3-months salary. Annually awards were appointed for other employees during the General Assembly meeting. In 1914 the remuneration amount was relied on for consideration by the Society’s Board and in 1915 1,000 rubles were allocated for these needs. Herewith, the accountant’s assistant also got a reward in the amount of his 3-months salary in line with his superior. Apparently this was a deserved reward, because clearly there was no lack of work for accountants, given that the budget of the OVS on 1914 amounted to 60,000 rubles (Staryy Vegetarianets & Perper S. O., 1913b, p. 201; Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914c, p. 156; Staryy Vegetarianets, 1915b, p. 152).

The main funds undoubtedly came from the profits of the vegetarian canteen, since membership fees for 1914 amounted only to 446 rubles (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1915a, p. 111). Only for the first 8 months of 1913 it was visited by 125,471 people (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914a, p. 115).

In a year after the opening, the number of visitors in summer months reached 700 people per day, and the turnover of funds reached 8,000 rubles per month (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914d, p. 250). Profit ranged from 19 % to 22 % of the money received (Novyy vegetarianets, 1915, p. 16). This led to the expansion of the existing canteen and the question arose about the establishment of a national vegetarian canteen (Odesskoe Vegetarianskoe Obshestvo, 1914). However, the beginning of World War I made adjustments to these plans. Spare funds the Society spent for charity (Novyy vegetarianets, 1915, p. 17).

Meanwhile, the popularity of a public canteen continued to grow. On April 5, 1915, personnel had to lock the door with a chain and admit visitors one by one. In addition to the queue on the street, visitors had to wait a long time inside because the staff did not manage to serve everyone in a timely manner. There were suggestions to use the courtyard at Derybasivska str. 7 in summer for the arrangement of a summer ground of the canteen (Novyy vegetarianets, 1915).

This influx of visitors was due to the fact that at the beginning of 1915 the OVS public canteen was the only solely vegetarian canteen in Odesa. O. Podunenko handed her canteen named “Normal nutrition” (Soborna str., 6) to another owner due to family reasons and fatigue from eleven years of hard work. Since then, the canteen functioned under the name “Barskaya Cafe-Canteen” and served mainly meat lunches. Private “Exemplary Vegetarian Canteen” (Poshtova str., on the corner of Preobrazhenska) at the beginning of 1915 also changed a signboard to “Exemplary Vegetarian and Meat Canteen” (Odessa, 1914a).

A transition from pure vegetarian dining to a mixed canteen could be explained neither by a lack of demand nor by competition with the OVS public canteen since its prices were significantly higher than in private ones (Upadok vegetarianiskikh stolovykh v Odesse, 1915, p. 18). In addition, according to the analysis of public canteen’s expenditures for products, milk, eggs, honey, which were recognized as non-killing and allowed for consumption, but still played the role of auxiliary accounted for 47 % of the cost of cooked lunches (Novyy vegetarianets, 1915). Therefore, the transition to animal products certainly had to significantly increase prices, although vegetarian food attracted a significant number of non-vegetarians exactly due to its low cost.

However, interests of the OVS were not limited only to the canteen. So during 1913 37 meetings of the Board of the Society and 2 General Assembly meetings took place. In 1914 the Board met 27 times and General Assembly meetings were held 7 times (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1915a, p. 110). General Assembly meetings on May 6 and December 4, 1914, were devoted to the issues of the Duty Commission, 4 meetings – to the discussion and approval of the new Chart. These took place on October 14 and 25, November 1 and 5 (Novyy vegetarianets, 1915, p. 16).

Questions about amendments to the OVS’s Chart have risen from the very first days. But, given the problems of registering this society, only in 1914 it became possible to do the conceived. The Chart was drafted by the Deputy Head of the OVS S. Povisa. Changes and additions introduced actually changed the type of the Society, bringing it closer to the companies of the commercial and industrial type (Pyvovarenko, 2018, p. 109–110).

The updated charter allowed the establishment of a number of new commissions. Temporary Commission, which was mentioned above, was agreed to replace with a constant “Commercial Commission”. This issue was considered on December 4, 1914 at the General Assembly meeting, which rejected the proposal of 12 members of the Society to approve the instructions of the Duty Commission, but approved the draft of the establishment of the economic commission and instructions for it, proposed by the Society’s Board (Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914e, p. 303; Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914b, p. 223). One more commission named “Cultural-Educational” was established. An ideologist of its creation was O. Inber, who at

the beginning of 1914 posed the question of the need for a special commission to take care of readings and publishing cheap brochures on issues of vegetarianism organization (V vegetarianskikh obshchestvakh, 1914, p. 7; Staryy Vegetarianets, 1914e, p. 302). This proposal caused keen interest and on the meeting on December 4, 1914, it was decided to create a Cultural-Educational Commission. The budget of the Society for 1915 provided 1,500 rubles for its needs (Novyy vegetariansets, 1915, p. 17).

Unfortunately, the break out of World War I and unstable following years did an irreparable harm to the vegetarian movement of Odesa, which eventually led to its complete decline.

The Conclusions. The OVS was registered for ideological reasons only four years after prerequisites for its creation had appeared in Odesa. It was the largest in number and the most financially successful among all the legitimate vegetarian societies of the Russian Empire. Interests of the OVS were not limited only to the issues of arrangement and maintenance of the vegetarian canteen, which was typical for most similar societies. Much effort was directed at ideological work. No acting at that time vegetarian society demonstrated such unity and trust to its leaders that, as we believe, ensured such a dynamic development of the OVS. However, within the framework of one article, it is impossible to highlight the whole spectrum of the activities of such organization. A number of issues connected to the OVS in particular and vegetarian movement on Ukrainian territory in general that require further research left outside of the article. Such research we are planning to proceed.

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THE ROLE OF RUSSIAN RIGHT-WING RADICALS IN THE EXTENSION OF INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN VOLHYN DURING 1906 – 1914

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to elucidate the role of the Russian right-wing radicals in complicating interethnic relations in the Volhynian Governorate and to find out about the involvement of the Orthodox clergy and authorities in these processes. The research methodology is based on the principles of author's objectivity, multifactoriality of sources, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), mathematical (statistical) and special-historical (historical-systemic, comparative, retrospective) methods. The research novelty is that on the basis of previously*

researched documents the complex of actions, carried out by the Black Hundreds with the purpose of discrediting the representatives of other ethnic groups and confessions, has been found out. **The Conclusions.** The causes of the Black Hundred Movement have been identified and its main tasks have been analyzed. It has been determined that, compared to other political structures that operated in the Russian Empire during the period under study, the right-wing radicals enjoyed the support and patronage of not only the higher authorities but also the imperial family. That is why they had a considerable financial capacity to expand their advocacy activities in several directions. In fighting for the economic and political domination of the Russians in the Volhynian Governorate, the Black Hundreds used any means, which negatively affected the socio-political processes in the region. These trends intensified during World War I, when a flurry of baseless accusations fell on the German agrarian colonists, who were overwhelmingly politically passive. The Russian right-wing radicals justified the expediency of depriving some ethnic groups, especially the Jews, of the right to receive a secondary and tertiary education and to have access to a public service. Till present, the articles of a similar content have been published on the pages of the press. It was the Russian right-wing radicals, who greatly influenced the intensification of interethnic relations in the early twentieth century both in Volhynia and in the empire.

Key words: Volhynia, the Russian right-wing radicals, interethnic relations, authorities.

РОЛЬ РОСІЙСЬКИХ ПРАВОРАДИКАЛІВ У ЗАГОСТРЕННІ МІЖНАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ ВЗАЄМОВІДНОСИН НА ВОЛИНІ У 1906 – 1914 рр.

Анотація. Мета статті – проаналізувати роль російських праворадикалів у загостренні міжетнічних взаємовідносин на Волині у 1906 – 1916 рр. З'ясувати роль органів імперської влади та Російської православної церкви у цих процесах. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах авторської об'єктивності, поліфакторності джерел, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення), математичних (статистичний) та спеціально-історичних (історико-системний, порівняльний, ретроспективний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі раніше недосліджених документів з'ясовано комплекс заходів, які здійснювали чорносотенці з метою дискредитації представників інших етнічних груп, конфесій. **Висновки.** З'ясовано причини утворення чорносотеного руху та проаналізовано основні його завдання. Визначено, що у порівнянні з іншими політичними структурами, які у досліджуваній період функціонували в Російській імперії, праворадикали користувалися підтримкою і заступництвом не лише вищих органів влади, а й імператорської родини. Саме тому вони мали значні фінансові можливості для розгортання своєї пропагандистської діяльності, яка проводилася в кількох напрямках. Ведучи боротьбу за економічне та політичне домінування росіян у Волинській губернії, чорносотенці використовували при цьому будь-які засоби, що негативно позначалося на суспільно-політичних процесах у регіоні. Ці тенденції посилювалися під час Першої світової війни, коли на німецьких аграрних колоністів, які у своїй абсолютній більшості були політично пасивними, звалився шквал безпідставних звинувачень. Російські праворадикали обґрунтовували доцільність позбавлення окремих етнічних груп, насамперед євреїв, права отримувати середню та вищу освіту і мати доступ до державної служби. З цією метою на сторінках пресових органів часто друкувалися статті подібного змісту. Саме російські праворадикали великою мірою вплинули на загострення міжетнічних взаємовідносин на початку ХХ ст. як на Волині, так і в імперії.

Ключові слова: Волинь, російські праворадикали, міжнаціональні взаємовідносини, органи влади.

The Problem Statement. The importance of studying the activities of the Union of the Russian People in Volhynia in the early twentieth century is to determine the leading political landmarks of the Russian right-wing radicals in the early twentieth century; makes it possible to determine the role of imperial authorities in these processes and to determine the level of support of the Black Hundreds by the Orthodox clergy and governmental structures.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The problem of the activity of the Russian right-wing radicals in the Volhynian Governorate has not been sufficiently investigated.

The development of the right-wing movement in the empire, its social base and the peculiarities of women's participation are analyzed in the work of English scientist Gilbert (Gilbert, 2017). Some aspects of the activity of the Russian right-wing radicals were explored in the monograph on the activity of the Orthodox Church in Volhynia by S. I. Zhyliuk (Zhyliuk, 1996). The dynamics of the growth of the Black Hundreds in the empire initially and the reasons for the decline in the organization in the early 1910-ies and the mechanisms of their financing were explained by A. I. Kuritsyn (Kuritsyn, 2015). The main reasons for the strengthening of the position of the Russian right-wing radicals on the Ukrainian lands and the role in these processes of the imperial authorities were investigated by O. Obersht (Obersht, 2015). The Black Hundreds' attitude to other political groups and representatives of other ethnic groups, first of all, the Jews, was found out by R. O. Tokalenko (Tokalenko, 2017). The role of the Orthodox clergy in strengthening the position of the Black Hundreds in Volhynia and the main aspects of their advocacy work was traced by Yu. Khytrovska (Khytrovska, 2011).

The purpose of the article is to expose the role of the Russian right-wing radicals in complicating the interethnic relations in the Volhynian Governorate and to find out about the involvement of the Orthodox clergy and authorities in these processes.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In the early twentieth century, the socio-political situation in Volhynia was much more complicated. The Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) and the Union of the Russian People (URP), which was formed in the fall of 1905 in Petersburg, played an important role in exacerbating interethnic relations. At that time, the Russian right-wing movements reflected a new policy for the empire and much of Europe – anti-capitalist, anti-liberal and anti-Semitic, which was based on mass agitation, social activity and parliamentary participation. By the end of 1905 – the second half of 1906, the right unions were developing at a rapid pace. The membership of their workers and peasants was among the immediate priorities: in its manifesto prior to the election of the First State Duma of the URP demanded that these social classes be included in its movement in order to create the “effect of representation of all groups of Russian society” (Gilbert, 2017, p. 660).

As of 1907, more than 105,000 people were members of the Volhynian Governorate, and more than 300 of the URP's divisions and subdivisions were headed by worshipers. It was at this time that the Pochayiv Lavra was the leading center of the Black Hundred movement in Volhynia, and its archimandrite Vitalii was the leader of the local Black Hundreds (Khytrovska, 2011, p. 340). At the beginning of 1908, according to the Police Department, the URP ranked 404, 550 (Kuritsyn, 2015, p. 41), about 190,000 of them were in Ukrainian lands (Samartsev, p. 91). This can be explained by several reasons: firstly, the multiethnic population, where Russian merchants, landlords and officials felt pressure from Polish landlords and Jewish merchants; secondly, in Right-Bank Ukraine, where most of the landlords were Catholics, the Orthodox Church seemed to the peasants to defend their interests, so they gladly joined the right wing; thirdly, in order to attract as many supporters as possible, they created professional associations that included members of different sections of the population; and fourthly, the URP had close links with the authorities, got financial support, and received police support (Obersht, 2015, pp. 154–155). But in the following years, the number of monarchical organizations decreased significantly. Thus, in 1912 the total number of the right-wing organizations decreased to 45–60 thousand people. First of all, it was connected with the fall in the level of politicization of a public life, “the establishment by the government of the long-awaited “order”, the inability of the Black Hundreds to resolve the agrarian question”. Faced with the fact that the Black Hundreds could not and did not contribute to

the endowment of peasants land, the latter began to massively leave the right organizations, including the URP. The decrease in the number of the right-wing organizations was also facilitated by the schisms that swept the URP during 1908 – 1911. They were caused by the personal ambitions of party leaders, but also had a fundamental basis related to the attitude to the State Duma, the elimination of the community, the need to establish relationships with other parties (Kuritsyin, 2015, p. 41).

The leadership of the URP, which had all the hallmarks of the party (program, charter, governing bodies, an extensive network of regional organizations, etc.), categorically denied its party character. The “Union” was characterized by them as a nation-wide union, and in a broad sense, “identified with the whole “Russian” nation”. In this interpretation, belonging to the URP “was not a voluntary choice, but a sacred duty of every faithful”, and membership in other political groups equated to treason. The Black Hundreds advocated a ban on all but one party (Tokalenko, 2017, p. 48).

Based on the URP statute, the Pochayiv department of the URP statute was adopted. It stated that the purpose of the organization was to develop a “national Russian consciousness and a strong unification of Russian people of all the states and property of Volhynia and the neighbouring provinces for joint work in favour of our dear Motherland – Russia, united and indivisible” (Ustav Pochaevskogo Soyuza Russkogo naroda, 1906, pp. 1–2). Women were also allowed to join the organization (Gilbert, 2017, p. 660).

Since its formation, the organization has taken a frankly anti-Semitic stance. The statute, in particular, stated that “Jews may never be admitted to the Union as members”; for “foreigners”, they could be admitted to the organization, but only according to the “resolution of the Board”, but elected or leadership positions in the organization had the right to occupy only the Orthodox (Ustav Pochaevskogo Soyuza Russkogo naroda, 1906, p. 6). In addition to the pronounced anti-Semitic propaganda, the Black Hundreds in Volhynia also carried out active anti-Polish and anti-German propaganda, which to a large extent led to complications and so difficult interethnic relations in the region.

Trying to portray themselves as the defenders of peasants’ interests, the Black Hundreds sought to blame the poor society of that time, while promoting the organization’s ideology. For this purpose, tens of thousands of brochures and various proclamations were published in the Pochayiv Lavra printing press, often calling out the “fight of the Jews and students”. Only at the end of 1906 the Pochayiv Department of the URP printed out 36,000 brochures and 30,000 leaflets that were distributed in villages (Zhyliuk, 1996 p. 121; Khytrovska, 2011, p. 340). The publication of such brochures continued during the following years. This activity of the URP was aimed at strengthening its influence in Volhynia and at discrediting its opponents.

The analysis of the content of these printed products shows that it was aimed not only at the dissemination of the Black Hundred ideology, but also had a frank anti-Polish, anti-Protestant and Judophobic character. In one of the editions entitled *Religion of the Jews. The Talmud and its teachings on Christians* it was emphasized that “The doctrine of God here is an extreme anthropomorphism” (M. A. b, 1914, p. 5). The focus was on the “Activity of the Judeo-Masons” and the “Organization of the Judeo-Masons”, which “penetrated everywhere and almost took into its hands the entire supreme power over the world”. Like, when they came to power, they, “without neglecting any means”, tried in all states to pursue the “foreign and domestic policies that are most beneficial to them” (M. A. b, 1914, pp. 9–13). It was also argued that in order to weaken the power of the state, the Jews sought, with the help of

the Social Democrats, to realize the need to reform the entire polity through “its complete destruction and transition to a democratic basis” (M. A. b, 1914, p. 14).

Another pamphlet entitled *One of the Causes of Our Poverty* stated that it was the “Democrats”, who instructed the poor peasants in 1904 – 1905 how to become wealthy, namely: the peasants had to take their land from the landowners, cut down the forest, and “in some places it happened”, as a result of which some of the rebel peasants were executed, some of them were sent to prison. Separately, it was argued that the Jews “persuaded peasants to commit crimes” (*Odna iz prichin nashey nischetyi*, 1913, pp. 1–3). Another cause of poverty was the fact that all trade business in the Western Territory was concentrated in the hands of the Jews, and they were profiting at the expense of the peasants. Therefore, to counter the Jews, the peasants had to unite and open consumer shops that were part of the structure of the Pochayiv department of the URP (*Odna iz prichin nashey nischetyi*, 1913, pp. 4–31).

Thus, the Black Hundreds’ agitation brochures clearly showed a tendency to accuse the Jews of trying to weaken state power in order to benefit from it, to organize revolutionary protests and to encourage peasants to participate in them, to inflate the prices of goods they sold in the region.

While doing everything necessary to strengthen the position of the ROC in the region, the URP officials published a series of brochures analyzing the Church’s tenets. One of them emphasized that there were two ways: the true path and the false one. Only those, who adhere to the canons of the church and the “Holy Scriptures” follow the “true path”, and all others are not the Christians (*Litvinovich*, 1913, pp. 1–8). Another brochure said that an important role in the development of the state was played by the family, which was the primary link in society. Therefore, the relationship between its members should be based on mutual respect and “mutual respect for children and parents”. And admiration for Western ideas had a negative effect on family relationships in Russian families (*Razval russoy semi*, 1913, p. 5).

So, as we can see, in addition to the political component, the Black Hundreds also paid considerable attention to the development of “spirituality” of the local population and substantiated the ROC’s conception of the negative influence of Western culture on the Russian state. One of their arguments was that it was the Western ideas that fascinated the people of the empire had a negative impact on family relationships.

It should be noted that the Black Hundreds had considerable financial resources for their activities. Thus, the “Union members” had their own bank – the “Volhynia-Pochayiv People’s Credit”, which was opened on the initiative of Vitalii, archimandrite of Pochayiv Lavra. In addition, they received funds not only from individuals but also from public organizations. Thus, in December 1906, the Volhynia Committee on People’s Temperance gave Lavra 1 thousand rubles. As of mid-December 1906, they collected membership dues of 13 thousand rubles (*Zhyliuk*, 1996, p. 121; *Khytrovska*, 2011, p. 341).

As the well-known publicist V. P. Obninskiy wrote at the time, in order to counter the revolutionary speeches, the provincial administrations were instructed to organize “patriotic demonstrations”, involving “all suitable elements, not excluding schools”. However, these demonstrations ended as quickly as they began, but they gave the government experience in promoting “counter-revolution”, the organization of pogroms, and the organization of the URP itself (*Obninskiy*, 1912, pp. 152–153). After all, the “police state system that had no roots in the people” was forced to search for it and found it in the existing realities and among the inhabitants of urban slums (*Obninskiy*, 1912, pp. 153–156).

The Black Hundreds traditionally opposed Catholics and Greek Catholics. In addition to publications in the periodical, a number of brochures were published in Pochayiv. In one of them it was stated that “the Union was imposed in Malorosiya a by force. Churches were selected, leased to the Jews, the holy vessels and shirts were polluted. People were mortified, burned alive, and churches replaced with pubs” (Lutsik, 1913, p. 19). It was further emphasized that the Catholic priests, the Polish king and the nobility did so in the “order of the Pope”. Analyzing the situation at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Black Hundreds noted that Greek Catholic priests, in the place of worship, uttered the “Orthodox faith and the church instead of teaching” the parishioners of the “faith” (Lutsik, 1913, pp. 19–22).

In another brochure, the author claimed that the region’s residents were often tolerant to Catholics. This caused dissatisfaction with the leaders of the URP and the ROC, who at all costs tried to complicate interfaith relations in the province. In this connection it was emphasized that it was the Catholics, who mocked and abused the Orthodox faith, called it “boorish”, and leased it to the Jews of the church (Kratkoe slovo o katolichestve, 1911, p. 4). Further, the differences in church services were analyzed and it was authoritatively stated that it was the Roman Catholics, who departed from the “true dogmas” of the Christian faith and were strictly adhered to by the ROC (Kratkoe slovo o katolichestve, 1911, pp. 5–9). This position of the Black Hundreds was dictated by the fact that most of the landowners in the region were Polish Catholics, to whom the imperial power was prejudiced. And the sharp increase in the number of Catholics in the region was negatively perceived by the ROC. Thus, among the large and medium-sized landowners of the Volodymyr-Volynskyi County, the Poles dominated (State Archive of Volyn Region, f. 374, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1–4). Similar trends were observed in other counties in the region.

One of the brochures issued on the eve of World War I, which bore a frankly Jewish character, noted that it was the Jews who, in order to establish their dominion over the Christian states, made a very important act by possessing three powerful means, namely: “capital, participation in political parliaments and finally the press” (M. A. a, 1914, p. 4). Further, the author, while analyzing the situation in the sphere of economic and political activity of the Jews, focused on the fact that in the late nineteenth – early twentieth centuries, their positions were greatly strengthened, which threatened the security of the empire. In order to successfully counteract Jewish capital, the URP had to receive a financial assistance from the authorities in order to be able to control trade in the western provinces, build elevators, and thus prevented the Jews from buying them. In the end, the inhabitants of the region were taught to successfully counter the Jews “it is necessary... to begin with a systematic exposition of the Jews, so that everyone clearly understands that, by selling or buying from the Jews, they are sinning against God, the King, and their Christian brothers” (M. A. a, 1914, pp. 5–20). This brochure contained not only political but also economic implications. After all, in the early twentieth century, it was the Jewish capital that dominated the trade in Volhynia. Thus, according to the documents of the Lutsk City Council in 1902, the vast majority of merchants who were entitled to trade were the Jews (SAVR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 443, pp. 68–79). Similar trends were observed in other counties of the region, as it was the Jews, who made up the majority of the inhabitants of Volhynian cities at that time.

Consequently, in a series of brochures, the Black Hundreds urged the region’s residents to boycott Jewish trade establishments, while attempting to take control of the trading operations, asking the government to properly credit the Black Hundreds.

In addition to the brochures, which appeared to be huge for the period under review, the Black Hundreds also promoted their ideology in a number of press publications published in

Volhynia. In addition to the propaganda of the Black Hundred ideas, they published a large number of articles of anti-Polish, anti-Jewish and anti-German content. This line of activity of the URP was conducted in the context of the domestic policy of the empire during that period. In this context, the position of the Russian emperor on the URP's activities should also be clarified. He, together with the heir to the throne, became not only a member of the "Union", but also gave about 12 million rubles for the needs of the organization from his own funds (Khytrovska, 2011, p. 341).

The Black Hundreds, together with the ROC clergy, actively opposed the Protestants. To this end, the Pochayiv Lavra has repeatedly organized relevant "missionary courses", held meetings to decide how to counteract the influence of the Protestant communities. Thus, on 2 March 1916, a meeting of the Volhynian "anti-sectarian mission" was to take place. It was to consider the question of "the means of sectarian propaganda, especially of Stundinism, and the best means of combating sectarianism". Strengthening the anti-Protestant actions, they argued as a struggle against "all foreign" and the manifestation of "state patriotism" (Platonov, 1916, p. 3). This attitude of the Black Hundreds towards the Protestants was caused by the fact that after the decree of Nicholas II "On the Principles of Tolerance" of 17 May 1905, the number of the Protestants in the region increased. The foundations of the Protestant doctrine were brought to the region by German agrarian colonists, who lived in Volhynia on the eve of World War I, the home to approximately 200,000 people. Therefore, one of the URP's activities was anti-German propaganda, which intensified after the outbreak of the war. The attention was drawn to the fact that more than 11,000 students received education in 280 German schools as of 1913 (Pamyatnaya knijka Volyinskoy gubernii na 1914 god, 1913, p. 90). Concerning the level of teaching, the author of the article assured that some teachers of these schools had "teaching abilities that are not better than the teaching abilities of German Feldwebels". At the same time, there was a requirement to end the autonomy of the schools in the German colonies and to change them into the Russian language of instruction. At the same time, it was emphasized that the directors of public schools repeatedly appealed to the Trustee of the Kyiv Educational District, however, despite the war, this issue was not resolved (Revnikov, 1915, pp. 3–4).

The imperial authorities kept records of all German and Czech agrarian colonists, who lived in Volhynia. Separately, it was stated whether they were subjects of the Russian Empire or foreign states. They also kept records of their property, their family members and their living arrangements. Thus, in a number of settlements of Zhytomyr County in the early twentieth century the Czech and German colonists, who were not subject to the empire, lived compactly (State Archives of Zhytomyr Region, f. 70, d. 1, c. 858, pp. 4–12). A similar situation was found in other counties, in particular in Kovelskyi one (SAZR, f. 70, d. 1. c. 861, pp. 2–13).

Thus, the Black Hundreds URP officials opposed the teaching of the German language in schools operating in German colonies. And given the war with the Kaiser Germans, they offered to change their studies into Russian and replace German teachers with Russians.

Traditionally, the negative attitude towards the Jews was repeatedly reflected on the pages of press bodies and in the articles by authors, who shared the views of the Black Hundreds. In one of them it was told that the soldiers of one of the military units, being captured, hid the flag and tried to keep it, but "one such soldier was issued by a Jew". The German military did not find him during the search. Then all the "captives were stripped and driven out into the cold" and so "kept for 4 hours, and everything was interrupted in the barracks and

the flag was found”. As a result, “many soldiers died”. And it was further written that the Jews betrayed German soldiers and the Cossacks, who were surrounded, so in the army “anger against Jewish betrayal, cowardice and meanness” captured even those who previously sympathized with them. Instead, according to the author of the article, “streams of dirt on the Russian people, on the Russian society are pouring” from the pages of the Jewish press only because “the Russian people do not want to submit to the more terrible than the German one, to the Jewish one”. Therefore, in the author’s view, to equate the Jews in rights with the “traitorous Russian people” was “a great image that can only be thrown into the face of this people” (K voprosu o ravnopravii evreev, 1915, pp. 3–4).

Another publication stated that in the town of Volodymyrets of Lutsk County, which was a considerable distance away from the county center, there were many Jews, who provided loans to local peasants and returned the last percentages with food and labour. In addition, the local Jews controlled all trade. In connection with this, “boozing, and with its companion hooliganism”, became widely known in the town. After all, “the Jew considers it his legal duty to provide all the hospitality and earn 9 cents on a bottle of vodka”. Separately, the author noted that the Jews deliberately inflated prices for certain groups of goods and thus made money at the expense of local peasants. As one of the key options for ending Jewish domination in trade, the author suggested limiting their rights. At the same time, the author was indignant that local officials supported the Jews and did not pay attention to the violations on their part (Nekagalnyi, 1914, pp. 1–2).

One of the levers of increasing Russian influence and counteraction to the Jews, the Poles, and the representatives of other ethnic groups suggested: “accepting the Hessen and Petrozhytskyi title of the “Black Hundred”, we must ... stop the Judeo-foreign flood of middle and high school and bring our native Russian people to high school world”. As one of the mechanisms it was proposed to reform the secondary school, “to introduce the doctrine of the harmful nature of the Talmud, of Jewish nationality and Freemasonry into the course as a compulsory subject for the upper classes; to destroy the Jewish press and the Jewish agitation”, and also required laws that would discredit the Russians, who had married baptized or non-baptized Jews. It was also proposed to “deprive the persons of the Jewish blood”, whatever condition they belonged to, “the right to receive ranks and orders” which gave the right to the nobility; the right to enter public service, “the Imperial Universities and theaters”. When these laws are enacted, in “20–30 years Russia, suffocating in the throes of foreigners, will take a break and say Russian thank you” (Venojinskiy, 1914, pp. 2–3).

Thus, at the beginning of World War I, the Black Hundreds intensified their activities, which had a frankly Judophobic character. An analysis of the above publications shows that the ideologues of the URP, using the support of power structures, often, without strong arguments, accused the Jews of anti-state activity. As a recipe for counteracting them, they offered to further restrict their rights.

The Conclusions. Thus, the activities of the Black Hundreds in Volhyn caused the complication of such difficult interethnic relations. Thanks to the support of the authorities and the Orthodox clergy, the URP quickly gained leadership in the political life of the region. The Black Hundreds pursued blatant anti-Semitic, anti-Polish, and anti-Protestant activities in the course of imperial politics at the time, which was reflected in many articles and special editions. At the same time, they were certainly in support of the Russian autocracy, and they actively opposed other political structures that were different from their ideology. The Russian right-wing radicals justified the expediency of depriving some ethnic groups, especially

the Jews, of the right to receive a secondary and tertiary education and to have access to public service. To this end, the articles of a similar content were often published on the pages of the press bodies, which negatively affected the socio-political situation in the region and stimulated the intensification of interethnic relations.

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THE CONTENT OF MILITARY EDUCATION OF THE UKRAINIANS IN NATIONAL AND FOREIGN ARMED FORCES IN 1914 – 1921

Abstract. Aim of the research: to analyze the content of military education of the Ukrainians, who fought during World War I (1914 – 1918) and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 as the part of foreign (Austro-Hungarian, Russian) and national armed forces. **The research methodology:** compliance with the principles of objectivity and historicism contributed to the consistent disclosure of the preconditions, content and consequences of the experience of combat military education of the Ukrainians during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine. The use of the comparative-historical method made it possible to trace the influence of military education in the system of functioning of the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen of the Armed Forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, land and naval units of the armed forces of the Russian Empire, the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian Galician Army. **The scientific novelty** consists in the attempt to cover comprehensively the problem of educational work in the environment of the Ukrainian servicemen during World War I and the subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine in 1917 – 1921 and the formation

of patriotic attitude towards the performance of their military duty in the context of hostilities that to date has not been the subject of special military-historical research. First, an attempt was made to recreate the picture of the formation of the national military education system in Ukraine. New theoretical generalizations of the content of the army patriotic education were introduced to scientific circulation. **The Conclusions.** The military-political events of 1914 – 1921 showed that the army was the main driving force behind the revival of Ukraine, since it was the Ukrainian military that often acted as a catalyst for state-building processes in general. In this context, the military upbringing of the Ukrainians, who fought in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and national armed forces during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine is of particular importance. However, understanding the value of military education did not always find support from Ukrainian politicians of the time. During World War I, servicemen of the Austro-Hungarian Legion of the USSR managed to transform this unit into a well-trained, factually Ukrainian, military formation with national symbols, their own distinctions, as well as the Ukrainian official language and military terminology. The military training of the Ukrainians fully manifested itself during the war and within the structure of the land and naval forces of the Russian army. The soldiers from the Dnipro region proved to be well-trained, brave, disciplined and morally stable. Considering the military training in the Army of the UNR and UGA, it can be stated that despite the adverse factors caused by the aggression of the neighboring states and the blockade of Ukraine's borders by the Entente, the original national system of military training in the army units was established for the first time. However, the rudiments of a full-fledged patriotic upbringing in the army failed to achieve this goal. The experience of national military formation shows that one of the key factors in the proper functioning of the armed forces is its upbringing in the spirit of patriotism and commitment to the state idea. This principle should be applied today, when reforming the Armed Forces of Ukraine to the level of Euro-Atlantic standards and forming a professional army is underway.

Key words: World War I, the Ukrainian servicemen, legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen of the Armed Forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, land and naval units of the Armed Forces of the Russian Empire, Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Galicia-Bukovina kuren of Sich Riflemen, Ukrainian Galician army, combat military education of the Ukrainians.

ЗМІСТ ВІЙСЬКОВОГО ВИХОВАННЯ УКРАЇНЦІВ У НАЦІОНАЛЬНИХ ТА ІНОЗЕМНИХ ЗБРОЙНИХ СИЛАХ 1914 – 1921 рр.

Анотація. Мета роботи – проаналізувати зміст військового виховання українців, які у роки Першої світової війни (1914 – 1918) та подальших воєнних конфліктів, пов'язаних з національно-визвольною боротьбою на українських землях у 1917 – 1921 рр., воювали у складі іноземних (австро-угорських, російських) й національних збройних сил. **Методологія дослідження:** дотримання принципів об'єктивності та історизму сприяло послідовному розкриттю передумов, змісту і наслідків здобутого досвіду бойового військового виховання українців у роки Першої світової війни та подальших воєнних конфліктів на українських землях. Застосування порівняльно-історичного методу дало змогу прослідкувати зміст військового виховання у системі функціонування легіону Українських січових стрільців збройних сил Австро-Угорської монархії, сухопутних та військово-морських підрозділах збройних сил Російської імперії, Армії Української Народної Республіки, Українській Галицькій армії. **Наукова новизна** полягає у комплексному висвітленні проблеми ідейно-виховної роботи в середовищі військовослужбовців-українців під час Першої світової війни та подальших воєнних конфліктів на українських землях у 1917 – 1921 рр., формування у них патріотичного ставлення до виконання свого військового обов'язку в умовах бойових дій, що донині не було предметом спеціального військово-історичного дослідження. Насамперед зроблено спробу відтворити картину формування національної системи військового виховання в Україні. Введені до наукового обігу нові теоретичні узагальнення змісту армійського патріотичного виховання. **Висновки.** Воєнно-політичні події 1914 – 1921 рр. показали, що армія була основною рушійною силою відродження України, адже саме українські військовослужбовці часто виступали каталізатором державотворчих процесів загалом. У цьому контексті важливе значення набуває військове виховання українців, які у роки Першої світової війни та подальших воєнних конфліктів на українських землях воювали у складі австро-угорських, російських

ї національних збройних сил. Однак розуміння ваги військового виховання не завжди знаходило підтримку у тодішніх українських політиків. Під час Першої світової війни військовослужбовці австро-угорського легіону УСС зуміли перетворити цей підрозділ на добре вишколену, фактично українську, військову формування з національною символікою, власними відзнаками, а також українською офіційною мовою та військовою термінологією. Патріотичний військовий вишкіл українців проявив себе під час війни й у складі сухопутних та військово-морських сил російської армії. Надніпрянці показали себе військово справними, хоробрими, дисциплінованими і морально стійкими воїнами. Розглядаючи військове виховання в Армії УНР та УГА, можна констатувати, що попри несприятливі фактори, викликані агресією сусідніх держав, і блокаду кордонів України Антантою, вперше відбувається процес становлення національної системи бойового виховання в армійських підрозділах. Однак зародки повноцінного патріотичного виховання в армії не встигли досягти поставленої мети. Досвід національного військового будівництва показав, що одним з ключових факторів належного функціонування збройних сил, є його виховання у дусі патріотизму та відданості державницькій ідеї. Такий принцип необхідно використовувати і сьогодні, під час реформування Збройних сил України до рівня євро-атлантичних стандартів та формування професійної армії.

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, військовослужбовці-українці, легіон Українських січових стрільців збройних сил Австро-Угорської монархії, сухопутні та військово-морські підрозділи збройних сил Російської імперії, Армія Української Народної Республіки, Галицько-Буковинський курінь січових стрільців, Українська Галицька армія, бойове військово виховання українців.

The Problem Statement. The World War I (1914 – 1918) became a landmark event in the history of European civilization. Not only did it divide the lives of the Ukrainians and many other peoples into two periods – pre-war and post-war, but it also reshaped the lives of many people, forced them to reconsider the system of past values, to abandon the illusions of the past, and to learn to live by the new laws. The war not only led to enormous material and human losses, but also affected the conscience and morale of the servicemen, leaving a deep mark on their memory. The study of the aftermath of the war and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 is of great importance for understanding what efforts the Ukrainians were making to show their strength and will, to gain experience in defeating the enemy, to learn how to be responsible for their actions, and, ultimately, to become a dreamed independent state.

The disclosure of the experience of military education of the Ukrainians during the World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine is important in studying the history of Ukraine and the military history of the leading European states of the first quarter of the twentieth century. These questions have long been raised in a simplified, distorted form by the Soviet ideology, silenced by Western scholars, and are still falsified by the Russian chauvinists nowadays. V. Sergiychuk, Doctor of History, notes that “for decades, Ukraine could not have known anything about its true sons from its faithful Corps of Starshinas. The totalitarian Bolshevik system did its best not only to erase their names from the historical memory of the people, but also to brand them as allegedly traitors to their nation” (Serhiichuk, 1995, p. 255).

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Some aspects of the topic studied were reflected in domestic biographical directories, memoirs, general and narrow-profile publications on the problems of the history of World War I and a number of events related to the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainians in 1917 – 1921 (Lytvyn, Naumenko, 2004; Lytvyn, Naumenko, 2007; Ripetskyi, 1956; Ripetskyi, 1967; Kuchabskyi, Babii, Zarytskyi, Herchanivskyi, Bilynskyi, 1969; Kuchabskyi, Bezruchko, Konovalets, 2004; Mykytiuk, 1958; Shankovskiy, 1999; Berezhytskyi, 2003; Utkin, Kuzmuk, 2001; Reient, 2014; Pinak,

Chmyr, 2017). A separate research of the following authors address this issue: M. Herasymenko (Herasymenko, 2005), V. Holubko (Holubko, 1997), O. Latsenko (Datsenko, 2002), V. Zadunaiskyi (Zadunaiskyi, 2018), L. Kryvyziuk (Kryvyziuk, 2006), V. Sidak (Sidak, 2001), O. Skliar (Skliar, 2017), Ya. Tynchenko (Tynchenko, 2011), R. Tiutenko (Tiutenko, 2018), O. Furtes (Furtes, 2016), V. Futuluichuk (Futuluichuk, 2002), I. Khoma (Khoma, 2016) and the others, where one may find fragmentary information on the accumulated experience of combat patriotic upbringing of the Ukrainians in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian armies and special investigations concerning the history of Ukrainian riflemen in the Armed Forces of Austria-Hungary. However, there is no separate study on the role and importance of military education of the Ukrainians during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine.

Given the lack of research into this problem, the article provides a more detailed disclosure of the content of military education of the Ukrainians, who fought during World War I (1914 – 1918) and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 as the part of foreign (Austro-Hungarian, Russian) and national armed forces. This practice successfully proved itself in the system of functioning of the legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen of the Armed Forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the land and naval units of the Armed Forces of the Russian Empire, the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian Galician Army. The study of this subject also makes it possible to rethink the role of the Ukrainian military personnel in the development of military movement and construction during the the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The research aim is to highlight the to analyze the content of military education of the Ukrainians, who fought during World War I (1914 – 1918) and the subsequent military conflicts related to the national freedom fight on Ukrainian lands in 1917 – 1921 as the part of foreign (Austro-Hungarian, Russian) and national armed forces.

The Statement of the Basic Material. One of the important consequences of World War I was the accumulated experience of combat patriotic education of the Ukrainians. This practice successfully proved itself in the system of functioning of the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USR). Among the riflemen ranks, as noted by the Galician lawyer and political figure and an ex-combatant Gvina S. Ripetsky, “there was a lively ideological and political work, there were creative efforts for the right methods and the clear purpose of our fight for freedom. It was very responsible work that was done in a variety of forms and under different circumstances. It was being carried on continuously, because the struggle on the avant garde of the Ukrainian front, in very difficult and changing situations, required daily clear answers to the question: what is our place and what are our responsibilities in that world war?” (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 137).

The riflemen ideology was created and developed in the meetings and debates of officers and riflemen, in numerous speeches by officers at various events: Shevchenko events, riflemen funerals, sending soldiers to the front, sanctification of small tombs and monuments, riflemen meetings where appropriate resolutions were adopted, as well as in many lectures of national and educational content. One of the riflemen commandments contained the words: “I shall be a good son of Ukraine and a good soldier and a good brother-in-arms, to make a better destiny for the Fatherland with joint labor and joint forces!” (Zelenko, 1935, p. 243).

In 1914 – 1916, the USR Legion distinguished its patriotic orientation with a yellow and blue rose on the left side of the cap. In the spring of 1915, the starshynas began to wear gold

pendants interwoven with blue threads by their sabers; as for the under-sergeants, they began to wear yellow pendants interwoven with blue threads by their bayonets. The pendants had a Galician coat of arms – the lion – sewn on one side and the letters “USR” on the other one. In the autumn of 1916, a major change in the appearance of the riflemen was introduced – a cap, with a cockade with a national coat of arms – a trident – placed in front. This cap was later worn by Ukrainian youth as a traditional symbol of fight for freedom. At the same time, a blue and yellow cross belt is introduced instead of the blue lapels on the military uniform collar (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 150). In 1917, the battle symbol of the legion of the was sanctified – its own flag, depicting Archangel Michael (coat of arms of Kyiv) with a sword ready to strike in one hand, and a shield depicting a lion (coat of arms of Galicia) on a blue silk cloth of rectangular shape). The leaves and a bunch of red viburnum were placed around. This way, the flag of the legion depicted the basic idea of the unity of Ukraine.

In addition to its appearance, the use of the Ukrainian language was an important feature of the legion's. All military orders and documents were handled exclusively in Ukrainian. Officers of the Austrian or German armies, who were instructors in the legion had to learn Ukrainian to conduct small arms courses or to give military orders. The reason for this was the passive reluctance of the Ukrainians to obey orders given in German, although they were well understood. This fact furthers the evidence of the patriotism and moral strength of the Sich Riflemen. Additionally, the official announcements of the commanders of the units arriving for inspection by the Austrian or German officers, were made in Ukrainian. In particular, when at the beginning of 1918 a new legion commander had to come to the place of M. Tarnavsky – centurion O. Mykytka (officer of the Austrian army) D. Vitovsky warned the officers before the arrival of the new commander: “Comrades, not a word in German!” (Ripetskyi, 1956, p. 151). Such activity of Sich Riflemen during the war also influenced the further formation of fighting patriotism of the Ukrainians (Idzo, 2010, p. 169). It is no coincidence that the Austrian military command feared that this “Ukrainian army” could “resume the fight for freedom for Ukraine” (CSHAUL, f. 353, d. 1, c. 223, p. 91).

It is worth mentioning that the military patriotic training of the Ukrainians manifested itself fully during the war within the structure the Russian army as well. Dnipro region proved to be well-trained, brave, disciplined and morally stable: land generals – M. Arkhipovich, O. Bezkravny, O. Berezovsky, M. Volkhovsky, Y. Gandziuk, O. Grekov, L. Drozdovsky, V. Kirey, P. Kysly, G. Mandryka, O. Osetsky, O. Rogoza, Y. Safonov, P. Skoropadsky, L. Fedyai, M. Chukevich, M. Yunakov, three brothers Paschenko, colonels – M. Omelyanovich-Pavlenko, V. Petrov (Werner), O. Pilkevich, V. Sikevich, B. Stelletsy, B. Sulkovsky and others (Lozynskyi, 2017, pp. 48–62); Navy admirals – S. Burley, O. Kapnist, V. Klochkovsky, A. Pokrovsky, M. Sablin, O. Khomenko, 1st rank captains – M. Ostrogradsky (Apostol), M. Rimsky-Korsakov, V. Shramchenko (Shramenko), M. Chernilovsky-Sokol and others (Lozynskyi, 2016, pp. 73–76).

That is why, in the revolutionary time of 1917, under the influence of political events of the collapse of the tsarist empire and the threat of catastrophic defeat at the front, the Russian military command had to consent to the creation of the Ukrainianized military formations. Their combat potential was planned to be used to stabilize the situation at the frontlines (Kryvyziuk, 2009, p. 427). The successful deployment of the patriotic movement in the Russian army was facilitated by the fact that the personnel of the fronts stationed in Ukraine had a significant share of the Ukrainian element. The Ukrainian contingent was especially significant within the Southwestern Front. Thus, as of March 1917, there were nearly 2 million

300,000 soldiers, officers, and military officials here. A third of its total membership was Ukrainians. In the Romanian Front, the proportion of the Ukrainians was 1/4 of the total number of all military personnel (RSMHA, f. 2067, d. 2, p. 54; f. 2085, d. 1, p. 64).

The education system of the Ukrainian military age of the Central Rada and the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) deserves some attention. It may be noted that its peculiarity was the evolution from the complete ejection of the need of a regular army for the state to the realization of its necessity. Along with the change of this view, the military-educational work in the army was also changed. Although the Ukrainian leadership at that time did not initially understand the necessity of creating a regular army, even in such circumstances, the training of a patriot soldier was developed, mainly in the voluntary units. An example is the Galicia-Bukovynian Kurin of Sich Riflemen (later – the First Kurin of Sich Riflemen), whose organizational rules included the ideas of fighting for an independent Ukraine, nurturing a sense of personal honor and other patriotic motives, as well as the representation of the first Ukrainian military school exemplified by the heroic feat of the young Ukrainians in the battle of Kruty January 29, 1918 (Mykhailyk, 1995, p. 69). It was not until the spring of 1918 that the situation changed when it was decided to include drill instructors to train the Army personnel (Harcheva, 1993, p. 104).

A major achievement of the UNR government was the establishment of a national military education system and the training of its own officers (Deshchynskyi, 2000). Considering the military training in the Army of the UNR, it can be stated that despite the adverse factors caused by the aggression of the neighboring states and the blockade of Ukraine's borders by the Entente, the original national system of military training in the army units was established for the first time. However, the rudiments of full-fledged patriotic upbringing in the army failed to achieve this goal.

The experience of military education in the Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA) deserves considerable attention. The military-political leadership of the Western People's Republic (ZUNR) managed to organize military training of soldiers and officers despite all the difficulties, first and foremost of an objective nature (Mykytiuk, 1958, p. 73–140). Military traditions and combat experience of the USR Legion were used for this purpose. In view of the continuous hostilities, when it was not possible to carry out a full-fledged military training of the young recruits and officers, the example of Galician warriors was used to demonstrate bravery, discipline and moral stability. These qualities were formed by a well-established system of military education of Galician Riflemen, which formed in them high patriotism and national consciousness (Futuluichuk, 1999). Of interest is the statement of the Chief of Operations Department of the UNR Army General Staff, General M. Kapustiansky, who noted that “The Galician army has produced some new positive qualities, and most importantly: a uniform, nationally educated, passionate element to the country... The soldiers demanded a lot and gladly listened to their elders and were clay ready to be molded” (Kapustianskyi, 1946, p. 75).

It is worth noting the important role of the officers from the Dnipro region in the combat training of Galician military personnel. Established in November 1918, the young ZUNR state needed armed defense and rapid formation of its own army. The UNR leadership sent General M. Omelyanovich-Pavlenko and Colonel E. Meshkovsky, and later General O. Grekov to aid Western Ukrainians. The officers from the Dnipro region were distinguished for their active participation in the fighting and high patriotism. In particular, ataman K. Karas (former captain of Russian Army artillery) was the commander of the 10th Cannon Regiment

of the Yaniv Brigade. The then deputy regiment commander, centurion V. Galan highly appreciated the personal moral qualities of the former: “Kirill Karas fully understood his affiliation with the Ukrainian people and decided to give his knowledge and work to the Ukrainian army” (Galan, 1968, p. 199).

A significant role in the formation of the UGA was played by a native of Kherson region, Lieutenant Colonel A. Dolud, who in the middle of November 1918, headed by the Cossack detachment named Ivan Gonta, arrived from Odessa to Galicia (Skorych, 2010, p. 114). A military historian O. Kuzma noted that “the greatest publicity was given to the personal courage of the detachment commander, Ataman Dolud... Colonel Stefanov gave his courage as an example to the Ukrainian army. If all our garrison was determined by such courage as our brothers-in-arms from the Dnipro region, there would be no trace of Polish troops in Lviv within a few days” (Kuzma, 1931, p. 303). The commander of the 4th Cannon Regiment, centurion P. Lyaskovsky, who arrived in Galicia to the front as a battery commander with his guns and soldiers in January 1919, was distinguished by his organizational skills (Galan, 1968, p. 38). High patriotic abilities were demonstrated in Galicia by the former commander of the Hussar Regiment of the Russian Army, Colonel I. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko (the younger brother of prominent Ukrainian military commander M. Omelyanovich-Pavlenko), who arrived in Lviv in December 1918 and led the Navaria battle group (Pidkova, Shust, 2001, p. 531).

Thus, it is worth noting that despite the extremely difficult situation, the UNR managed to provide strong military assistance to the ZUNR. This was prompted not only by the agreements and proclamation of the Act of Union on January 22, 1919, but also by the historical desire for restoration of the unification of the Ukrainian state, the wishes of the Ukrainians of the East and the West, and the close relations intensified by the national liberation movement of the early 20th century (Skorych, 2010, p. 118).

With the proclamation of the unity of Ukraine, there was a certain leveling of differences in the system of patriotic education of the Galician and Dnipro units of the Ukrainian army. But the transition of the Galician units to the area of the UNR Army’s deployment became an impetus to strengthen the educational work in the Ukrainian army. In general, educational work in the Ukrainian army yielded positive results. Despite the crushing defeats caused by the enemy’s prevailing forces, the morale of the army was preserved. It continued the struggle and was ready to emigrate with the government rather than capitulate (Prokhoda, 1929, p. 10).

The Conclusions. Thus, the experience of the military political events of 1914 – 1921 showed that the army was the main driving force behind the revival of Ukraine, since it was the Ukrainian military that often acted as a catalyst for state-building processes in general. In this context, the military upbringing of the Ukrainians, who fought in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and national armed forces during World War I and subsequent military conflicts on the territory of Ukraine is of a particular importance. However, understanding the value of a military education did not always find support from Ukrainian politicians of the time.

During World War I, the servicemen of the Austro-Hungarian Legion of the USR managed to transform this unit into a well-trained, factually Ukrainian, military formation with national symbols, their own distinctions, as well as Ukrainian official language and military terminology. The military training of the Ukrainians manifested itself fully during the war and within the structure of the land and naval forces of the Russian army. Soldiers from the Dnipro region proved to be well-trained, brave, disciplined and morally stable.

Considering the military training in the Army of the UNR and UGA, it can be stated that despite the adverse factors caused by the aggression of the neighboring states and the blockade of Ukraine's borders by the Entente, the original national system of military training in the army units was established for the first time. However, the rudiments of a full-fledged patriotic upbringing in the army failed to achieve this goal.

The experience of a national military formation shows that one of the key factors in the proper functioning of the armed forces is its upbringing in the spirit of patriotism and commitment to the state idea. This principle should be applied today, during the process of reforming the Armed Forces of Ukraine to the level of Euro-Atlantic standards and forming a professional army is underway.

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**AWAKENING OF NON-TITULAR NATIONS
AS A FACTOR OF THE BREAKUP OF EMPIRES
(ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE HABSBERG MONARCHY)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to show the influence of the national awakening of non-titular ethnic groups in the Habsburg monarchy on the development of disintegration processes in the state. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systemicity, author's objectivity, as well as on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-system) methods. The scientific novelty consists in a comprehensive study of the main factors influencing the process of a national-state revival of non-titular peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This is, in particular, the study of the impact on the processes of national consolidation of the territorial-political organization of the monarchy, locally-provincial or land-regional representative institutions, the place and social significance of the national elite of the non-titular peoples of the Habsburg monarchy in the formation of a national idea. The Conclusions.* *The authors are convinced that, being a random creation of history, the Habsburg*

monarchy for a long time combined the spiritual and cultural potential of the peoples of the empire with the political practice of the Austrian ruling dynasty. However, even taking into account the authority of the Danube monarchy as a factor in the multi-ethnic composition of the population, which had a beneficial effect on the development of the national culture of the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Croats and other ethnic groups, which, at the same time, became the basis for the formation of national-state formations of non-titular peoples of the empire, was unable to stop the process of disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the final phase of World War I.

Key words: Habsburg monarchy, non-titular peoples, national awakening, national-state revival.

ПРОБУДЖЕННЯ НЕТИТУЛЬНИХ НАЦІЙ ЯК ЧИННИК РОЗПАДУ ІМПЕРІЙ (НА ПРИКЛАДІ МОНАРХІЇ ГАБСБУРГІВ)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – показати вплив національного пробудження нетитульних етносів монархії Габсбургів на розвиток дезінтеграційних процесів у державі. **Методологія дослідження** заснована на принципах історизму, системності, авторської об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у комплексному дослідженні основних чинників впливу на процес національно-державного відродження нетитульних народів Австро-Угорської імперії. Йдеться, зокрема, про дослідження впливу на процеси національної консолідації територіально-політичної організації монархії, локально-провінційних або земельно-регіональних представницьких інститутів, місце і соціальне значення національної еліти нетитульних народів монархії Габсбургів у справі формування національної ідеї. **Висновки.** Автори переконані у тому, що, будучи випадковим творінням історії, монархія Габсбургів тривалий час поєднувала духовно-культурний потенціал народів імперії з політичною практикою австрійської правлячої династії. Проте навіть врахування владою Дунайської монархії чинника мультиетнічного складу населення, що сприятливим чином позначилося на розвитку національної культури чехів, словаків, угорців, поляків, українців, хорватів та інших етнічних груп, що водночас, стала підґрунтям для формування національно-державних утворень нетитульних народів імперії, було неспроможним зупинити процес дезінтеграції Австро-Угорської імперії на завершальній фазі Першої світової війни.

Ключові слова: монархія Габсбургів, нетитульні народи, національне пробудження, національно-державне відродження.

The Problem Statement. History knows the examples of the imperial state formations, where much effort was put in their affirmation primarily by the representatives of the non-titular peoples' intellectual elite of the empires. However, the study of this aspect is usually on the margin of scientific interests of the authors representing the title nation. For example, we (the titular ethnos representatives) came up with our opinions on the proclamation of the empire on our own. So, no wonder that the non-titular nations' contribution to the creation of empires remains practically unnoticed. And it should not be, because if we ignore the precise elucidation of the preconditions for the creation of empires it will be difficult to answer the question about the causes of their decline, since the fact that all empires once collapse is well-known. 100 years ago, according to the results of World War I, the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, German and Ottoman Empires ceased to exist. Main factors of the formation of national movements in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as the contribution of the non-titular nations' elite of the Habsburg Monarchy to its establishment and collapse, will be dealt with in this article.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. There is a vast array of literature on the national awakening of the non-titular peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy, which began under the influence of the Great French Revolution at the end of the 18-th century (Glants, 2004; Bogdanov, 2003; Mayboroda, 2015; Фрейдзон, 1998; Šolta, 1974; Hroch, 1999; Kočí 1978; Cuřín 1985;

Xpox, 2011). The subject of the domestic and foreign scientists' researches was, in particular, the main stages of the awakening, formation and modernisation of Eastern European nations, the specifics and differences of their national development, etc. Nevertheless, the theme of identity preservation, formation of its national paradigm necessarily leads to scholars' constant and thorough attention. Nowadays this topic has become of particular relevance, when the apparent desire of European peoples to preserve their identity contradicts the processes of global political, economic and cultural unification.

The Publication's Purpose. The aim of the article is to analyse the main factors that influenced the national and state revival process of non-titular peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as its future destroyers. The object of the analysis of the research is the Habsburg State and the subject is the effect of the non-titular peoples' national awakening of the Danube Monarchy on the establishment and decline of the empire.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The research of the topic of forming the national paradigms of the Austro-Hungarian Empire peoples requires the definition of the specifics of this process. It is known that the formation of nations of the non-titular peoples of the Danube macrosystem took place within the framework of the multinational Habsburg State. However, for the Ukrainians and the Poles, the same process took place in a political fragmentation of their ethnic groups (the Ukrainian and Polish lands were under the Austrian and Russian authorities, accordingly). Under such circumstances, the Austrian political model of the multinational dynastic monarchy could not be applied to the Ukrainian and Polish territories that were part of the Russian Empire.

Many people of different origins and religions were gathered under the "dynastic roof" of the Habsburgs. The energy, with which the Habsburgs tirelessly built up the rules of relations between the imperial core and the periphery, is worth paying tribute to. Definitely, their efforts brought resource dividends to the Austrian throne, at the same time preserving the Danube macrosystem. For several centuries under their authority, along with the Austrian Germans (Deutsch-Österreicher), there coexisted other peoples, which gave grounds for such carriers of Austrophilia as F. Schuselka, Baron von Andrian-Warburg, L. L. Tun, J. M. Tun etc. to write about the discrimination of the Germans with the selfishness, characteristic to the representatives of the title nation. In particular, in his book "Is Austria German?" F. Shuzelka emphasized the need to defend the Austrians' interests more resolutely. To substantiate his claim, he cited data according to which the absolute majority of the inhabitants of the empire, that was almost 16 million people, were the Slavs, while the Germans accounted for only 7 million. Applying to the data, the Austrian politician wrote that such a state "caused fears" because of the incomprehensible perspective in the sense of preserving German identity in conditions of numerical domination of the Slavs (Schuselka, 1843, p. 16).

Despite this, we should state that the very motley ethnic and social palette led to the existence of a high degree of multiculturalism, polyethnicity of the Austrian society. The Habsburgs were forced to provide a special "dynamic relationship" between the imperial centre and the ethnopolitical periphery. A striking example of the Habsburgs' political maneuvering was a demonstration of their favorable attitude towards the leaders of the monarchy's ethnic groups, that were encouraged to cooperate by providing them with positions, titles, material support, etc. They systemically stimulated the desired orientation of various pressure groups. Such a pragmatic approach allowed not only to alleviate the severity of interethnic relations, but also to rely on the "native" elites.

Thus, in particular, the "creator" of the Czech nation F. Palacký was appointed as a lifelong member of the Noble Council by the Emperor Franz Joseph I, the famous Czech "Slavophile" P. J. Šafárik, held the position of a censor, later – "full-time kustos (custodian. – Author.) of the

Royal Library” (Shafarik, 1841, p. 141). A famous figure of the Czech national rebirth F. Čelakovský became Professor at the University of Prague, and the Slovak national warden J. Kollár was appointed to the post of Professor at the University of Vienna by the Imperial Decree. Another Czech intellectual J. Dobrovský received 6 thousand guilders from the Emperor for his scientific trip to Stockholm (Snegirev, 1884, p. 159). Another Czech national awakener F. Pelcl went his way from an educator at the County of Sternberg to a Professor of the Department of the Czech Language at the University of Prague. Supporting the modernisation activities of the Emperor Joseph II, the intellectual called the Emperor a revolutionary and successor of the outstanding Czech figure Jan Hus (Pelcl, 1956, p. 46).

The consequence of the monarchy’s cooperation with the intellectual elite of non-titular peoples was that in the years of the greatest threat to the existence of the monarchy, during the period of the Germans’ refusal from the Austrian, or more precisely, “prohabsburg” identity in favour of the great power identity, Austro-Slavism, proposed by the figure of the Czech National Revival F. Palacký, was chosen for the ideological foundation of the preservation of the Austrian Empire and not pan-Germanism. For this reason, in one of his letters to the Parliament, the Austro-Slavism leading ideologist F. Palacký wrote: “If the Austrian state had not existed for a long time, we should have done our best to create it in the interests of Europe and humanism” (Palacký, 1869, p. 256). Developing his own programme on reforming the empire, F. Palacký combined the ethno-linguistic principle with the idea of preserving historical and political units. At the same time, the basis of the territorial system was laid the principle of “forming a new, just, not artificial Austria, and an alliance of free and equal peoples with the obligatory hereditary power of a strong emperor” (Palacký, 1898, p. 90).

This concept emerged due to the fact that the Habsburg dynasty protected the ethnic communities of Central Europe from the Eastern and Western external enemies for many centuries, that gave it a sacred symbol of the peoples’ defender. The fact that for several centuries the representatives of the ruling dynasty skillfully carried out an internal political line for strengthening the imperial political structure, an integral part of which was the unitary structure of the Empire, also contributed to the long lasting existence of the Danube Monarchy. Of course, in their reign, the Crown Holders had to take into account the historical, national and cultural features of the controlled territories. This tactic allowed the Habsburgs, relying on “soft power” in the sense of neutralising the political ambitions of regional elites, to gradually include the regions in their own state and turn the local elite into their allies.

This was proven by awarding the Austrian Monarch his title, who had already had the titles of the King of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia and Slovenia, Galicia and Lodomeria. The Habsburgs always demonstrated their propensity to pursue their policy of “minimal steps” in terms of recognising the rights of national provinces. At the same time, “playing the giveaway” with indigenous ethnocrats served the ultimate goal: to preserve their control of power and to secure the status of the empire as a great state.

Correspondingly, the practice of political development of the Danube Monarchy, as well as of some other European monarchies, contributed to the fact that the Central Europe peoples retained the specifics of administrative land distribution for many centuries – “Land” (Freydson, 1999, p. 23). The latter was carried out by taking into account the principle of national-historical peculiarities. This approach did not destroy the germs of ethno-regional consciousness, but also quite often became the basis for the growth of local patriotism and emancipation, regional self-identification. In this way, linguistic and cultural identity, and the sprouts of local regional traditions were preserved.

An important role in accelerating the national consolidation of non-titular peoples was played by the self-governing bodies that actually served as regional representative bodies and were embedded in the political system of the Habsburg Monarchy. However, the ability or right of representative bodies (Landtag, Sejm, Assembly, Parliament, Sabor) of the regions (lands) of the monarchy to act on the basis of traditions, recognised and endowed by the central government, depended on the historical and political individuality of the regions. For example, Sejms – the representative bodies of the Czech Republic and Moravia – evolved from the meetings of the higher aristocracy representatives of the early medieval society to the symbol of the national Czech self-government. Despite the fact that the political sovereignty of the representative bodies on the lands of St. Wenceslas Crown was suppressed and limited by the centre, the land self-governing traditions were preserved thanks to the ruling elites of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. The existing political traditions became a condition for the emergence of a compromise premises of the Czech National Movement.

The practice of compromises is explained by the internal land circumstances (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia) and the fact of the territorial, Czech-Austrian centuries-long common historical destiny. The idea of regional patriotism based on the background of the historical right of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown, the historical identity of the regions, and the recognition of the peculiarities of the Czech-German proto-national community within the State of the Habsburgs, albeit contributing to lowering the degree of the Czech movement opposition concerning a universal imperial ideology, but accelerated the process of the national caste – representative bodies formation.

Established in the 1290-ies the Parliament (Országgyűlés), a caste-representative body of the Hungarian Kingdom, and the decisive supply of the Hungarian political elite, became a valid reason to preserve the Hungarian identity in conditions of stateless existence since the end of the 17th century. Focused on the energetic protection of its ethnicity, the Hungarian ruling class defended a significant amount of its privileged classes and state-political rights. It is significant that the state autonomy bodies of the Hungarians survived even during the heyday of Austrian absolutism in the 17-th century.

The traditions of Hungarian parliamentarism also contributed to the National Revival of the Slovaks, since the competence of the Hungarian Parliament extended not only to the Hungarian ethnic territories. On the eve of the revolution of 1848 – 1849, when the period of “academic” nationalism was replaced by the era of national competition and new political opportunities, the participation of representatives of the Slovak elite in the work of the Hungarian Parliament became an important factor in the Slovak National Revival. Thus, the ideologist of the Slovak national movement L. Stur used the Hungarian Sejm to promote Slovak national ideas, as, for example, the Slovak National Newspaper (Slovenskje národnje novini) reported in the October issue of the newspaper in 1847, writing about L. Stur’s demands on the implementation of “the mother tongue in elementary schools”, the use of the Slovak language in theology and its compulsory mastery by physicians and lawyers (Štúr, 1847).

The presence of such a caste-representative institution as the Sejm had an exceptional significance in the sense of preserving and developing the national identity of the Poles. The imperial bodies of Europe, which contributed to the decline of Polish statehood in the last third of the 18-th century, had to take into account this tradition. In the process of forming the national paradigm of the southern Slavs, the Sabor played a positive role – a representative body that functioned separately in Croatia and Slavonia from the 18-th century. History shows that in Croatia in the late Middle Ages, autonomous legislative power (Sabor), a system of the state regional

self-government (Župa), a representative of the executive power in the person of the Royal Governor (the ban) functioned (Kirilina, 2011, p. 96).

In the second half of the 18th century the starting point for national-political changes in Croatia and Slavonia was the reform activity of Empress Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II, whom Prince Metternich called “a powerless follower of his mother” (Gradovskiy, 1899, pp. 602–603). In 1790 the symbol of the noble historical law – “constitution” – was restored; at the same time, the so-called “municipal rights” were preserved, this fact provided for some privileges for the local gentry. Croatia and Slavonia were recognised as a special part of the lands of the Hungarian Crown. The Sabor retained the right of legislative initiative and recruiting, as well as it asserted the right to determine the official language and to preserve the traditions of religion.

In 1815, Croatian self-government became the object of the reformist pressure of Franz II, the infinite pedant “with clumsy mind” as contemporaries joked about him. Relying on bureaucratic officialdom, the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire forbade the activities of the Sabor in the framework of an absolutist monarchy. The provincial elite was hostile to the emperor’s actions due to the features of the socio-political development of Croatia in the Middle Ages, as well as the attempt to counteract the policy of absolutism carried out by the Habsburgs in the national peripheries of the empire. The struggle for feudal autonomy gained the form of an ethnic opposition of the Croats to the Austrian authorities. Under the policy of general unification, the Sabor becomes a symbol of the struggle for national rights, a relic of a lost statehood. Since 1825 the activities of the Croatian Assembly were restored, but it was impossible to stop the process of national revival of the people (Kirilina, 2011, pp. 122–152).

The new wave of the Sabor’s activity dates from the revolution of 1848 – 1849. Accordingly, the Croatian “revolutionary spring” was intertwined in time with the Hungarian Revolution and with preparation and convening of Frankfurt Assembly. On March 18, 1848, the Croatian Sabor meeting (Hrvatski sabor) was opened in Zagreb. A number of bold decisions were made in the walls of the parliament. First of all, Croatia was defined as the unity of Slavonia, Dalmatia, Istria and the Military Frontier.

As far as the local self-government of Ukrainian ethnic lands is concerned, it is known that its traditions in the territory of the Dnieper Ukraine were mercilessly destroyed by the Tsarist Russia. In the West Ukrainian lands, which appeared after division of Poland, the Sejm functioned, in particular, in the territory of Galicia. Forming this caste-representative body, the Austrian Emperor relied not only on the representatives of aristocracy, but also on the local clergy. So the dynastic monarchy “carefully discovered” political opportunities for Ukrainians. This caused the formation of a loyal, benevolent attitude towards the Habsburg House and transformed into an element of the national historical consciousness of the population of Western Ukraine.

The Galician Sejm was last convened in 1845, nevertheless, the executive body of the Sejm – Administration of the Estates acted until 1861, when its powers were transferred to the executive body of the new Sejm – Administration of the Land. It will be fair to assume that the parliamentary traditions in the lands of Galicia were not the least to become the reason for the increased political activity of the population during the “People’s Spring”. The direct proof of the statement is the creation of the Supreme Ruthenian Council, a political organisation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Uniate clergy, in Lviv on May 2, 1848. The organisation officially proclaimed the Ukrainians of Galicia a part of the Ukrainian people for the first time (MTSSIL, f. XXI, p. 1212).

It is known that the main reason for a significant shift in the national and cultural consciousness of the “Ruthenian people” was the “advent” of nationalism to Europe. At the same time, the very multiethnicity of the Danube Monarchy caused the emergence of an intellectual paradox.

Its meaning was in coexistence of the ideology of nationalism, which had a centrifugal nature, with liberalism, which was the antipode of nationalism with a centripetal nature. According to sources (messages, applications, requests) (CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 798, c. 153, pp. 354–355; CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 793, c. 433, p. 159–161; CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 798, c. 153, p. 437–438), for the non-titular peoples of the monarchy, including the Ukrainians, the process of national emancipation was accompanied by the development of liberal political ideas about civil rights and constitutionalism. In addition, Western Ukrainians under the Austrian Empire's rule, unlike the Ukrainians under the Russian Empire's power, had a greater experience in organising a socio-political life, and their intellectual discourse around the content of the national paradigm turned into traditions of the political life. These circumstances became the reason for the fact that over time the Ukrainians declared themselves the independent people with their own language and culture, who had their right to the territorial and administrative autonomy within the Austrian Empire.

Consequently, the activity of the caste-representative institutions had a tremendous impact on the formation of the national identity of the Danube Monarchy peoples. Autonomous bodies of self-government created conditions for regional political activity and consolidation of the provincial elite, contributed to the emancipation of collective identities within the framework of the general imperial political process.

At the same time, the evolution of a political nation depended directly on the ability of national elites to overcome the path from ethnic separation to a national state, from amorphous social formations to socio-political groups capable of formulating a national ideological cliché. Despite the significant influence of the Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak dominant groups on the process of nation-building, the national and state revival of the ethnic groups of the Danube Monarchy, which did not have their national bourgeoisie, was led by the intelligentsia of various ranks (*riznochyntsi*) and clergy.

Was it good or evil? Did the existence of a “complete” or “incomplete” social structure of the ethnic group influence the velocity of the national revival of the Austrian Monarchy's non-titular peoples? Finally, is it possible to explain the problem of slow development of the Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian and other national institutions only by the weakness of their national elites or by the result of the negative influence of the “plebeian” ethno-social structure on the process of national and state revival? Were the Marxists right, explaining the slow movement of “non-historical” peoples to the revival of national statehood by the lack of a complete social structure of society?

The concept of the influence of the incomplete social structure of society on the pace of national and state revival of the non-titular peoples of the empires was reasonably substantiated by A Shpis, I. Leshchilovska (Shpis, 1982, pp. 133–134; Leschilovskaya, Freydzon, 1973, p. 30). Over the years the concept was developed by such researchers of the process of nation-building in the lands of the Slavic peoples as M. Khorkh, N. Korovitsyna (Hroh, 2011; Korovitsyna, 2006, pp. 103–104) and others, who used Marxist theory of an incomplete social structure to answer the question of the causes of the low pace of national and state ripening of the Slovak, Czech, Croatian, Bulgarian and Romanian societies.

For example, Y. Tybensky claims that the social structure of the Slovak society was represented quite conditionally by its own ethnocrats. Then in his writings the researcher cites the figure of “ten thousand” families of the small elite, which, accordingly, solved the social and economic fate of the Slovak people (Tibenský, 1964, p. 34). Y. Tibensky believes that a narrow layer of the ethnic elite became one of the conditions of political moderation or even conservatism of the Slovak national movement. A similar approach to the causes of underdevelopment of the national movements of the Austrian Empire's non-titular peoples is quite typical of Soviet historiography,

whose principal representatives believed that “the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Serbs, the Slovenes, the Romanians (in Hungary) were practically deprived of a national nobility” (Leschilovskaya, Freydzon, 1973, p. 30). In return, the Hungarian historian E. Niederhauser was not so categorical, analysing the social structure of the peoples of Central Europe, and quite rightly considering that “some ethnic groups had their own feudal elite, their ruling class, and in some did not” (Niederhauser, 1998, p. 29). However, the above-mentioned reaffirms the decisive role of the national elite in shaping the idea of national statehood as the ultimate goal of a nation's development. Consequently, the methodological approach by which the process of modernisation of the Czech, Slovak, Romanian, Serbian and Ukrainian societies was a matter of mostly a small social layer – intelligentsia, of course, should be considered as basic in the estimation of maturation rates in the context of national movements of the idea of separation.

As to the role of the leading layer in the national and state revival of non-titular nations in the Habsburg Monarchy, it will be logical to assume that it was exactly such a category of ethnic elite as gentry (*szlachta*) that not only defended its social privileges, including cherishing the idea of a certain political revenge, keeping the memory of historic greatness of its past, but also served as an additional social source for the formation of a new political and spiritual elite, that is, it was the subject of the process of modernisation. In its effort to protect the principle of its historical law, to justify its claims to the status of privileges, territorial possessions, the gentry armed itself with the attributes of national ideology and took part in the political struggle of the age of the formation of nations.

Active participation of the Hungarian and Polish gentry in the national liberation movement of their countries became an example of this fact. Thus, in 1867 the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I was compelled to compromise with the Hungarian elite, which resulted in that the Austrian Empire transformed into a dual state – Austro-Hungary. Although the Polish gentry, as it is known, could not achieve such results, since 1815 it became a part of the Russian Empire on the rights of the Kingdom of Poland.

With this in mind, we can ask a question: where is the hidden mechanism that triggers a sense of personal dignity and high degree of national patriotism, and why did the Hungarian and Polish gentry find the strength to manifest themselves in the active phase of their movements, and, for example, the Czech, and even more so, Slovak elites remained almost invisible participants in the periods of radical challenge? Comparison of the quantitative indicators of the national gentry of the peoples enslaved by Habsburgs, will help to answer this question. Thus, according to the well-known statistician E. Fényes' estimates, about 800 thousand representatives of gentry lived in the lands of the Hungarian Crown in the early 1840's (Schuselka, 1843, pp. 68–75). As the Soviet researcher R. Averbukh noted, by its number the Hungarian gentry almost four times exceeded the number of craftsmen's population of the Hungarian Kingdom (Averbukh, 1965).

According to the Polish Encyclopedia of Gentry, the Polish gentry accounted for more than a million out of ten million of Polish people or 10 % of the number of all Poles (Polska encyklopedia, 1935). Taking into account that almost every tenth citizen of the Rzecz Pospolita (Commonwealth) had the title of nobility, 8 – 10 % of the whole state's population participated in parliamentary activities.

Gentry was the most important and quite big part of the Slovak population of the empire. By the way, more than a half of the total number of the privileged class of the kingdom lived on the Slovak ethnic lands that occupied one fifth of the territory of Hungary (in 1787 – more than 95,700; by 1846 the number of gentry grew to 163,500) (Bogdanov, 2003, pp. 210–211).

Among the abovementioned peoples, not only the members of wealthy and influential families (magnates), but also the holders of the so-called Privilege Certificates should be classified

as gentry. For the latter, the positive principle of constructing a collective identity was formed on the basis of the status membership, because ethnic affiliation was something secondary in their outlooks.

The above-mentioned fact allows us to state the presence of a heterogeneous structure of a higher caste. The structure of the gentry included not only large landowners, or landlords, but also zemans (Latin “nobilies” or “nobiles regni”, that is, nobles or Royal Nobles). Certainly, petty gentry as an inner layer of the noble hierarchy was no exception, inherent only to the territories of the Habsburg Monarchy, but it was rather a pan-European phenomenon.

By the way, similar processes of class differentiation also took place in Croatia. At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century 84 % of the gentry did not own peasants, and because of the “terrible poverty” they could not even carry out military service (Freydson, 2001, pp. 71).

Thus, the petty gentry (zemans) represented a big part of small landowners in the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and they quite often carried out their economic activities on their own, and sometimes were even hired to cultivate peasant lands. The main thing that distinguished the petty gentry from peasants was a system of feudal law, in which the order of hierarchical social relations was fixed. Thus, in spite of the size of material prosperity, the petty gentry of Central Europe, in any case, was legally more privileged than the peasants who had a lower position on the social ladder. Accordingly, on the eve of the Peoples’ Spring, the nobility, including the small landowners, was an integral part of the higher ruling class according to all formal indicators. This means that the social structure of the ruling class of the Danube Monarchy was variegated and differentiated.

At the same time, the social structure of certain Slavic peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy was quite typical and did not differ fundamentally from the social structure of the rest of the empire’s regions. With regard to the modernisation of the Czech, Serbian, and Slovak spiritual culture and language, it was a matter of a small social layer of the national intelligentsia (priests, teachers, doctors) as well as of regional and provincial gentry. According to the Slovak scholar J. Hučko, the social basis of the intellectual elite was represented by people of different states, which included 20–25 % of the local gentry representatives (Hučko, 1974, p. 2). The rest of the regional elites’ representatives were petty gentry with its high degree of national amorphism, conformism, and, thus, the mere desire to preserve its status of feudal lords, since only the nobility was the bearer of political rights.

The Conclusions. So the policy of de-ethnicization of the upper layers of the population in the Habsburg State did not lead to the formation of ethnic groups with an “incomplete social structure”, as argued by Marxists, but this policy caused a certain disbalance or “stratification imbalance” within certain ethnic groups of non-titular nations.

At the same time, the ruling elite’s heterogeneity of a number of ethnic groups of the Habsburg Monarchy became a significant factor in deterring their socio-political activity, that resulted in the ruling elite’s indifferent attitude to the ideology of national revival and, consequently, the gentry’s loyal attitude towards the metropolis.

Another part of the national elite’s representatives of the non-titular ethnic groups of the Danube Monarchy, mostly petty gentry, became the driving force behind the acceleration of the national process, the intellectual condition of active national propaganda and a qualitative component of the Peoples’ Spring. Such national revival leaders as Archbishop O. Rudney, the Slovak awakening participant A. F. Kollár, the scientists and language coders M. Bel, A. Bernolák, J. Csaplovics, J. Palkovič, the theater founder G. Fejérpataky-Belopotoczky, Hungarian radical

revolutionaries S. Petőfi and L. Kossuth, were representatives of the petty gentry environment. Finally, the petty provincial gentry was the core of the non-titular national elite of the Habsburg Monarchy and the leader of their national movement for gaining independence. However, World War I and new principles of International Order, determined by the victorious powers of the Great War, became the external factors on their way to independence.

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**SOCIAL ANOMALIES IN VOLYN
IN THE PERIOD OF NEP AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THEM**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is a comprehensive analysis of the actions taken by the relevant Soviet authorities in Volyn in the period of the new economic policy (NEP), in order to eliminate the manifestations of different types of social anomalies. Objectives of the study: to determine the main forms of deviant behavior of certain categories of the population of Soviet Volyn and their manifestations during NEP; explore the ways and methods of the Soviet power's fight against them. The methodological basis of the study is general scientific (logical and comparative) and special historical methods (problem-chronological). They allowed us to determine the period in which social anomalies were investigated specifically, in chronological and logical sequence. Comparative analysis was used to study individual phenomena. The research is also based on the principles of science, historicism and objectivity. The Scientific Novelty. A comprehensive analysis of the problem of manifestations of social anomalies in the region in the period of NEP and ways of fighting them was made for the first time. New archival documents on this problem and materials of the periodicals*

of those years were put into scientific circulation. The study reflects an attempt to give an objective, impartial assessment of these phenomena and actions of the Soviet authorities in the defined period. **The Conclusions.** During the 1920s the new economic policy of the Soviet state was implemented in terms of increasing of the manifestations of various social anomalies. The struggle against them was performed in difficult socio-economic situation, where society found itself after the civil war. According to the analysis of archival sources, the Soviet authorities gave these processes ideological coloring and responded rigidly to open or hidden forms of struggle against it. These problems were caused by various factors, but first and foremost by the destructive processes in society itself and the Bolsheviks' struggle for the assertion of their power. In order to overcome certain negative social phenomena (drunkenness, hooch-making, prostitution), the authorities used both repressive methods of punishment and preventive-propaganda instruments. An in-depth study of social anomalies on the territory of Volyn province, such as child crime and begging, is relevant for further research on this issue.

Key words: social anomalies, Volyn, new economic policy, Soviet power.

СОЦІАЛЬНІ АНОМАЛІЇ НА ВОЛИНІ У ДОБУ НЕПУ ТА БОРОТЬБА З НИМИ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є комплексний аналіз заходів, здійснюваних відповідними органами радянської влади на Волині періоду нової економічної політики (НЕП) з метою ліквідації проявів різних видів соціальних аномалій. Завдання дослідження: визначити основні форми девіантної поведінки окремих категорій населення радянської Волині та їхні прояви в умовах НЕПу; дослідити способи і методи боротьби радянської влади з ними. **Методологічною основою** дослідження є загальнонаукові (логічний, порівняльний), спеціальні історичні методи (проблемно-хронологічний). Вони дозволили визначитися з даним періодом, у якому соціальні аномалії досліджувалися конкретно, у хронологічній та логічній послідовності. Щодо вивчення окремих явищ застосовувався порівняльний аналіз. Дослідження базується також на принципах науковості, історизму та об'єктивності. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що вперше здійснено комплексний аналіз проблеми проявів соціальних аномалій у цьому регіоні в добу НЕПу та способів боротьби з ними. Введено у науковий обіг нові архівні документи з даної проблеми і матеріали періодики тих років. Зроблено спробу дати об'єктивну, неупереджену оцінку цих явищ і дій радянської влади у вказані роки. **Висновки.** Нова економічна політика радянської держави впродовж 1920-х рр. реалізовувалася на фоні посилення проявів різного роду соціальних аномалій. Боротьба з ними відбувалася на тлі важкого соціально-економічного становища, у якому опинилося суспільство після громадянської війни. Як показує аналіз архівних джерел, радянська влада надавала цим заходам ідеологічного забарвлення, жорстко реагувала на відкриті або приховані форми боротьби проти неї. Проблеми ці були викликані різними чинниками, однак в першу чергу – руйнівними процесами у самому суспільстві і боротьбою більшовиків за утвердження своєї влади. З метою подолання окремих негативних соціальних явищ (пияцтво, самогоніваріння, проституція) влада використовувала як репресивні методи покарання, так і засоби превентивно-пропагандистського характеру. Актуальним для подальших досліджень цієї проблеми є поглиблене вивчення таких соціальних аномалій на території Волинської губернії, як дитяча злочинність та жебракування.

Ключові слова: соціальні аномалії, Волинь, нова економічна політика, радянська влада.

The Problem Statement. The change of periods of the stability and crisis is the main characteristic feature of the process of the state establishment. Over the past century, from time to time Ukraine has fallen into the so-called “turbulence” zone, which was reflected in the deep political and socio-economic crisis, the deployment of armed conflicts in its territory and the demarcation of society into antagonistic ideological poles. As a rule, such a situation indirectly results in weakening and even the destruction of the mechanism of regulation of public morality and the widespread deepening of social anomalies, such as: banditry, bullying, homelessness, prostitution, alcoholism and drug addiction, corruption, etc.

The permanent crisis of the modern Ukrainian state and the war in the East of Ukraine determine the profound transformations at the level of public consciousness, the reassessment of the established system of moral and ethical values and change of the behavioral model of both individuals and entire social groups of Ukrainian society. During the last five years we are witnessing another wave of the spread of social anomalies both in eastern regions of Ukraine and in the whole country. Therefore, there is a need to study the historical experience of overcoming them following the example of Volyn in the period of the new economic policy (NEP) of Soviet power in 1921 – 1928.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. There is still no comprehensive historical study of the specifics of the spread and struggle of Soviet authorities against social anomalies in Volyn in the period we have defined. However, in modern scientific literature, this problem is highlighted in terms of studying its separate components, such as: “the main factors for the spread of begging and vagrancy” (Ishchenko, 2001), “the fight against banditry, prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism” (Lebina, 1999; Pashin, 2006; Ivanenko, 2006; Babiuk, 2017), “child homelessness” (Bukreev, 2016; Zinchenko, 2017), felonies across the USSR (Kamalov, 2012) and the Ukrainian SSR (Mikheeva, 2011), etc. We partially analyzed some manifestations of social anomalies in the Volyn region basing on research of the social status of certain categories of population in our previous studies. In particular, it was related to the problem of child homelessness and help to children during NEP (Vlasyuk, 2014 – 2015; Vlasyuk, 2018), peculiarities of arising of one of the marginal groups of Soviet society, the so-called deprived persons (Ukrainian “pozbavlenetsi”) (Starodubets, 2018). I. Komar (Komar, 2015) in his dissertation presents some statistics of social anomalies in the Volyn province in the period we defined in current study.

The Purpose of the Article is a comprehensive analysis of the actions taken by the relevant bodies of Soviet power in Volyn during the NEP period in order to eliminate all manifestations of various types of social anomalies. Concerning the content of the concept “social anomalies”, we use the general definitions of modern historical science: “deviation, pathology, deviance” (Lebina, 2015, p. 16), “constituted manifestations of deviant behavior, acquiring forms of criminality, alcoholism, prostitution, drug addiction, suicide, homosexuality, homelessness, etc.” (Komar, 2015, p. 41). On this background, our task is, on the one hand, to determine the main forms of deviant behavior of certain categories of the Soviet Volyn population and their manifestations in the circumstances of NEP; on the other hand, to explore the ways and methods of the Soviet power's fight against them.

The Statement of the Basic Material. In the early 1920s, the criminally dangerous situation in the Volyn province was extremely difficult. Banditry became widespread, “interpreted by Soviet legislation as “counter-revolutionary crimes”. They were qualified as “crimes directed against the conquests of the revolution” (Kamalova, 2012, p. 12). In 1922 in Volyn there “12 bandits formations were registered, almost all of them of a punitive nature, up to 180 people in total. Bandits attacked 41 times, including 5 times on the population in general, 2 times on Soviet institutions, 7 times on warehouses and enterprises, 27 times on individual citizens and families. Bandits killed 3 Communists, 4 Soviet Workers, 6 Policemen and Red Soldiers, 10 other citizens... They inflicted bodily injuries... 15 times in total. They inflicted property damage... 90 times in total” (SAZR, f. P. 1657, d. 1, c. 503, p. 4).

The spread of banditry was primarily driven by the difficult economic situation caused by the effects of war communism. The difficulties of everyday life of the local population were strengthened by the military-political tensions, since in 1921 the territory of the province

became the trajectory of movement of the participants of the Second Winter Campaign. Moreover, the border of Volyn completely covered with forests, attracted bandits formations from abroad. They were also replenished by the local criminal elements.

Both government institutions and individuals and their private entities were the target for attacks of bandits' formations. Thus, "in April 1922, the Mastolarchuk gang, operating in Zhytomyr county launched an assault and robbery of enterprises, peasants of the southeastern part of the county and visiting citizens". In the Korosten county (near the village Bilokorovychi) there was an armed "gang of Grim numbering 13 people, criminal offenders ... It was active mostly at night by raids ... during the day it hid in the marshes". It was abolished by the police, "with the assistance of the DPU and the population" (SAZR, f. P. 1657, d. 1, c. 503, p. 4 flip-5). To fight the banditry, local authorities directed "32 combat police units, which resulted in the killing 28 bandits, wounding 3 bandits, capturing 35 bandits. 2 bandits surrendered voluntarily. 21 rifles, 3 revolvers, 1 checker, etc. were withdrawn" (SAZR, f. P. 1657, d. 1, c. 503, p. 4).

During the period under current research the process of establishing of a law enforcement system of the Soviet power took place. Its legislative field was constantly changing and was too ideologically colored, given the totalitarian political system of the Bolshevik state. That is why, in some police reports the special attention is paid to the presence of political and ideological gangs in the region. "There was a rebel detachment led by Ievgen Rukhnytsky near Olevsk of Korostens county which tried to capture Olevsk. Certain gangs were pursued by the Soviet authorities until they escaped to Poland (SAZR, f. P. 2567, d. 1, c. 208, p. 126). Among the most active were the Solomynskyi gang (15–20 people), the "followed Petliura in political direction, which operated in Polonskyi and Novograd-Volynskyi counties and was mainly concerned with disruption of the work of Soviet bodies, terror among Soviet workers, police and Red Soldiers ... the destruction of food authorities" (SAZR, f. P. 1657, d. 1, c. 503, p. 4). As we can see, the author of the document emphasizes that the targets of the gang attacks are, first of all, Soviet institutions, Bolshevik activists and party-Soviet officials. In this way, the people were asserted that the criminals were mostly descended from the "bourgeois and transitional classes" who did not accept the revolution and tried to damage the establishment of a new country (Hertsenzon, 1953, p. 58–59). The authorities purposefully formed the image of a criminal who is associated with a representative of the "old world" in the consciousness of society. It can also be considered as one of the methods of struggle against social anomalies, in particular, organized banditry.

In the early 1920s, there was a tendency for the spread of banditry throughout Ukraine. "With the end of the civil war and the cessation of hostilities, the remnants of enemy groups instead of fighting for power under political slogans chose a course of criminal action against the population; under the pressure of military units and police detachments they became small gangs of robbers" (Semykopnyi, 2011, p. 61). Volyn province was no exception. "In Starokostiantyniv county, on the border with Podilska province, in 1921 a gang (50 sabers) appeared, heading towards Kyiv region. In the Korosten district, in the same year in the forest near Ushomir, the unknown criminals killed the police chief Balenko and a police officer Datsiuk (SAZR, f. P. 2567, d. 1, c. 208, p. 72). In the area of the villages Fedorivka and Malynivka of Bezhevska parish of Zhytomyr county, at the same time there was a "gang of 40 people, equestrian, armed with spears, revolvers and rifles". In the village Mezhylyska of Bazar parish of Ovruch county the gang captured "a detachment of the Red Soldiers, put their clothes off and mocked them". In the northwestern lane of this county it is noted that

the population is assisting gangs. In the Yurov parish of the same county there was a “gang of 500 people, with 60 sabers, armed with machine guns and bombs” (SAZR, f. P. 2567, d. 1, c. 208, p. 126).

Police reports on locations and criminal activities of bandits’ formations are replete with information about the number of weapons available to criminals. After the civil war, the Soviet authorities took permanent measures to seize weapons from the local population. In particular, in 1923 an appropriate secret instruction was adopted “for the heads of departments and sub-departments of the Committees of poor peasants to carry out a broad agitation campaign for seizure of weapons from the population in the form of leaflets, calls, etc.; this issue was to be considered at all meetings and councils of the Committees of Poor Peasants; it was an order to keep a record of all people who illegally stored the weapons” (SAZR, f. P. 12, d. 1, c. 2, p. 108). The demilitarization activities of such kind helped to mitigate the criminal situation in the region, although slowly.

The political and economic experiments of the Bolshevik authorities led to the destruction of the traditional way of life of the inhabitants of the region and the increase of social tension in the villages. In 1921, the representatives of the Zhytomyr county government recorded such phenomena as: “hostile attitude of the peasants to communist power; speculation of essential products by former traders; the spread of desertion” (SAZR, f. P. 2567, d. 1, c. 208, pp. 32–33). “The peasants hid in the period of mobilization, tried to avoid it in different ways. During July 1921 after checking of the documents of suspected people the province police detained 352 militaries and 37 labor deserters” (SAZR, f. P. 1657, d. 1, c. 280, p. 102 flip). The Bolsheviks emphasized that the reasons for desertion were “the unconsciousness of people; shortage of workers in agriculture, etc.” (SAZR, f. P. 2567, d. 1, c. 208, pp. 32–33). Such passive resistance of the local population indirectly threatened the existence of Soviet power on site and discredited it. However, Party-Soviet officials tried in every possible way to marginalize the phenomenon of desertion, focusing on its allegedly local manifestations.

In the early 1920s, a number of important documents were adopted at the level of the government of the USSR and party leadership, which outlined activities aimed at mitigating the criminal situation. In particular, on October 16th, 1922 Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (Ukrainian: ВЦІК) issued a decision “to grant the State Political Directorate (Ukrainian: ДПУ) the right to use extra-judicial repression, excluding executions, against people detained at the scene of gang violence and armed robbery in case of presence of material evidence which testified to their involvement in criminal acts” (Semykopnyi, 2011 p. 9). Volyn provincial Emergency Commission in only two of its meetings on December 17th and 20th, 1921 sentenced 21 people to death (19 were shot, 2 received 5 years in prison at the concentration camp instead of the death penalty) (Volyn Proletarian, 1922, No. 151, January 1st, p. 2). It should be noted that the most severe punishment was sentenced mainly by those who openly or covertly fought against the Soviet authorities: “Mozharivskiyi Yukhym Kostiantynovych, a 33-year resident of the village. Mozhary of the Slovechanska parish of Ovruch county, was punished for active participation in the gang of “Derkach” for openly speaking out against the Soviet authorities with the gun in his hands, in order to “undermine the welfare of workers and peasants”; Ponik Stefan Antonovych, 27 years old, former officer of the tsarist army – for falsifying documents in order to evade military service in the Red Army; Suprunovych Vladyslav Stanislavovych, 32 years old, a gendarme of the Polish guards – for espionage. Individual people were members of Petliura units” (Volyn Proletarian, 1922, No. 151, January 1st, p. 2).

In the early 1920s, “banditry was divided by the authorities into political and criminal; and those who fought against the Soviet power for their statehood suffered more severe repression than the criminal element” (Sabluk, 2017, p. 104). There were many cases when the subjective factor of the political reliability of the accused had a final influence on the relevant commission to decide on the form of the sentence. Often, the highest penalty involved those who could receive a less severe sentence. For example, “in July 1921, a citizen of Zhytomyr, Isaac Loiter, 55 years old, was sentenced to death and was accused of “hiding iron and the large amount of tools (including joiner's) from authority’s accounting at the time when they were urgently needed in terms of economy restoration” (Volyn Proletarian, 1921, No. 16, July 22nd, p. 4).

In addition to organized bandits’ formations, thefts and robberies were quite common types of crimes in the period we defined. The extent of the spread of this phenomenon in the region we study is illustrated by the fact that “in November 1923 only, there were 193 requests of theft and 81 requests of robberies of citizens filed to the Criminal Investigation Department” (Sabluk, 2017, p. 107). In July 1924, “in Zhytomyr and outskirts there was an increase of criminal offense, especially in the form of systematic robbery of citizens in crowded places” (SAZR, f. P. 28, d. 6, c. 50, p. 11). In terms of the fight against these crimes, the police were advised to identify the suspects, in particular by checking the registration of the residents of the city.

Horse theft remained a serious problem in Volyn during this period, same as in the pre-Soviet period. In the secret circulars to executive committees of the province the spread of this negative phenomenon in the USSR was reported. It caused significant damage and losses to agriculture. Thus, “in the Volyn province, 527 horses were stolen in the first 5 months of 1924, 643 – in Kyiv region, 1000 – in Podillia (4786 in the USSR)”. The Presidium of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (Ukrainian: ВЦІК) suggested that the provincial executive committees should take the following measures to overcome this negative social phenomenon: “1) all people who were twice and more convicted of horse theft should be put on the record for 2 months and carry out the administrative deportation; 2) the people should be urgently registered, especially those who live in rural areas, do not work, do not have permanent residence; horse thefts should be identified among them; 3) Provincial executive committees should increase assignation from local budgets to the secret search fund to fight against horse theft; 4) judicial authorities should accelerate the consideration of cases on horse theft and arrange demonstrative processes in these cases” (SAZR, f. P. 28, d. 6, c. 50, p. 1). In the resolution of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee as of August 20th, 1923, “On Acceleration of Measures to Fight Against Horse Theft”, the provincial executive committees and courts were ordered to consider the sentences for such cases within one week and to establish a sentence of 2 or more years of imprisonment, taking into account the offender and the circumstances of the case. (SAZR, f. P. 154, d. 2, c. 1, p. 1000).

As we can see, the authorities drew special attention to the problem of horse theft, since it concerned not only the sphere of criminal law but also, to a certain extent, had elements of a strategic and security meaning. After all, the loss of horses in agricultural region meant the disruption of agricultural work: plowing, sowing campaign, harvesting, etc. Peasants composed the vast majority of the population in Volyn province. Therefore, the fight against horse theft was one of the ways for the authorities to win the acknowledgement among local population and provide social support in the village.

Immediately after the October revolution, Bolshevik authorities declared a series of legislation resolutions reflecting its negative attitude to alcoholism as a social phenomenon.

The policy of sobriety was actively promoted. However, according to the researchers of this problem, after the “end of the civil war, the Soviet authorities faced an increase of drinking and alcoholism in the country. These social defects are considered as a relic of autocracy based on social injustice” (Hapeeva & Khablieva, 2018, p. 311). Therefore, the fight against it was performed, on the one hand, through the implementation of various forms of punishment, such as: fines, compulsory labor, imprisonment, etc.; on the other hand, there was an explanatory work conducted to the public, with an emphasis on the inadmissibility of drinking as a negative relic of “the tsarist regime”. In terms of the fight against hooch-making, in 1921 the police of Volyn province received an official order from the local authorities “to bring the people involved in this activities to compulsory labor for up to 5 years and confiscate their property” (SAZR, f. P. 1657, d. 1, c. 280, p. 43 flip).

In the circular to the district executive committees of the Zhytomyr district as of September 18th, 1923, “On fighting against hooch-making” it was stated that they should take the following measures regarding this case: 1) to distribute in the villages a mandatory resolution of the district executive committee as of July 19th, 1923 on fighting against drinking and hooch-making; 2) to impose personal responsibility for hooch-making on the heads of village councils and committees of poor peasants and village guards; 3) to organize the demonstrative processes in villages on such cases; 4) to strengthen the supervision of the police on alcohol shops, fairs; 5) to take photos of hooch-makers during the process by the equipment for hooch-making; 6) to report on fighting against these phenomena at the meetings of district executive committees; 7) to reward the heads of village councils, committees of poor peasants, village guardians and police officers for actively fight against this evil; 8) to establish strict reporting on this work (SAZR, f. P. 154, d. 2, c. 1, p. 1039).

As already mentioned, the fight against drunkenness was conducted not only by repressive methods of criminal punishment, but also by educational and propaganda methods. In particular, the articles on this topic have occasionally appeared in local newspapers. In 1924, the newspaper “Soviet Volyn” published the information “on the fight of party cells and trade union bodies of the village Bilokorovychi of the Korostenska district against drinking, which was widespread among transport workers. The police found that wealthy peasants from the surrounding areas were giving them the drinks. Those wealthy peasants were brought to court and their equipment for hooch-making and vodka were confiscated” (Soviet Volyn, 1924, No. 9, August 12th, p. 4).

In the second half of the 1920s, the fight against hooch-making became even more intensive. It was caused by the introduction of a state monopoly on the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in 1925. According to Decree No. 13 of the Volyn district executive committee as of February 1st 1928 “On Fight Against Hooch-Making and Drunkenness” citizens were prohibited: to appear in crowded places being drunk (this was punishable by a fine of up to 2 rubles, or compulsory labor for 1 day); to produce and hide hooch for their own use or sale and appropriate equipment for its making; to buy and resell vodka of state enterprises (fine at the level of district administrative departments – up to 25 rubles, or compulsory labor for 7 days; at the level of district administrative departments – up to 100 rubles, or 2 weeks of compulsory labor) (SAZR, f. P. 326, d. 1, c. 100, p. 302 flip–303). In one of the reports on this topic the speaker suggested that to set an example for others, several persistent hooch-makers should be urgently prosecuted in each district of the Volyn province.

The Resolution No. 35 of the Volyn district executive committee as of June 12th, 1928 categorically prohibited the lotteries of alcoholic beverages arranged for charitable purposes.

Individuals guilty of violating this resolution were liable to a fine of up to 100 rubles, or to imprisonment for up to 2 weeks, or to compulsory labor for a term of one month; government officials were subject to disciplinary responsibility (SAZR, f. P. 326, d. 1, c. 100, pp. 431 flip, 432 flip). On another hand, people who worked in the police were awarded at the rate of 100% of their monthly salary for active part in the fight against drunkenness (SAZR, f. P. 28, d. 1, c. 27, p. 524).

In general, the situation of alcohol drinking in Ukraine during this period was complicated and had a steadily increasing tendency: in 1924 it was 1.5 million liters; in 1928 it was already 89.5 million liters (Golovko, 2015, p. 22).

The implementation of NEP has become an indirect determinant of the growth of prostitution. Contemporary researchers of this phenomenon emphasize “the connection between the economic policy of the Bolsheviks and galloping prostitution” (Panin, 2005, p. 82). Scientists see the cause of the activation of this social anomaly in “the development of commodity-money relations, private property in the sphere of services, small and medium businesses; the emergence of a new layer of the population – nepmans, etc. (Komar, 2015, p. 162), “neglecting of Christian morality as a result of the Bolshevik anti-religious offensive” (Babiuk, 2017, p. 53).

According to the analysis of documents, the fight against this phenomenon in Ukraine in general and in the Volyn province, in particular, during NEP was significantly different from the previous period. During the years of “war communism” the prostitutes were subjected to short-term arrests; they were forced to labor compulsion; the most persistent women were held in concentration camps. The surge of prostitution in the first half of the 1920s forced the authorities to take more decisive measures to fight against it.

Order No. 147 of the police and criminal investigation department of the USSR “On the Activities to Fight Against Prostitution and Organizational Forms of this Fight” (November, 1923) suggested provincial executive committees, trade unions and health departments: to be careful when reducing staff in enterprises, institutions, and organizations terminating of disadvantaged and economically unstable women (single women and homeless girls, pregnant women and women with children); the departments of labor protection and trade unions to protect the interests of these groups of women in the first place; to organize industrial production articles for absorption of certain groups of unemployed women of under-qualification, as well as to involve them in public works, to promote their professional training and development; to combat women's homelessness by creating dormitories and temporary homes for such women; to expand sanitation and propaganda work among adults and young people in their places of work and study. Along with these activities, it was ordered to strengthen the administrative supervision of cafes, restaurants, cabarets, hotels. However, the prostitutes shouldn't have been pursued (as it was in the pre-Soviet period). Only mediators and those who promoted the development of prostitution were pursued. (SAZR, f. P. 1, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 2–2 flip).

Prostitution is always accompanied by the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Therefore, the organization of clinics and dispensaries of sexually transmitted diseases for the accessible and free treatment of such patients was of great importance in the republic. To implement all these initiatives successfully, it was “recommended to involve local public organizations in addition to state bodies”. The Regulations about provincial councils for the fight against sexually transmitted diseases and prostitution have been developed for health departments (SAZR, f. P. 1, d. 1, c. 4, p. 3). Quite often, the problem was not only to cure the

body of a sick person, but also to maintain his/her moral and psychological condition. For example, in one of the issues of the “Volynsky Proletary” newspaper in 1922 it was reported that “the case of the suicide of a Red Army soldier Stoliarchuk due to infection with a sexually transmitted disease from prostitute” (Volynskyy Proletary, 1922, No. 151, January 1st, p. 3). In general, the problem of prostitution in the Volyn province during the period under study was quite sharp. However, the scale of its spread was smaller than in industrialized regions. The peasants of a vast majority of population of the region, despite all the ideological experiments of the Bolsheviks, kept the traditions of patriarchal domestic culture for a long time. Accordingly, adultery and prostitution (even more) were condemned publicly, sometimes even ostracized.

The Conclusions. Thus, during the 1920s the new economic policy of the Soviet state was implemented in terms of increasing of manifestations of various social anomalies. The spread of banditry here in the form of organized armed groups, which carried out predatory attacks on private households of local residents and public institutions from time to time, worsened the criminally dangerous situation in Volyn province. They also carried out terrorist actions against ordinary citizens and Soviet activists.

The spread of such crimes as horse theft, robbery was also the painful problem the population and local authorities faced during the period we defined. The main burden of responsibility for the state of criminally dangerous situation in the province was assigned to the local police. The vector of its activity was determined by the normative documents which were adopted at the state, republic or local level.

Changes in the traditional way of life of the local population, anti-religious policy which destroyed and eroded peasant age-old moral ethics, permanent economic crisis and political instability caused the spread of such negative social phenomena as drunkenness, hooch-making and prostitution. In order to overcome them the authorities used both, repressive methods of punishment and instruments of preventive propaganda.

The ideological character of the Bolshevik policy which aimed at overcoming social anomalies within Volyn province was its special feature. The Soviet authorities tried to impose the society that the subjects of deviant behavior were, as a rule, ideological adherents of the “tsarist regime”, the kulaks and the bourgeoisie, so the enemies of the “working people”. Often, the severity of criminal penalties depended on the political loyalty of the accused.

Finally, it should be noted that an in-depth study of such social anomalies in the Volyn province as child crime and begging would be relevant for further research of the problem we identified.

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**KYIV EPARCHY WITHIN
THE SOVIET RUSSIAN ANTI-RELIGIOUS POLICY IN THE 1920-ies**

Abstract. *The article aims at illustrating the functioning of Kyiv eparchy under the conditions of socioeconomic upheavals during the 1920-ies and at defining the principles of the Soviet state policy towards church treasures. The Research methodology is based on general scientific principles of objectivity, historicism, systematicity, comprehensiveness, which made it possible to accurately recreate the sociopolitical and economic standing of Kyiv eparchy and ensured the reliability of research findings. The scientific value of the article consists in the fact that the statistical data reflecting the functioning of Kyiv eparchy in the 1920-ies were, for the first time, systematized and analyzed in Ukrainian historiography. It is found that whether temples, monasteries and convents were closed or destroyed. It is defined when they ceased to be the objects of religious worship. Their further fate is clarified.*

The article focuses on the analysis of the Soviet government policy towards the demolition of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a social institution, elimination of its religious buildings, closure of temples and theological schools, destruction of monasteries and convents, prohibition of church

bells, confiscation of church property and persecution of the Orthodox priesthood in the territory of an individual church administrative unit. It clarifies the position of Kyiv eparchy of the Ukrainian exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church in an age of the Soviet legislation in the 1920-ies. It specifies the principles of the Soviet policy towards church property within Kyiv eparchy, the position of its Orthodox clergy and the means of anti-religious propaganda, which made it possible to estimate the extent of material and spiritual losses of the Ukrainian people. **The Conclusions.** Studying the principles of the Soviet state policy towards the church treasures within Kyiv eparchy and analyzing the standing of its Orthodox clergy, as well as the means of atheistic propaganda, one can estimate the extent of material and spiritual losses of the Ukrainian people.

Key words: Russian policy, Soviet government, Kyiv eparchy, church property, confiscation, spiritual loss.

КИЇВСЬКА ЄПАРХІЯ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ АНТИРЕЛІГІЙНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ 1920-х рр.

Анотація. Мета статті – показати становище Київської єпархії в умовах соціально-економічних потрясінь 1920-х рр., визначити засади радянської державної політики щодо церковного майна. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на комплексі загальнонаукових принципів об'єктивності, історизму, системності, всебічності, дотримання яких дало змогу максимально точно відтворити суспільно-політичне та економічне становище Київської єпархії, забезпечило достовірність результатів дослідження. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії систематизовано й проаналізовано статистичні дані, що відображають становище Київської єпархії у 1920-х рр., закриті чи зруйновані її храми та монастирі, встановлено дати виведення їх із об'єктів культового використання, з'ясовано подальшу долю.

У статті проаналізовано політику російської радянської влади щодо нищення православної церкви в Україні як соціального інституту, ліквідації її культових споруд, закриття храмів та духовних навчальних закладів, руйнування монастирів, заборону церковного дзвону, конфіскації церковних цінностей та репресії православного духовенства на території окремо взятої церковної адміністративно-територіальної одиниці. З'ясовано становище Київської єпархії Українського екзархату Російської православної церкви в умовах дії російського радянського законодавства 1920-х рр. **Висновки.** Дослідження засад радянської державної політики щодо церковного майна в межах Київської єпархії, аналіз становища її православного духовенства, засобів здійснення атеїстичної пропаганди дають можливість оцінити масштаби матеріальних і духовних втрат українського народу.

Ключові слова: російська політика, радянська влада, Київська єпархія, церковне майно, конфіскація, духовні втрати.

The Problem Statement. The democratic processes in the society and the collapse of the Communist ideology have contributed to the revival of religious life in Ukraine and expanded the role of the church in cultivating the spirituality of its people. A special period in the spiritual life of the Ukrainians began after the liberalization of state-church relations in the late 1980-ies and the early 1990-ies and the increased a religious activity of the population accompanied by religious renaissance, restoration of ancient temples, construction of new shrines and support of theological education. This was due to the raising of the ban on religious freedom at the constitutional level, the state guarantee for Freedom of Conscience, rejection of the Communist ideology and increasing social problems. The return to religion allowed the most Ukrainians to fill ideological and moral vacuum created as a result of the loss of previous religious beliefs and values and to seek for a spiritual support in life and to restore spiritual values of the past.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. O. Ihnatush and A. Kyrydon were the first ones, who conducted an overview of the position of the Ukrainian Orthodox

Church in the context of the state-church relations in the 20th century. O. Ihnatush analyzes the status of Orthodoxy in Ukraine, which split into several churches in the 1920-ies and 1930-ies and sought for the ways to restore unity (Ihnatusha, 2008). The author reveals the modernizing character of the split and highlights the influence of European civilization, the Ukrainian national revolution and the Soviet authorities on the institutional status of the church environment. He justifies the specifics of the internal organization of denominations, namely the administration, eparchial and parish units.

The relations between the Bilshovyk State and the Orthodox Church of 1917 – 1930s in the “state-church-society” system were studied by A. Kyrydon (Kyrydon, 2007). The author considers various aspects of state-church relations during this period: the origins and the evolution of the Soviet policy towards religion and church, the position of individual denominations through the prism of the state-church relations and interdenominational relations.

V. Pashchenko focuses on the status of the modern Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Pashenko, 1993). O. Tryhub investigates one of the most tragic periods in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church during 1920 – 1930, that is a period of active confrontation between the state and the church, the clergy’s search for their place in a new society, reformist aspirations and the struggle for survival (Tryhub, 2009).

At this stage, there are emerging calls for regional studies on relations between the state and the church within eparchies and administrative districts. O. Tatarchenko explores the problem of separation of churches from the state and the split of the Orthodox Church, property issues of eparchies and the characteristics of Soviet law on Freedom of Conscience in an individual region (Tatarchenko, 2010).

V. Olitskyi studies the Soviet repression of the church as a multidimensional process, aimed, on the one hand, against the church as a social institution and, on the other hand, against the clergy as its ministers (Olytskyi, 2017). E. Snida considers socioeconomic, cultural and educational activities of Yekaterynoslav (modern Dnipro) eparchy, as well as the changes in its territorial organization and administration structure (Snida, 2016).

O. Nestulia examines the influence of the state anti-religious propaganda on the protection of places of worship during 1917 – 1941 (Nestulia, 1995). He analyzes the activities of state landmark protective services, museums, institutions of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the role of the public in protecting places of worship.

The problematic relations between the Soviet authorities and the Orthodox Church in the early 1920-ies have recently attracted the attention of Russian researchers. Indeed, M. Krapivin indicates the efforts of the Bilshovyk leadership, from the first days of its power, to control the Orthodox Church and its clergy. The Bilshovyks attempted to secure their own monopoly in political, ideological and cultural areas by neutralizing the influence of religion on society. The Orthodox Church faced hard times after the introduction of the Soviet legislation on religion. The author points out the absence of a transitional period between the old and new socio-legal status of confessional associations. The Basic Decree of 1918 and the Instruction on Its Application of August 30, 1918 completely deprived the Church of property and legal rights, as well as prevented the implementation of educational, pedagogical, charitable, missionary activities (Krapivin, 2016, p. 278).

The modern researchers are particularly interested in the position of Kyiv eparchy, its clergy, shrines and religious educational institutions in the 1920-ies, since the actions of the Soviet authorities aimed at eliminating religious buildings, confiscating church property and prosecuting the Orthodox clergy led to the negative consequences for the religious and

cultural development of Ukrainian society. Presently, one can only clarify the preconditions, causes and consequences of such a large-scale phenomenon in the 1920 – 1930-ies. Having assessed the damage done to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, one can conclude that the Ukrainian people lost material items, cultural values and spiritual treasures accumulated over centuries.

The purpose of the article to show the standing of Kyiv eparchy under the conditions of socioeconomic upheavals during the 1920-ies and define the principles of the Soviet state policy towards church treasures.

The Statement of the Basic Material. At the time of the proclamation of an independent Ukrainian State in 1918, there were nine Orthodox eparchies, namely Kholm eparchy, Volyn eparchy (with a bishop's throne in Zhytomyr), Podilia eparchy (with a bishop's throne in Kamianets-Podilskyi), Kyiv eparchy, Chernihiv eparchy, Kharkiv eparchy, Ekaterynoslav eparchy, Poltava eparchy, Kherson eparchy (with a bishop's throne in Odesa), which were the part of the metropolitan district. The issue of territorial boundaries between the eparchies was raised at the All-Russian Council or Sobor in September 1918. It was agreed to match the boundaries of the eparchies to the administrative boundaries of the provinces (*Polozhenie ob oblastnyh Preosvyashchennyh*, 1934, p. 218).

The eparchy was ruled by the administration directly subordinate to the supreme bishop. According to the canon law of the Orthodox Church, as well as the age-old tradition, the bishop is not only the bearer of sacred power but also the administrator within the boundaries of his eparchy. In Ukraine, the eparchies were ruled by one metropolitan, three archbishops and five bishops. In addition to the ruling eparchial bishops, there were 16 vicar bishops: 4 – in Kyiv eparchy (Chyhyryn, Uman, Kaniv and Cherkasy); 3 – in Kherson eparchy (Novomyrhorod, Yelyzavethrad and Mykolaiv); 2 – in Podolia eparchy (Vinnytsia and Balta); 1 – in Poltava eparchy (Pryluky); 1 – in Kharkiv eparchy (Sumy); 1 – in Ekaterynoslav eparchy (Pavlohrad) (Bilokin, 1992, 100).

Therefore, there were 25 Ukrainian bishops subject to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia in 1918 (Bidnov, 1921, p. 5). All hierarchs were well-educated and had academic degrees in theology.

After the Church of Kyiv came into existence in the second half of the 9th century, certain historical circumstances changed the way eparchies were ruled. Thus, the Metropolitan of Kyiv was long the only bishop in his eparchy. He was entitled to elect or approve candidates to the priesthood and to ordain them. Some ordained priests helped the Metropolitan to solve some administrative issues. The Members of the Metropolitan Office were expected to be well-educated and respectable priests from Kyiv.

Due to the development and spiritual formation of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, it so successfully established itself that over 50 monks were ordained as bishops for only two centuries. Subsequently, each of these bishops invited to the Lavra familiar monks from the Monastery of St. Anthony and, consequently, the administration of Kyiv eparchy started to include monks.

In 1918, Kyiv eparchy was the largest church administrative unit of the Russian Orthodox Church and was headed by the eparchial bishop. It included vicar eparchies, namely Kaniv, Chygyryn, Cherkasy and Uman (Bilokin, 1992, p.100); 82 deaneries, 1478 independent parish and 29 assigned temples; over 1710 churches (parishes) with 1435 priests and 33 monasteries with 5193 monks (*Martyrolohiia ukrainskykh tserkov*, 1987, p. 909).

Kyiv consistory was considered to be an important authority of the eparchy administration. Being disestablished on August 2, 1918, it actually continued to exist until April 29,

1919. Consequently, Kyiv eparchial council was established by the decree of Metropolitan (Pravoslavnaia entsiklopediia, 2013, p. 197).

During 1918–1939, Kyiv eparchy was headed by the following members of the church: the metropolitan Volodymyr (Bohoyavlenskyi) (1915 – 1918); the bishop Nykodym (Krotkov) (January–May 1918); the metropolitan Antonii (Khrapovytskyi) (June–December 1918/September–November 1919); the bishop Apolinarii (Koshovyi) (December 1918); the bishop Nazarii (Blinov) (January–September 1919/November 1919 – July 1921); the metropolitan Mykhail (Yermakov) (July 1921 – February 1923/November 1927 – March 1929); the bishop Vasyl (Bohdashevskyi) (February–March 1923); the bishop Makarii (Karamzin) (April 1923 – January 1925); the bishop Serhii (Kumynskyi) (February–March 1925); the bishop Heorhii (Deliiev) (April 1925 – October 1927); the archbishop Konstiantyn (Diakov) (April 1929 – April 1930/February–October 1932 July 1934 – November 1937); the archbishop Dymytrii (Verbytskyi) (April 1930 – February 1932); the archbishop Serhii (Hryshyn) (April 1932 – July 1934); the archbishop Oleksandr (Petrovskyi) (November 1937 – July 1938). From July 1938 to July 1941, the head of the eparchy was not appointed.

The Bolsheviks, who came to power as a result of the collapse of the Russian Empire, prepared a programme of action on religion and the church. They transformed state-church relations. The Russian Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) managed to launch anti-religious propaganda. Soviet legislation became an important tool for a revolutionary transformation of state-church relations. The first legislative acts of Soviet authorities undermined social and economic principles of the Orthodox Church. On January 20, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic adopted a decree "On Separation of Church from State and School from Church" (Dekret, 1942, p. 286), which denounced state-church relations formed for centuries.

On January 19, 1919, the Provisional Workers and Peasants' Government of Ukraine adopted a decree "On Separation of Church from State and School from Church" (Dekret, 1919, p. 35). The decree reflected the position of the Russian Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) on religion, the church and religious persons, confirmed the priority of the state and its laws over religious ones and legalized the secular nature of the state policy towards the church.

The policy towards the separation of church from state was reflected in the legislation of the following years. Anti-religious policies were supported by the new initiatives of J. Stalin, who called for an even more active struggle with religion (Yaroslavskiy, 1929, p. 15). In January 1920, after the final approval of the Soviet power in Ukraine, the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee adopted a resolution "On Unification of Activities of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic" and thus automatically extended the legislation of RSFSR to the territory of the USSR (Postanovlenie Vseukrrevkoma, 1919, p. 10). It was manifested in the limitation of the ritual side of the cult, the Soviet repression campaign against the church and the believers, as well as the elimination of holy relics.

On August 5, 1920, the Kyiv newspaper "Vesti" published an order of the Kyiv Province Revolutionary Committee on the closure of Kyiv Eparchial Council. In an attempt to preserve the structure of the eparchial administration, Nazarii, the bishop of Cherkasy and head of Kyiv eparchy, proposed to create an eparchial office on August 6, 1920. All members of Kyiv Eparchial Council were automatically included in the staff of the office and several departments were created. In particular, the department of religious affairs dealt with

appointment and transfer of the priesthood and the clergy and their rewarding. This department was headed by the archpriest S. Trehubov. The department of parish affairs was headed by the archpriest M. Vyshnevetskyi, who dealt with divine worship and the administration of the sacraments. The department of church construction and restoration was headed by N. Bilohirskyi, who was concerned with financial issues and supervised church and monastic property. The department of court proceedings was headed by the archpriest N. Hrosu and the archpriest F. Pavlovskyi, who studied the issues related to the failure of the clergy to follow the canonical rules, some cases of issuing permits for the sacrament of marriage to the persons who obtained a civil divorce and wished to marry in the church. A. Brailovskyi was appointed a secretary of the newly established Kyiv Eparchial Office.

The Bishop Nazarii appealed to the Province Revolutionary Committee about the possibility of granting the Office the premises used by Kyiv Eparchial Council (State Archives of Kyiv Region – SAKR, f. R-4752, d. 5, c. 634, p. 1).

A powerful Soviet campaign against the Orthodox Church began in 1918 with the campaign for the elimination of holy relics. There were some pogroms against the relics of the saints kept in the Alexander Svirsky monastery in Petrograd province of RSFSR. In autumn 1918, the monastery was seized and robbed by the Chekists and its abbot, the archimandrite Yevhenii (Trofimov), was shot dead.

On August 25, 1920, the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic adopted a resolution "On Elimination of Holy Relics on All-Russian Scale" (Arhivy Kremlia, 1997, p. 457) to legitimize such actions in the future. According to it, local executive committees were obliged to consistently and systematically eliminate holy sites. Justice departments were obliged to institute criminal proceedings for non-compliance with the law.

An economic blow to the church became a decree "On Seizure of Church Property for the Assistance to the Starving People" signed by M. Kalinin, head of the Central Executive Committee, on February 23, 1922, in Moscow. The All-Ukrainian Central Committee issued a decree on "On Transfer of Church Property to the Fund for the Assistance to the Starving People" (Postanova VUCVK, 1922, p. 786) on March 8, 1922. According to these legal acts, a wide network of state authorities engaged in this area was established.

The decree and instructions issued in the second half of February 1922 in Moscow and those ones issued in the first half of March in Kharkiv differed only in dates and signatures. In their content, Kharkiv documents were a mere translation of Moscow ones. In this case, one could compare the sovereignty of Kharkiv government with Moscow one (Veriha, 1996, p. 37). With the adoption of these legal acts, the Soviet authorities legitimized the plunder of the Orthodox Church.

The church property was confiscated rather professionally. Initially, a campaign was launched to include it on the state register. On January 1, 1922, the circulars of the People's Commissars of Justice determined the procedure for a description of church property (Gidulyanov, 1926, p. 126). In Ukraine, the confiscation of church property began in April 1922. During this period, all the churches of Kyiv eparchy were forced to give up the state jewels accumulated for centuries, which would be able to feed provinces with poor harvest for two years. The state received 3 poods, 3 funts and 75 zolotniks of gold, more than 3105 funts of silver, 125 karbovantsiv in gold and 8615 karbovantsiv in silver, 856 diamonds (total weight 1469 carats), other precious stones and metals. The collected church wealth was valued at more than 834 thousand karbovantsiv in gold (Central State Archive of the Supreme Government Authorities and Administration of Ukraine – CSASGAU, f. 2, d. 2, c. 465, p. 1).

By autumn of 1922, almost all church property had been confiscated. The vandalism of the Soviet power was striking for its scale and brutality. As a result of the Bilshovyk policy towards seizing church property, thousands of cultural, historical and artistic values were destroyed. These jewels were also sold for scrap. This eventually led to the dehumanization of society. Therefore, the Soviet government attempted to use the fight against hunger to struggle with religion and its institutions.

The campaign for confiscating church property in favour of the starving people was a major state crime. Its true purpose was set far from the one declared by the Bilshovyks. Under various slogans of assistance to the starving people, organizers entirely robbed the temples. This action was aimed at eliminating economic independence of the church and establishing a gold fund of the Russian Communist Party (the Bilshovyks) designed to deal with the construction of state objects and promote “the world revolution”. It was aimed at discrediting the church in the eyes of the people, first of all, the population of the starving regions.

The main focal point of the Ukrainian Bilshovyks’ anti-religious propaganda, by analogy with the Russian one, was to be the All-Ukrainian Anti-Religious Commission established on April 4, 1922, at the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bilshovyks) of Ukraine in Kharkiv. It was an authority unknown to society for a long period of time. The main activity of the commission involved the following two tasks: the struggle with the church and the clergy; the struggle with all manifestations of religion. Very soon anti-religious commissions were organized at provincial committees and their subdivisions – at district committees of the Communist Party (Bilshovyks) of Ukraine. They also started the campaign for confiscating church property. The churches were closed and reorganized into cultural institutions, warehouses, stables. The clergy was forced to engage in public works.

The anti-religious campaign was divided into three stages. The first stage covered 1919 – 1924, the second one – 1925 – 1933, the third one – 1934 – 1939. The current research finds that 32 temples were closed and 1 temple was destroyed during the first stage in Kyiv. In Kyiv eparchy, 4 temples were closed and 7 temples were destroyed. During the second stage, church buildings were confiscated from rural communities. During the second half of the 1920s and the early 1930s, 8 temples were closed and 9 temples were destroyed in Kyiv; 21 temples were closed and 24 temples destroyed in Kyiv eparchy. During the third stage, the number of closed temples increased. In Kyiv, 28 temples were closed and 32 temples were destroyed. In Kyiv eparchy, 1 temple was closed and 13 temples were destroyed. The confiscated church buildings were reorganized into clubs, libraries, theatres, museums and other cultural and educational institutions. Often, they were adapted to household needs, namely collective farms and granaries, warehouses or were closed. Along with the closure of churches, they started a campaign against church bells. On December 11, 1929, the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs issued a special resolution “On Seizure of Bells from Churches” (*Kommunisticheskaya partiya*, 1984, p. 375). In spring of 1930, the large churches of Kyiv lost their bells: St. Volodymyr’s Cathedral – 20 tons, the Church of the Tithes – 34 tons, St. Michael’s Cathedral – 12 tons, the Ascension Convent – 12.7 tons, the Trinity Monastery of St. Jonas – 30 tons (CSASGAAU, f. 1, d. 7, c. 345, p. 34).

In the 1920-ies, the very activity of the All-Ukrainian Anti-Religious Commission became the main reason for the split in the Orthodox Church and the emergence of new church movements. In Ukraine, there was Ukrainian Synodal (Renovated) Church, Ukrainian Cathedral Episcopal Church and other Orthodox fragments. The Commission stopped its activities only in 1929 (Holodnii, 1974, p. 77).

In 1918, the campaign for the mass closure of monasteries and convents and the confiscation of their property began. In the early 1920-ies, there were 15 monasteries and 15 convents in Kyiv eparchy. In 1921, there were 7 monasteries and 3 convents in Kyiv. According to the legislation of that time, by 1922, religious communities had been established at almost all monasteries and convents of Kyiv eparchy. Agricultural artels or labour communes housed in some of them and included settlers, workers and novitiates, who lived there. Soviet authorities were particularly interested in the financial situation of monasteries and convents, namely their lands, movable and immovable property. Therefore, in the 1920-ies and 1930-ies, Ukrainian monasteries and convents were viewed by the Soviet power as material objects as evidenced by the facts of the confiscation of property from monasteries and convents in Kyiv eparchy, as well as the deprivation of their right to own and use their lands.

The most devastating direction of the undeclared war of the Bilshovyk Party and the socialist state against the church was constant persecution of the clergy and even the physical repressions initiated from the very first days of the Soviet rule. Kyiv eparchy exceeded other Ukrainian eparchies by the number of the episcopate and the clergy. According to statistical data, there were 2520 priests on September 1, 1925, in the territory of Kyiv eparchy (CSASGAAU, f. 5, d. 3, c. 399, p. 10).

During "the atheistic five-year plan" aimed at eliminating all religious denominations and manifestations, 57 priests, 27 monks (celibate monks) and 10 laypeople from Kyiv eparchy were subject to repression and murdered for their religious beliefs.

On January 23, 1923, the exarch of Ukraine, the metropolitan Mykhailo (Yermakov) became the victim of repression. The Higher Church Administration sent the exarch a letter about his removal from the administrator of Kyiv eparchy. A criminal case was opened against him. The 60-year-old metropolitan was imprisoned in Butyrka prison in Moscow and soon sentenced to 2 years in concentration camps. Subsequently, this sentence was replaced by an administrative exile in Turkmenistan (Politychnyi teror, 2002, p. 302).

The rector of Kyiv Theological Academy, professor, doctor of theology Vasyl (Bohdashevskiy) became the victim of repression, too. In 1923, he was arrested by Soviet authorities, sent to Moscow, questioned in Butyrka prison and sent to exile in Zhyryansky District of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (Istoriya ierarhii, 2006, p. 205).

Religious educational institutions occupy a special place in the history of Ukrainian education. In Kyiv eparchy, there was Kyiv Theological Academy and Seminary, as well as Kyiv Podolia, Kyiv Sofiia, Cherkasy and Uman religious schools (Martyrolohiia, 1987, p. 912). In early 1919, there were 628 students in Kyiv Theological Seminary (SAKR, f. R-142, d. 1, c. 138, p. 4).

On April 3, 1919, Kyiv Theological Academy, one of the oldest educational institutions in Ukraine, was closed by Soviet authorities. In order to save the educational institution under these conditions, its rector Vasyl Bohdashevskiy appealed to the new government to allow the academy to operate as a private educational institution. Kyiv Province Executive Committee granted permission to establish Kyiv Orthodox Theological Academy as an educational institution of the Kyiv Orthodox Theological Society. This allowed the Academy to continue to exist for another four years (Sokolovskiy, 1999, p. 18).

According to the proposal (No 206) of School Subdivision dated April 30, 1919, on Elimination of All Schools of Religious Department in Kyiv, the seminary was reorganized into a higher labour school. The premises of the seminary were located at Voznesenskyi Descent. It was a three-story building with big halls and spacious classrooms. Soviet authorities planned

to place the Teacher Institute there (SAKR, f. R-142, d. 1, c. 138, p. 4). Over time, their plans changed, though.

According to the proposals of the Commission of the Bureau of Kyiv Province Committee of the Communist Party (the Bolsheviks) of Ukraine as of September 29, 1925, it was agreed to put the premises of the former seminary at the disposal of Tabaktrest with the aim to establish a tobacco factory there (SAKR, f. R-112, d. 1, c. 8439, p. 2). Kyiv Sofia and Kyiv Podolia religious schools were also reorganized (SAKR, f. R-142, d. 1, c. 138, pp. 25–26).

The Conclusions. The Soviet policy towards the church aimed at forming a rather wide range of legal relations, determined a diverse and objective content of these legal relations, as well as various preventive, regulatory, protective measures and various ways of legal regulation. All eparchies were at a disadvantage under the conditions of the new Soviet legislation. The eparchial administration and the clergy of Kyiv eparchy found themselves at the epicentre of the sociopolitical transformations of that time.

The introduction of the Soviet anti-religious legislation and atheistic policy have undermined the social and economic principles of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and destroyed centuries-old state-church relations. The Campaigns for the elimination of holy relics, confiscation of church property, creation of anti-religious propaganda, persecution of religious associations, closure of religious institutions, reorganization or destruction of religious buildings, accusations against priests, deprivation of their electoral rights have resulted in the split in the religious environment and destructive influence on culture and identity of Ukrainian people, consciousness and spirituality of society.

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**MODEL OF THE TOTALITARIAN STATE IN THE VIEW OF THE OUN'S
ACTIVITIES (1920-ies – 1930-ies) AND CLASSICAL WESTERN CONCEPTS
OF TOTALITARISM: COMPARATIVE ASPECT**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to identify the features of the totalitarian model of the state power organization created by the representatives of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies, as well as to do a comparative analysis of the classical Western concepts of totalitarianism with the theoretical heritage of the Ukrainian nationalists. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of systematic, dialectic, authenticity, concrete-historical approach, logic. The general scientific (analysis, dialectical, synthesis, structural-functional, generalization) and special (content-analysis, comparative, system-historical) methods are used. The scientific novelty. The political conception of the Ukrainian nationalists of the 1920-ies – 1930-ies was first characterized in terms of defining the model of a totalitarian state. A comparative analysis of this model with classical theories of totalitarianism, formed by Western political scientists after World War II. The Conclusions.*

Based on the analysis of the political concepts of the Ukrainian nationalists of the 1920-ies – 1930-ies, it has been found out that they completed the basic features of a totalitarian state. The creation of a model of a totalitarian state during this period is conditioned by objective prerequisites. The OUN's activities took place in the context of a discriminatory policy towards the Ukrainian population between Poland. That is why the ideas of hard resistance to the Polish authorities were popularized among the Ukrainians. It was in a totalitarian state that the Ukrainian nationalists saw a mechanism that would allow them to withstand external threats. In addition, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies, the ideas about a totalitarian organization of the state power were also very popular. The theories of totalitarianism by Western scholars emerged after World War II. It can be argued that there is an indirect influence of these concepts of the OUN figures on classical theories.

Key words: *political regime, totalitarianism, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, integral nationalism, syndicalism.*

МОДЕЛЬ ТОТАЛІТАРНОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ У ПОГЛЯДАХ ДІЯЧІВ ОУН (1920 – 1930-х рр.) ТА КЛАСИЧНІ ЗАХІДНІ КОНЦЕПЦІЇ ТОТАЛІТАРИЗМУ: ПОРІВНЯЛЬНИЙ АСПЕКТ

***Анотація. Мета дослідження** – визначити особливості тоталітарної моделі організації державної влади, створеної представниками Організації українських націоналістів у 1920 – 1930-х рр., а також здійснити порівняльний аналіз класичних західних концепцій тоталітаризму з теоретичним надбанням українських націоналістів. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах системності, діалектики, достовірності, конкретно-історичного підходу, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналізу, діалектичний, синтезу, структурно-функціональний, узагальнення) та спеціальні (контент-аналіз, порівняльний, системно-історичний) методи. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше схарактеризовано політичну концепцію українських націоналістів 1920 – 1930-х рр. з точки зору визначення моделі тоталітарної держави. Здійснено порівняльний аналіз цієї моделі з класичними теоріями тоталітаризму, сформованими західними політологами вже після Другої світової війни. **Висновки.** На основі аналізу політичних концепцій українських націоналістів 1920 – 1930-х рр. з'ясовано, що в них у завершеній формі сформульовані основні ознаки тоталітарної держави. Створення моделі тоталітарної держави саме в цей період зумовлюється об'єктивними передумовами. Діяльність ОУН відбувалася в умовах проведення міжвоєнної Польщею дискримінаційної політики щодо українського населення. Тому серед українців популяризувалися ідеї жорсткого опору польській владі. Саме у тоталітарній державі українські націоналісти бачали той механізм, який допоможе протистояти зовнішнім загрозам. Крім того, у країнах Центральної та Східної Європи у 1920 – 1930-х рр. також значну популярність мали ідеї щодо тоталітарної організації державної влади. Теорії тоталітаризму західних учених з'явилися вже після Другої світової війни. Можна стверджувати наявність опосередкованого впливу вказаних концепцій діячів ОУН на класичні теорії.*

Ключові слова: *політичний режим, тоталітаризм, Організація українських націоналістів, інтегральний націоналізм, синдикалізм.*

The Problem Statement. Beginning in the 1920-ies, the priority activity of the Ukrainian national movement representatives was to identify new ways of the state formation. This process took place against the background of developing optimal models of the state power organization that would meet the needs of the Ukrainian society. They were created under fundamentally new conditions, different from 1917 – 1921. The Ukrainian national liberation movement of that time, aimed at restoring statehood, was defeated. At the same time, undemocratic forms of governmental organization became popular and widespread in European countries, particularly those that regained their independence after World War I. Democracy, as a type of political practice and outlook, was in a certain decline during the period between the two World Wars (Kinder and Hilgeman, 2003; Bakirov and Sazonov, 2005). And this was

reflected in the views of some representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, who showed a commitment to the undemocratic forms of the state.

The most common point of view was among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, who was the part of Poland. The Second Commonwealth generally pursued an assimilationist and discriminatory policy toward the Ukrainians. And this could not but affect their political preferences. Subsequently, a public opinion on Polish-Ukrainian relations took more and more radical forms. The focus was on a fierce confrontation with the Polish authorities. The expression of these tendencies was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Armstrong, 1980; Cherkasov, Krinko, Shmigel, 2015). Its representatives, in addition to the current tasks, developed a theoretical model of the future Ukrainian state. They argued for the introduction of its totalitarian variety. This was due to the fact that such principles of power organization could strengthen the foundations of the future state under conditions of its formation and confrontation with external threats.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. The issues of determining the optimal models of state power organization play an important role in the theoretical heritage of the Ukrainian political thought representatives of different ideological directions. Among them, a special place belongs to the figures of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). They are one of the few, who rejected the democratic principles of building a Ukrainian state, proposing instead its totalitarian model. In particular, the corresponding developments are contained in the primary sources – the works of the OUN figures of V. Martynets, M. Stsiborskyi and Ya. Stetsko (Martynets, 1927; Stsiborskyi, 1935, 1939; Stetsko, 1987). The political aspects of the OUN program have also been analyzed in the studies of contemporary Ukrainian scholars V. Troshchynskyi, P. Hai-Nyzhnyk (Troshchynskyi, 1994; Hai-Nyzhnyk, 2018). They note the fact that the Ukrainian nationalists are committed to a totalitarian form of state.

A special mention should be made of the problem of Polish-Ukrainian relations, which, in the context of the discriminatory policy of official Poland against the Ukrainians, was rather acute. The characteristics of the socio-historical development of interwar Poland, on the territory of which the main activities of the OUN took place, noted in the publications of the Ukrainian researchers Ya. Tsetsyk, T. Hrynevych, M. Zelinskyi, and O. Sukhobokova (Tsetsyk, 2015; Hrynevych, 2017; Zelinskyi, 2018; Sukhobokova, 2018), Russian authors A. Cherkasov, E. Krinko, M. Shmigel, D. Ahremenko (Cherkasov, Krynko, Shmigel, 2015; Ahremenko, 2015), Polish journalist of the interwar period A. Bokhenskyi (Bokhenskyi, 2012). These publications are of a considerable interest because they identify a common historical background that has had a significant impact on the formation of totalitarian models of the state within the OUN.

In the modern works that analyze the various statesmanship models presented in Ukrainian political thought, including those of the nationalist camp, there is a need to compare these models with classical theories of political regimes.

The Purpose of the Article. To identify the features of the totalitarian model of state power organization created by the representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies, as well as to do a comparative analysis of classical Western concepts of totalitarianism with the theoretical heritage of the Ukrainian nationalists.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The ideas about the expediency of using undemocratic forms of the state power organization in Ukraine in the future were most strongly reflected in the concepts of the figures of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies. In fact, they formed a complete model of a totalitarian state.

In our view, before analyzing the concepts of the Ukrainian nationalist camp theorists, it is appropriate to determine the historical context in which they were created. This will give a deeper insight into the essence of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in the early twentieth century and the model of the totalitarian state developed by its representatives. Historical prerequisites for the creation of a model of a totalitarian state within the Ukrainian nationalist movement were both the external and purely internal sources of origin. The researchers (Kinder, Hilgeman, 2003; Bakirov, Sazonov, 2005) state that at the beginning of the twentieth century in European countries, there was a situation of the democracy crisis and the spread of totalitarian political ideas. „Totalitarianism became a political reality in the twentieth century, when global projects on the final rationalization of social relations, developed in the framework of the European tradition, became an unprecedented enslavement of a person” (Bakirov, Sazonov, 2005, p. 380). The emergence of such projects at that time is associated with the peculiarities of the industrial period of a human development. The totalitarian model of the state “is a specific attempt to resolve the contradictions, which were exacerbated during the transition to the industrial stage, between complicated social organization and individual freedom” (Bakirov, Sazonov, 2005, pp. 380–381). The industrial period gave rise to another phenomenon – the mass person as a component of an atomized, that is, amorphous, unstructured society. It is a person, who does not have his own perspective on the environment and dissolves in the masses of the public. He is unable to articulate his own position and completely imitates his surroundings. “Mass is built on the priority of collective forms over interpersonal”, as a consequence, “the role of the state contributing to the spread of statist ideas is enhanced” (Bakirov, Sazonov, 2005, p. 381).

Another factor in the popularization of totalitarian ideas in the early twentieth century, paradoxically, the introduction of democratic principles of a political life, in particular, universal suffrage. “The prerequisite for establishing a dictatorship is modern mass democracy. The sympathy of the masses is gained through opportunistic programs that bring together contradictory elements and through skillful propaganda, instills confidence in their own victory” (Kinder, Hilgeman, 2003, p. 417). “Elections on the basis of a proportional system under the conditions of an atomized society lead to the “formation of small political groups and hindering the formation of a clear parliamentary majority. Therefore, many peoples are ready to trust the Führer” (Kinder, Hilgeman, 2003, p. 417). The unpreparedness of the mass people to make their own responsible choices, full subordination to the mass interests often creates a politically dispersed structure of government bodies. Against this backdrop, supporters of undemocratic methods of government are gaining real power. These are the realities in the political life of most European countries after World War I. Its effects exacerbated the situation. “Many nations, even in Western democracies, are accustomed not only to strong executive power to solve problems, but also to learn from the war as a means of rapidly achieving political goals” (Kinder, Hilgeman, 2003, p. 417).

Consequently, in countries where there was no democratic practice, the demand for politicians, who guarantee the prompt resolution of complex problems bypassing established procedures has increased significantly. Such prerequisites explain the popularity of the totalitarian principles of state government and the democratic states crisis (Kinder, Hilgeman, 2003; Bakirov, Sazonov, 2005).

The internal prerequisites for the emergence of concepts of totalitarianism are related to the peculiarities of the processes that took place in the western part of Ukraine, subordinated to Poland in the early 1920-ies. In general, they are the western territories of Ukraine since

the nineteenth century that had a specific status. The Poles considered them their “eastern suburbs, which rightfully belonged to them. The Russian authorities (and the public) perceived these lands as the Western edge of the Russian Empire” (Ahremenko, 2015, p. 118). The difference between the consciousness of people, who lived in different parts of Ukraine, was noted by J. Armstrong, American researcher of the Ukrainian nationalism. The Ukrainians living in Austro-Hungary “never lost the understanding of their national differences” (Armstrong, 1980, p. 8), that is, they always maintained their identity and separation from the Poles. Instead, the Ukrainians within the Russian Empire were completely assimilated. “Most of the prominent people of the Ukrainian ethnic origin were russified in the field of culture and a national sentiment” (Armstrong, 1980, p. 9).

It was in the Polish part of Ukraine in the 1920-ies that a favorable ground was formed for the further spread of a fundamentally new political ideology – integral nationalism. As J. Armstrong writes in his work “Ukrainian Nationalism”, “it is difficult to determine its exact nature”, because “its supporters reject systematic rational programs” (Armstrong, 1980, p. 20). However, the scientist made an attempt to point out its basic essential characteristics: “1) belief in the nation as the highest value to which all others must be subordinated, is, in essence, a totalitarian concept; 2) appeal to the mystical ideas of the cohesion of all individuals, who make up the nation; 3) subordination of a rational, analytical thought to “intuitively correct” emotions; 4) expression of “a national will” by the charismatic leader and elite of nationalist enthusiasts organized into a single party; 5) glorification of an active action, war and violence as an expression of the nation's highest biological vitality” (Armstrong, 1980, p. 20). In general, an integral nationalism, which has never enjoyed particular appeal in Western European countries, has instead become “a dominant force in the “discontented” countries of Central and Southern Europe during the period between the world wars. Its influence was also strongly felt in the ultranationalist parties of Poland, Hungary, Romania and Yuhoslavia” (Armstrong, 1980, p. 20).

This ideology was adopted by the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists. It is this ideology that should have ensured the main task of the organization – “to protect the interests of the entire Ukrainian population from discrimination, exploitation and repression by the Polish and Soviet governments. The main goal was to create an independent Ukrainian state, which was to include all Polish, Soviet, Romanian and Czechoslovak territories inhabited by the Ukrainians” (Cherkasov, Krinko, Shmigel, 2015, p. 102).

The OUN activities were most widespread in Poland, which, following independence, virtually immediately began to discriminate against minorities, the Ukrainians, in particular. In December 1920, as noted by T. Hrynevych, “The Constituent Seimas decided to grant veterans of the war for independence and the borders of Poland with land ownership. Only peasants, who served in the Polish army could get a plot of land, and therefore it did not extend to the Ukrainian peasantry” (Hrynevych, 2017, p. 111). At the same time, the Polish authorities “slowed the distribution of Polish landowners’ estates among the local peasantry and generally favored the allocation of land to the Polish colonists at the expense of the Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian peasants” (Hrynevych, 2017, p. 112).

The attitude of the Polish intelligentsia to the Ukrainian national movement, which can be traced on the example of the journalistic activity of the Polish public figure and the famous intellectual J. Bartoszewicz (1867 – 1938), is also indicative. According to M. Zelinskiy, Bartoszewicz lived for a long time in Ukraine until 1917 and, without a doubt, was acquainted with all the problems of the Ukrainians in the Russian Empire. After the restoration

of the state independence of Poland, J. Bartoszewicz, becoming a member of the Polish National Committee, significantly changed the tone of his publications. The peculiarities of his “works of that time on Ukrainian issues” became a departure from the practice of using the terms “Ukraine” and “Ukrainian”. Instead, the names “Rus” and “Rusyns” were used, proving only the ethnographic identity of this ethnic community. Finally, he concluded that “Ukraine has never had a strictly specific historical, geographical or administrative territory. ... Also, “Ukraine” and “the Ukrainians” were not political terms (Zelinskyi 2018, p. 91). He supported the view of the unhistory of the Ukrainian nation, and therefore “the Ukrainians are the least tempted to have their own independent state, which was artificially and erroneously created by the Ukrainian historians” (Zelinskyi, 2018, p. 92). That is, not only the Polish establishment, but also some representatives of the Polish intelligentsia considered the Ukrainians not as an independent nation, but only as a certain ethnographic group, who has no right to its statehood.

In contrast to democratic Czechoslovakia, where the Ukrainians enjoyed a certain commitment from the government of this country (Sukhobokova, 2018, p. 134), in the Second Commonwealth in terms of anti-Ukrainian policy, the opportunities for widespread socio-political activity of the Ukrainians were significantly limited. The internal policy of official Poland was aimed at assimilation and discrimination of the Ukrainians in all spheres of socio-political and economic life (Tsetsyk, 2015, p. 116). This led to a deepening of the Polish-Ukrainian controversy. “This activity of the Polish governments has opposed not only representatives of the Ukrainian political environment, the opposition to power, but also some of those Ukrainian politicians, who have stood in the position of the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation”. (Tsetsyk, 2015, p. 118). Under such circumstances, the political views of the Ukrainians acquired radical features. An increase in such positions among the Ukrainian population regarding the Second Commonwealth was noted by an eyewitness, Polish publicist Olexandr Bokhenskyi, who characterized the then-Polish-Ukrainian relations as “a state of excitement or hatred of the two million Ukrainian population in Poland” (Bokhenskyi, 2012, p. 173). Therefore, given that democratic ideas are in crisis, it is quite logical to explain the more popular view that political self-determination of the Ukrainians is possible only within the framework of the undemocratic model of the state.

Now let us dwell on the developments of the Ukrainian nationalist camp representatives. The concept of the OUN ideologist Mykola Stsiborskyi, outlined in the work “Natiocracy”, became the most complete and complete form. The mechanism of functioning of state bodies was developed by him in the “Essay of the Draft Basic Laws (Constitution) of the Ukrainian State”. The optimal model of state organization, in his opinion, should be built on several levels. The basis of a local government should be the following administrative-territorial units: communities, counties and provinces. Authorities in the provinces should be responsible for the Councils and Governments, which are headed by regional heads and, within their competence, resolve local affairs. At the same time, they must be operated by the trade unions, which primarily express their industry interests. They form the Local Board of Governors. These bodies should provide “ample opportunities for amateur activity of the population in the forms of public self-government most favorable to the historical Ukrainian conditions” (Stsiborskyi, 1935, pp. 114–115). M. Stsiborskyi considered the combination of state and business bodies an effective means of exercising power at the local level. In the central government, syndicates should also play a leading role in the process of forming their bodies, as they nominate their representatives to the State Council, the legislative body. In turn, the

local syndicates form the All-Ukrainian Economic Council as a kind of second chamber of parliament. In promoting the idea of a bicameral parliament, M. Stsiborskyi argued for the need to represent territories and professional trade unions in it. This system of legislative body formation, in his opinion, best ensures fair representation in the public institutions of the broad sections of the people and “at the same time puts the State Council in direct contact with the people, transferring its formation to unions, social groups” (Stsiborskyi, 1935, p. 75). That is, the syndicates were given the role of centers not only economic but also political life of the country.

Yaroslav Stetsko, one of the leaders of the OUN, held similar views on the the state organization problems. With regard to local authorities, he advocated the granting of broad self-government rights to lands with representative bodies and their executive structures. The right to nominate their representatives should belong only to industrial unions, which at the same time are power institutions. They were assigned the exclusive right to nominate their elected representatives to the highest authorities of the entire state. “The power guarantee of the people is that all the productive groups (farmers, industrial workers and labor intelligentsia) protect their own interests through their elected representatives and with their help govern the state” (Stetsko, 1987, p. 191). Representatives of the “socially productive forces, professional corporation” form the “State Council of Labor” – the lower house of parliament. It should represent the interests of “labor and lands”. The “State Council of Labor” has internal structuring according to the professional and sectoral affiliation of its members. The Upper House is the “Grand Council of the State”. Ya. Stetsko noted that it is the embodiment of state experience. Membership in it is granted for special merit for life (Stetsko, 1987, p. 191).

The methods analysis of state power organization, offered by M. Stsiborskyi and Ya. Stetsko, give grounds to conclude that their authors were in the position of implementing the ideas of a corporate society and the corresponding forms of syndicate state. The principles of organization of state power formulated by them are in some way in line with the solidarity theory widespread in the first half of the twentieth century. One of its creators, the French jurist Leon Dyugi, proposed the syndicate state model as a certain antithesis of party democracy and the idea of class struggle (Dyugi, 1914, p. 53).

According to the authors, this approach was reflected in the views of the Ukrainian nationalists. Probably, for them, such a model was an intermediate option between liberal democracy and communist totalitarianism, therefore more optimal for practical application in the future Ukrainian state.

However, it should be noted that the practical implementation of these theoretical developments is quite problematic. Because in times of intense economic development it is difficult to keep people within sectoral associations. This can only be done by force. This was also indicated by a representative of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Movement I. Mazepa. In particular, he noted that “a corporate state can only be imposed by dictatorship” (Mazepa, 1949, p. 81).

Another important component of the functioning of a totalitarian state is the existence of a separate organization, often a party, which performs the functions of the real highest authority and stands over the entire system of state power. It is totalitarian in both its professed ideology and structural structure. The OUN activists proposed the Order’s concept in this regard. In particular, Ya. Stetsko saw in it “the embodiment of idealism and heroism” (Stetsko, 1987, p. 18) of the entire nation. The Order must be unified into a single monolith around certain ideological values. The main one among them is, of course, the idea of the

nation. Public leaders “compete for its implementation. This competition fills their whole consciousness. And it unites them into one social group. The idea unites them. And that is the essence of the Nationalist Order” (Stetsko, 1987, p. 18). It is easy to understand that as one of the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, Ya. Stetsko saw in this Order the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists. He regarded his main functions as “the political control of the masses, the public and the administrative apparatus, the mastery of the political leadership of the masses with the intention of turning into a tremendous force of internal consolidation of the nation and the guarantee of the nation” (Stetsko, 1987, p. 257). Even when working in government bodies, members of the organization must first and foremost adhere to their party guidelines.

Another OUN theorist, Volodymyr Martynets, was responsible for the formation and activities of this type of organization, which would fulfill the functions of state leadership. The vision of this problem was outlined in the work “Notes on the forthcoming conference of the Ukrainian nationalists” in 1927. It should be noted that the above mentioned M. Stsiborskyi and Ya. Stetsko created their concepts based on the fact that such a structure exists – the OUN. In turn, V. Martynets has only theoretically developed a model of such an organization. Addressing this issue, V. Martynets noted that it cannot belong to representatives of parties or other groups of this type. The defeat of the Ukrainian national movement of 1917 – 1921 proved the inability of parties to exercise state rule. Through their disputes and quarrels, they bring disorientation and disorganization into society, generate apathy and despair in it, and ultimately make it incapable of resisting external aggression, thereby discrediting the state idea. Therefore, the task has now moved into the creation of such a representative organization, but on a substantially different basis. A non-partisan political organization had to take its place.

Its main functional orientation should not be limited to the exercise of power as a mere regulation of social relations. The role of the nationalist organization is that it provides for “the coordination and directing of national energy into a strong channel of creative life” (Martynets, 1927, p. 13). V. Martynets revealed the essence of the process of exercising its powers as follows: “The nationalist organization, being the source of state idealism, should set as its main task: the planned expansion of state ideology and systematic activity in all areas of Ukrainian social life, the need to foster power, armed struggle for statehood and prepare the nation for those constructive tasks” (Martynets, 1927, p. 14). The authority of this organization as a governing power in the state is not limited to legislative regulatory activity. It must spread and embrace its ideology throughout society, eliminate the influence of all others.

Thus, in the OUN programming documents, a nationalist organization with a rigid structure and a universal ideology was promoted as a leading political force. As noted, the term “order” was even used to characterize it (Stetsko, 1987, p. 18). This approach was quite understandable, since the nationalists had a negative attitude towards the party institute, considering them to be splitting the people. Instead, a rigid monolithic organization is needed in the conditions of unfavorable external environment. But if we compare the views of the OUN officials of the functional purpose of the governing organization with the provisions of modern totalitarianism theories, then one can state the fact that they are completely similar. Therefore, the ideas of forming a leading political force of the Order type are in fact completely consistent with the appointment of ruling parties in a totalitarian state with a one-party system.

The third important component of a totalitarian state is an ideology that is universal and binding in nature. The view of the OUN functionaries was based on their outlook. “The only ideology that educates citizens of the Ukrainian State is the ideology of Ukrainian Nationalism”

(Stsiborskyi, 1939, p. 12). The activity of any other parties, organizations that profess, as stated in the draft Constitution of M. Stsiborskyi, other ideologies is forbidden. With such an ideology, there are a number of limitations. Amateur activity and citizens' initiative are allowed only in the economic sphere, but under strict state control. There is also a censorship of all publishing, media and education.

Therefore, the theoretical developments of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists on the principles of the organization of power contain key features of a totalitarian state. By the way, in Article 1 of the Sketch of the Project, M. Stsiborskyi stated, "Ukraine is a sovereign, authoritarian, totalitarian professional-state state" (Stsiborskyi, 1939, p. 1). It should be noted that the term "authoritarianism" was used by M. Stsiborskyi once without explaining his interpretations.

The totalitarian nature of these models of state-building has also been noted by modern researchers. According to V. Troshchynskyi, "it organically flowed from its (nationalism. – auth.) irrational-voluntarist and totalitarian ideology and aimed at establishing a "national dictatorship" in the Ukrainian state" (Troshchynskyi, 1994, p. 220).

In order to clarify the essence of the model of totalitarian state proposed by the Ukrainian nationalists, it is advisable to determine the content of classical theories of totalitarianism developed by Western political scientists for the purpose of their further comparison. In a holistic form, the classical theories of totalitarianism emerged after World War II as a kind of analysis of the practical forms of its implementation in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The most prominent authors are R. Aron, H. Arendt, Z. Brzezinski and C. Friedrich.

So, they proposed their concepts of a totalitarian state after the OUN did. Thus, Z. Brzezinski and C. Friedrich identified in the work "Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy" the following features of the totalitarian regime: "1. An ideology that embraces official doctrine that encompasses all the vital aspects of human life has been developed. 2. A single mass party, usually headed by one person, a "dictator"; a party that either stands over or is completely intertwined with a bureaucratic state organization. 3. The system of terrorist police control. 4. Technologically determined and almost comprehensive control of the party over all mass media. 5. Centralized control and management of the entire economy through bureaucratic coordination; this control is usually extended to most other public organizations and groups" (Friedrich, Brzezinski, 1956).

The French political scientist R. Aron in the work "Democracy and totalitarianism" noted the following characteristic features of totalitarianism: "1. A regime that gives a single party a monopoly right to political activity. 2. This party is armed with an ideology, which gives it the status of a single authority, and subsequently – the official state truth. 3. In order to disseminate official truth, the state gives itself the exclusive right to influence and to the means of persuasion. The state and its representatives control all media. 4. The sphere of economy is fully subordinated to the state" (Aron, 1993).

Thus, the defining features of totalitarianism, formulated in these classical theories of Western political scientists, are: the only ruling party that actually performs the functions of state power; a universal ideology that encompasses all spheres of social life through its regulatory influence; total control of public life by the state through coercive coercion.

If we compare the characteristics of the totalitarian model of the state, defined in the writings of the OUN figures and in the theories of Western scholars, they actually coincide. It should be borne in mind that Ukrainian concepts appeared earlier than Western ones. Therefore, it is possible to give priority to this to Ukrainian theorists. Of course, there is no direct influence to speak of. But it is quite appropriate to state the presence of indirect communi-

ation. That is, the figures of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists also made their contribution to the development of the totalitarianism theory. However, it should be noted separately that their developments were part of the OUN's purely political worldview. Western scholars, analyzing the practical examples of the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, have generally taken a negative view of the totalitarian practice of exercising state power.

The Conclusions. Thus, the models of state power organization, formulated by figures of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists, contain all the features of totalitarianism, which, only after World War II, were enshrined in the classical theories of Western political scientists. The creation of totalitarian models of organization of state power in the 1920-ies – 1930-ies had its own internal logic. The OUN acted in the context of Poland's official policy of discrimination and assimilation against the Ukrainian population. That is why the ideas of hard resistance to the Polish authorities became more and more popular among the Ukrainians. It is in this environment that the OUN's proposals on the organization of state power, based on the totalitarian principles of its functioning, appeared. The idea of applying these principles was justified by the need to create a solid foundation for the future state, in the face of its external threats. The OUN theorists have stood in the position of putting into practice the ideas of a corporate society and the corresponding forms of syndicate state. The principles of state power organization formulated by them are in some way in line with the widespread solidarity theory in the first half of the twentieth century. It should be emphasized that M. Stsiborskyi and Ya. Stetsko developed their concepts based on the existence of such a structure as the OUN, and V. Martynets only theoretically developed a model of such an organization.

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THE STATUTE OF THE “VERKHOVYNA” SOCIETY IN STRYI (1932) AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to publish and analyze the statute of the “Verkhovyna” Society in Stryi (1932) as a source for the history of the mentioned society and legal culture of the Ukrainian public of the Eastern Halychyna County cities during the interwar period. The research methodology – principles of scientific, objectivity, historicism, methods of external and internal critique of sources. The research novelty is that the Statute of the “Verkhovyna” Society in Stryi (1932) was first published and analyzed as a historical and historical-legal source. The Conclusions. Thus, the Statute of the “Verkhovyna” Society in Stryi (1932) was drafted by a well-known Ukrainian lawyer Roman Dombchewski in early 1932. This document is known to researchers, but has never been published or analyzed as a historical source. It is stored in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv and the State Archives of Lviv region. The Statute consists of 35 articles, which can be divided into four groups: 1) the purpose and tasks of the “Verkhovyna” Society, 2) the material bases of the functioning of the Society, 3) members of the Society and their tasks, rights and responsibilities, 4) structural and organizational and managerial aspects of the Society’s activities. We consider it an important historical source to the history of Ukrainian public organizations of cultural and educational orientation in*

Eastern Halychyna, the history of inter-war Stryi, the biography of Roman Dombchewski, as well as to the history of domestic legal thought. The document is published in the original language (Ukrainian) with the necessary archeographic requirements.

Key words: “Verkhovyna” Society, museum, Eastern Halychyna, Stryi, Roman Dombchewski.

СТАТУТ ТОВАРИСТВА “ВЕРХОВИНА” В СТРИЮ (1932 р.) ЯК ІСТОРИЧНЕ ДЖЕРЕЛО

Анотація. *Мета статті* – опублікувати та проаналізувати статут Товариства “Верховина” в Стрию (1932) як джерело до історії зазначеного товариства та правової культури української громадськості повітових міст Східної Галичини у міжвоєнний період. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, об’єктивності, історизму, методи зовнішньої та внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що уперше публікується Статут Товариства “Верховина” у Стрию (1932) та здійснюється його аналіз як історичного та історико-правового джерела. **Висновки.** Отже, Статут Товариства “Верховина” в Стрию (1932) було укладено відомим українським юристом, адвокатом Романом Домбчевським на початку 1932 р. Цей документ відомий дослідникам, але жодного разу не публікувався та не аналізувався як історичне джерело. Він зберігається у Центральному державному історичному архіві України у Львові та Державному архіві Львівської області. Статут складається з 35 статей, які умовно можна поділити на чотири групи: 1) мета і завдання Товариства “Верховина”, 2) матеріальні засади функціонування Товариства, 3) члени Товариства та їх завдання, права і обов’язки, 4) структурно-організаційні та управлінські аспекти діяльності Товариства. Вважаємо його важливим історичним джерелом до історії українських громадських організацій культурно-освітнього спрямування в Східній Галичині, історії міжвоєнного Стрия, біографії Романа Домбчевського, а також до історії вітчизняної правової думки. Документ публікується мовою оригіналу (українською) з дотриманням необхідних археографічних вимог.

Ключові слова: Товариство “Верховина”, музей, Східна Галичина, Стрий, Роман Домбчевський.

The Problem Statement. The development of civil society in Ukraine took place on the historical basis laid by active public figures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They manifested themselves, first and foremost, in the formation and development of numerous public organizations, for the most part, in the cultural direction. Numerous Ukrainian societies, aimed at the development of Ukrainian schooling, museum, library, publishing, became especially widespread in Eastern Halychyna. Moreover, they appeared not only in Lviv as one of the centers of Ukrainian public life in the first half of the twentieth century, but also in the district cities of Eastern Halychyna – Sambir, Drohobych, Stryi and others. The “Verkhovyna” Society in Stryi (Stanislaw Voivodeship of the Polish Republic), which has been involved in museum activities, was one of such organizations that demonstrated the desire of the Ukrainian public to preserve, research and develop cultural and educational aspects of society. It originated in 1932 and operated on the basis of an officially approved Statute, which is the object of our analysis.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The “Verkhovyna” Society in Stryi has been the object of study of many Ukrainian scholars, especially researchers of the history of museums and local lore. In particular, in 1938 the prominent Ukrainian art critic I. Svetsitskyi published an article “The image of the development of Ukrainian museum art”, in which he also mentioned the museum in Stryi (Svetsitskyi, 1938). The following publications appeared only in the late twentieth – early twenty-first centuries. Emigrant teacher I. Bodnaruk in 1990 published memoirs about the foundation and first years of the “Verkhovyna” Museum in Stryi (Bodnaruk, 1990). In 1995 and 2002, a publication

by H. Veres, director of the “Verkhovyna” Museum, appeared on certain aspects of the Society’s activities in the 1930s (Veres, 1995, 2002). A. Kozytskyi noted the activity of the Stryi museum among other museums of local history in Halychyna of the interwar period (Kozytskyi, 1999). In 2005 B. Savchuk described the history of the “Verkhovyna” Museum building (Savchuk, 2005). Later, considerable attention was paid to the activities of the Society, including women’s participation in it, by Hanas (Khanas, 2007). N. Zastavetska investigated the preservation of historical and cultural monuments in Western Ukraine in the 1920s – 1930s (including in Stryi) (Zastavetska, 2010). The role of public organizations in the establishment of ethnographic museums in Halychyna in the late 19th – 30s of the 20th century was found out by A. Nadopta (Nadopta, 2012). The same researcher analyzed the experience of preserving historical monuments at the “Verkhovyna” Museum in Stryj in 1932 – 1939 (Nadopta, 2013). S. Terskyi outlined the fate of the “Verkhovyna” museum collections at the beginning of the Second World War (Terskyi, 2013). In 2014, publications by H. Veres (Veres, 2014), M. Zakusov and O. Kravets (Zakusov, Kravets, 2014) appeared about the “Verkhovyna” Society and its museum funds. Particularly noteworthy is the monograph of the last two authors, which reveals the major milestones in the history of the Society. Mentions of the Society are also found in the work of the same author’s duet called “Old Stryi” (Zakusov, Kravets, 2015). In 2017, a short sketch of the activities of the “Verkhovyna” Museum in Stryi was made by Yu. Ovsianyk (Ovsianyk, 2017). V. Banah emphasized the cooperation of the “Verkhovyna” Society with T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (Banakh, 2018). In these works, the Statute of the Society was often mentioned, but no attempt was made to analyze it in detail.

The purpose of the article is to publish and analyze the statute of the “Verkhovyna” Society in Stryi (1932) as a source for the history of the mentioned society and legal culture of the Ukrainian public of the Eastern Halychyna County cities during the interwar period.

The Statement of the Basic Material. The Statute of the “Verkhovyna” Society was signed by the well-known lawyer Dr. Roman Dombchewski in 1932 (Bodnaruk, 1990, p. 438). He was born in 1884 in the village of Verkhonii Yaseniv in a family of Greek Catholic priests. He studied at the Law Faculty of Lviv University, worked as a lawyer in Mykolaiv near Lviv. He fought in the Austrian army during the First World War, became a member of the Liberation Union of Ukraine (LUU), the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP). After the war he worked at the Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in Prague. In 1922 he returned to Halychyna and settled in Stryi, where he opened a law practice. He was a longtime member of the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers (UUL), a member of the editorial board of Lviv magazine “Life and Law”. He became famous not only for the founding of the “Verkhovyna” Society, but also for publishing a book entitled “For the Rights of the Language” in 1934, defending the right of Ukrainians to speak their language in the official institutions of Poland. In 1939 he was repressed by the Soviet authorities and spent eight years as a prisoner in exile in Siberia. He died in Odessa in 1952 (Horobets, 2016).

As I. Bodnaruk mentioned, the lawyer R. Dombchewski actively became involved in the work of the “Verkhovyna” Society. At the first meeting of the Society on 16 April 1932, he introduced the participants to the Statute, worked in the department (government) of this organization as a publisher’s reference. He wrote letters to Ukrainian organizations and publishers requesting to send the literature, drafted citizenships and concluded questionnaires. In particular, he compiled a recommendation questionnaire “How to record topographical names” and sent it to all reading rooms of the “Prosvita” Society, teachers and priests of Stryi

region. He lectured specifically to teachers, forcing them to work for Ukrainian museums (Bodnaruk, 1990, pp. 438–439).

The Statute of the “Verkhovyna” Society is located in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (f. 687: the “Union of Ukrainian Scientific Workers of Books and Museums in Lviv” Society, description 1, case 3, pp. 1–3 v). Another copy of the “Verkhovyna” Statute is contained in the State Archives of Lviv Oblast (f. 1245: the “Boykivschyna” Society in Sambir, d. 1, c. 79, pp. 6–9). In this article, we used a document from the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv.

The analyzed document consists of 35 articles. Conditionally, they can be divided into four groups: 1) the purpose and objectives of the “Verkhovyna” Society, 2) the material principles of the Society’s functioning, 3) members of the Society and their tasks, rights and responsibilities, 4) structural, organizational and managerial aspects of the Society’s activities.

The purpose and tasks of the Society are set out in clauses 1–2 of the Statute. The purpose of this organization was to promote the education, culture and well-being of all sections of the Ukrainian people. Too general formulation of the purpose was specified: knowledge of everyday life, nature and worldview, spreading interest in antiquity and art, preservation of antiquity artifacts by keeping the museum in Stryi. At the same time the following tasks were defined: publishing and distribution of books, magazines, albums, leaflets, stamps; museum holdings, book collections; collecting of old things; research of the everyday life, racial and territorial features of the Boiko ethnographic group of the Ukrainian people; arranging (with the permission of the authorities) public presentations, scientific and literary and musical recitals, amateur performances, “museum performances”, festivals; the elevation of sports; preserving and spreading traditions; honoring prominent figures of the region, collecting their biographies; erection of monuments, care of the graves of Ukrainian soldiers; arranging national holidays, congresses and journeys to get to know the nature of Verkhovyna (Stryi, Zhydachiv districts), its population and its surroundings; combating illiteracy, arranging educational courses; competitions and awards for the best works of literature and art; encouragement of all sections of the people to education, art, science, preservation of antiquity, thrift and labor (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 1). As we can see, the list of tasks was extremely broad and, as further history of the “Verkhovyna” Society has shown, it has never been fully implemented. The Society was mainly engaged in the arrangement of a museum, library, partly publishing, collecting historical artifacts.

The material foundations of the “Verkhovyna” Society’s functioning were determined by clause 3 of the Statute. The financial fund was to be replenished through membership dues, voluntary payments for staging “museum performances” (i.e. for visiting and viewing museum exhibits) (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 1). In clause 9, among the responsibilities of the members of the Society, the so-called “inscription” – payment for the entry of the name into the register of members of the Society was mentioned (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 1 v). Certainly, these are rather narrow sources of income. It is surprising that the author of the Statute, lawyer R. Dombchewski did not foresee the receipt of funds from voluntary donations for various needs of the Society, for the sale of publishing products (which was discussed in clause 2 of the Statute).

The tasks, rights and obligations of the Society’s members were regulated by clauses 5–12 of the Statute. All members of the Society were divided into ordinary and honorary. Any natural or legal person accepted by the supreme governing body of the Society – “Starshyna”, could become a member of the “Verkhovyna”. Equality of rights and

obligations of ordinary members was declared immediately. An honorary member of the “Verkhovyna” could be any individual who would mark some “extraordinary thing” for the “Verkhovyna”. The rights of ordinary members consisted in attending the General Meeting of the Society, submitting proposals, electing responsible persons to fulfill the statutory powers of the Society, controlling the finances of the Society, participating in events to be held by the Society, etc. Individuals may exercise their rights personally, and legal entities through a written representative. The main responsibility of ordinary members was to pay a “subscription fee” upon acceptance into the members of the Society – 1 zł, and to pay 1 zł monthly membership fees (non-wealthy members with the permission of the “Starshyna” could pay half of this amount). Non-payment of membership fees within three months automatically led to the expulsion of the members of the Society. In addition, the responsibilities were to enforce the decisions of the “Starshyna” and the General Meeting of the Society (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 1–1 v).

Interestingly, the honorary members of the Society had the same rights as the general members but had no responsibilities. The admission of ordinary members to the Society was effected by the “Starshyna” by secret ballot or open ballot. The procedure for accepting honorary members was different: they were accepted by a vote of the General Meeting after the proposal by the “Starshyna”. It was possible to withdraw from the Society by submitting a written application or by failing to pay membership fees for a period of three months. It was also possible to exclude certain members from the membership of the Society for violation of the Statute, immoral acts, or for reasons which the “Starshyna” deems sufficient to make such a decision (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 1 v).

Structural, organizational and managerial aspects of the Society’s activity were determined by clauses 13–31 of the Statute. The most important governing bodies were recognized by the General Meeting of the Members of the Society and the “Starshyna”. The highest authority belonged to the General Meeting, and the “Starshyna” was in charge of current management. The General Meeting was to be gathered at least once a year (in December), and their convocation was relied on the “Starshyna”. At the written request of one-third of the members of the “Starshyna” Society, they were obliged to convene an extraordinary meeting of the General Meeting. If the “Starshyna” did not do so within two weeks of receiving the written request, the members of the Society could themselves convene the General Meeting by calling themselves by their own signatures and full names. The General Meeting could make all decisions by a majority vote by secret ballot or by open ballot, provided that at least 12 members of the Society were present at the meeting. According to clause 17 of the Statute, the General Meeting could decide to liquidate the Society, but at least two-thirds of the members had to be present, and the decision was considered to have been taken when no less than three-quarters of the members of the General Meeting attended the vote. The protocol was to be recorded at the meeting (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 1 v–2).

The General Meeting of the “Verkhovyna” Society had the right: a) to elect honorary members of the Society; b) to elect from among the ordinary members of directors board of the Society – “Starshyna” (in the case of an equal number of votes for the candidates, the choice was made by lot, which was drawn by the chairman of the General Meeting); c) to accept and approve the reports and accounts of the officers during the past year; d) to consider submissions of the “Starshyna” and individual members; e) to amend the Statute; f) to give permission to enter into contracts for a term exceeding one year, or provide for a loan of more than 300 zł; g) to determine the monthly membership fee for the next year, etc. The chairman

or deputy chairman or the oldest member of the “Starshyna” holds the General Meeting (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 2).

The election of the Society’s “Starshyna”, according to the Statute, was to take place at the General Meeting by secret ballot or open ballot. The “Starshyna” consisted of 7 members (chairman and 6 “divisional” – government officials) and 2 “divisional” deputies elected by the General Meeting. The election of a new “Starshyna” should be reported to state authorities. The powers of the “Starshyna” shall last one year, pending the election of a new member of this body. In case of withdrawal (or expulsion) of one of the members of the “Starshyna”, the chairman shall invite one of two “divisional” deputies to his place. The first composition of the “Starshyna” should be selected from among the founding members of the “Verkhovyna” Society who have signed the Statute. The “Starshyna” may make a decision if at least three members of the said government are present at the meeting of the chairman (or deputy chairman). The members of the “Starshyna” had to choose from among themselves a majority of votes: deputy chairman, treasurer, secretary, publisher and museum manager. Voting of the members of the “Starshyna” was to be conducted openly, except for the question of admission of Society’s new members, which had to be held in secret (however, the “Starshyna” could unanimously decide on an open vote for such an issue as well). The orders of the “Starshyna” were put into effect after they were recorded in the resolution book and the protocol of the meeting was signed by the chairman and one of the “divisional” members. Promulgation of the order of the “Starshyna” was accomplished by placing an ad on a table near the house of the Society. The “Starshyna” had the right to accept ordinary members, to exclude members of the Society, to manage the property of the “Verkhovyna”, to organize various events, to collect membership fees, to conclude the Society’s budget. The “Starshyna” meetings were to be held at least once every three months. It was the duty of the “Starshyna” to produce annual activity reports for the General Meeting (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 2–2 v).

The Treasurer of the “Starshyna” supervised the Society’s financial affairs; the Secretary kept the protocols of the General Meeting and the “Starshyna”, and also made correspondence under the supervision of the Chairman. The Librarian of the “Starshyna” compiled a list of books, museum collections and inventory of the Society’s property, and took care of their conservation. An important body envisaged by the Statute was the so-called “Review Commission” (Audit Commission). It consisted of members elected by the General Meeting of the “Verkhovyna” Society, audited the records of the officers, and made a report at a meeting of the General Meeting. The members of the “Review Commission” could not at the same time be members of the “Starshyna” (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, pp. 2 v–3).

Separate clauses of the Statute concerned the location of the Society (Stryj), resolving of possible disputes between the members of the “Verkhovyna” Society (the formation of a court of justice was supposed), the representation of the Society before the authorities and the public, the presence of a seal. The Statute provided that, subject to the liquidation of the Society; its property should have been transferred to the property of T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 3). This indicates that the founders of the Society are aware of the importance of the relationship between Ukrainian public institutions and organizations in the political conditions of the Polish state, which was considered the occupier of Western Ukrainian lands.

The last clause envisaged the formation of a partnership with the signing of the Statute by 12 founding members – adults of Ukrainian nationality (CSHAUL, f. 687, d. 1, c. 3, p. 3). Thus the national marking of the Society was clearly defined. The Statute was signed by Ro-

man Dombchewski, Osyp Siletskyi, Omelian Tsisyk, Roman Vysochanskyi, Damiian Okhrymovych, Roman Lysovych, Tadei Zalieskyi, Antin Herasymiv, Shchasnyi Sokolovskyi, Oleksa Lys, Ivan Kuziv, Mykola Prystai, Olha Bachynska, Volodymyr Kotovych. On 28 April 1932, the Stanislaus voivode did not prohibit the formation of this Society, and the Stryi County starosta approved the Statute on 11 May 1932.

The Conclusions. Thus, the Statute of the “Verkhovyna” Society in Stryi (1932) was drafted by a well-known Ukrainian lawyer Roman Dombchewski in early 1932. This document is known to researchers, but has never been published or analyzed as a historical source. It is stored in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv and the State Archives of Lviv region. The Statute consists of 35 articles, which can be divided into four groups: 1) the purpose and tasks of the “Verkhovyna” Society, 2) the material bases of the functioning of the Society, 3) members of the Society and their tasks, rights and responsibilities, 4) structural and organizational and managerial aspects of the Society’s activities. We consider it an important historical source to the history of Ukrainian public organizations of cultural and educational orientation in Eastern Halychyna, the history of inter-war Stryi, the biography of Roman Dombchewski, as well as to the history of domestic legal thought. The document is published in the original language (Ukrainian) with the necessary archeographic requirements.

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The document

Статут Товариства “Верховина” в Стрию

1) Метою т-ва “Верховина” в Стрию є: освіта, піднесення культури та добробуту українського населення у всіх його верствах. Зокрема пізнання побуту, природи і світогляду, поширювання замилювання до старовини і мистецтва, особливо серед бойківського племені, а передусім зберігання старинностей, через удержування музею тов. “Верховина” в Стрию.

2) Засобами до досягнення цієї мети є: членські вклади, видавання і поширювання книжок, журналів, часописей, видавання альбомів, листівок, марок, удержування музею, удержування книгозбірні, збирання всяких старинностей, студіювання побуту, расових і територіальних питоменностей, уладжування – за дозволом влади, публичних викладів, науково-літературних і музично-декляматорських концертів, аматорських вистав, музейних вистав за добровільною оплатою, фестинів, плекання спорту, береження і поширювання культури для традиції і вшанування визначних для “Верховини”, заслужених діячів, збирання їх життєписей, ставлення для них пам’ятників, сипання і удержання могил українських жовнів, воєнних, уладжування народніх свят, з’їздів і прогульок для пізнання в першій мірі природи Верховини і її населення та околиць, оснування і ведення книгарень, поборювання неграмотности, і улаштування освітніх курсів, оголошування конкурсів і премій за найкращі твори письменництва і мистецтва, взагалі заохочування усіх верств доосвіти, мистецтва, науки, збереження старинностей, замилювання до ощадности і праці.

3) Для придання і помноження матеріальних засобів приймає тов. “Верховина”, для викладки членів та добровільні оплати на вступ на музейні вистави.

- 4) Місцем осідку Т-ва “Верховина” є місто Стрий.
- 5) “Верховина” складається зі звичайних і почесних членів.
- 6) Членом “Верховини” стає кожда фізична або правна особа, що підіймається обов'язків звичайного члена і якого Старшина Т-ва, як такого прийме. Всі звичайні члени мають різні права і обов'язки.
- 7) Почесним членом “Верховини” може стати кожний, хто яким надзвичайним ділом заслужився для товариства “Верховина”.
- 8) Кожний звичайний член має право – а) бути на Загальних зборах, забирати там голос, ставити внесення і інтерпелювати Старшину, виконувати права активного і пасивного вибору, б) зглядати в рахунках т-ва і пропонувати на письмі свої внесення Старшині, які вона мусить взяти під розгляд, в) брати участь у всіх забавах, з'їздах, діставати членські легітимації, г) голосувати над внесками членів на Загальних Зборах і вибирати голову Т-ва, Старшину і Провірну Комісію і то право можуть виконувати особисто, а правні особи через повноважника, писменно вказаного. Почетні члени мають рівні права зі звичайними членами.
- 9) Звичайний член має обов'язок: [а)] заплатити вписове І зл. після прийняття, а що місяця що найменше по 1 зл. вкладки до каси Т-ва, б) підчинятися в справах Товариства рішенням Старшини і Загальних Зборів.
- 10) Про прийняття звичайного члена рішає Старшина абсолютною більшістю голосів, тайно картками або підніманням рук. На случай неприйняття кого не обов'язана Старшина подавати причини відмовного рішення. Неприйнятому прислугує право виклику на писмі до Заг. Зборів. Виступити з Т-ва може член писменно заявою, або неоплаченням членських вкладок, через 3 місяці. Почетних членів іменують Заг. Збори на внесення Старшини голосуванням без дискусії. Почетні члени не мають обов'язків.
- 11) Незаможним членам “Верховини”, може Старшина обнизати вкладку членську до 50 гр. Місячно, а навіть нище.
- 12) Виключений з “Верховини” буде кожний член, що нарушивби постанови це[го] статута, або допустився якого неморального вчинку та загалом з причини, яку Старшина признає за важну. Про виключення рішає Старшина 2/3 голосів, картками тайно, або явним голосуванням. Від рішення Старшини прислугує виключеному членові право відклику до Заг. Зборів, що однак не здержує виконання рішення Старшини. Хто раз перестав бути членом “Верховини”, може бути прийняти лише на основі рішення Старшини. Незаплата 3 місячних членських вкладок по собі наступаючих уважає за виступ з Товариства.
- 13) Всіма справами Т-ва “Верховина”, завідують Загальні збори і Старшина.
- 14) Найвищою владою Т-ва є Заг. Збори членів. Старшина Т-ва “Верховина” скликує Заг. Збори членів Т-ва поможности кожного року з місяця грудня вивішеною в льокалі Т-ва оповісткою на письмі, з поданням часу і локалю. Ухвали Заг. Зборів мають бути описані.
- 15) На писемне жадання, щонайменше 1/3 членів з поданням денного порядку обов'язана Старшина скликати надзв. Заг. Збори кожного часу. Якби Старшина не зробила цього до двох неділь по одержанню дотичного внеску то ті члени можуть самі скликати Заг. Збори відозвою, на якій мають підписатись повним іменем.
- 16) Завізвання на Заг. Збори має бути оголошене 14 день наперед на таблиці в льокалі “Верховина”, або в часописі, яку Старшина за відповідну признає.
- 17) Важні рішення на Заг. Зборах западають більшістю голосів, явним або тайним голосуванням, коли явилося найменше 12 звичайних членів. Однак для рішення про

розв'язання Т-ва треба приязности при найменше 2/3 всіх членів з 3/4 голосів приязних членів.

18) Голосування при виборі членів Старшини на Заг. Зборах відбувається тайно / картками/, а з рештою явно піднесенням рук. Однак і рішення Старшини на рішення Загального Збору може наступати явно.

19) Заг. Збори: а) іменують почесних членів, б) вибирають з поміж звичайних членів яко управу товариства "Верховина" Старшину, що складається з голови, 6 виділових і 2 заступників виділових більшістю голосів і 3 членів провірної комісії. На випадок рівности голосів рішає жереб, витягнений через голову Заг. Зборів, в) приймають на внесення провірної комісії до відомости звідомлення Старшини і затверджують або відкидають рахунки Старшини за минулий рік, г) рішають внески Старшини і окремих членів, д) рішають про зміну статута, е) позвляють на заключення умов, що мають тривати довше, як один рік, і затягнення довгу на 300 зл., ж) рішають про виключення і прийняття членів як хто відкликався від рішення Старшини до Заг. Зборів, з) установляють висоту місячної членської вкладки членів звичайних на слідуочий рік.

20) Загальним Збором проводить голова або його заступник або віком найстарший з приязних членів Старшини в разі не явлення голови і його заступника. Старшина складається з 7 членів і 2 заступників вибраних Загальними Зборами (парагр. 19 і 20).

21) Про вибір Старшини має товариство повідомити компетентний уряд.

22) Уряд Старшини триває один рік, а то аж до вибору нової Старшини. Коли в часі року виступив котрий зі Старшини, то на його місце покликує голова Т-ва заступника. Першу Старшину вибирається з поміж членів основників товариства "Верховина", підписаних на статуті.

23) Рішення старшини стає важним як на скликане засідання явиться, крім голови або заступника голови, найменше ще 3 членів Старшини. Важні ухвали западають явно більшістю голосів присутних за засіданню членів Старшини, а в разі рівности голосів рішає голова.

24) Старшина вибирає з поміж себе абсолютною більшістю голосів: заступника голови, скарбника, секретаря, референта видавництва і завідателя музею. Голосування членів Старшини відбувається явно, з виїмком прийняття нових членів товариства, котре відбувається картками, хіба старшина ухвалить одноголосно голосувати явно що до прийняття членів на тім засіданню. Ухвали Старшини стають важними в разі вписання їх до книги ухвал і підписання протоколу з кожного засідання, через голову і виділового. Оголошення ухвали Старшини для всіх членів наступає сповісткою на таблиці в льокалі товариства.

25) Всі права, що не є застережені Загальним Збором, виконує Старшина, іменно: а) приймає звичайних членів, б) виключення членів, в) орудує майном "Верховини", г) займається гладженням забав, музикальних вечорів, прогульок, відчитів, збирає членські вкладки і рішає про видатки "Верховини" в рамках бюджету, зложеного Старшиною.

26) Голова або його заступник скликує засідання Старшини і проводить на засіданнях Старшини, скликаних устно або писемно головою або його заступником. Засідання старшини повинні відбуватися по можности бодай раз на 3 місяці і ухвали її мають бути списані в книзі ухвал товариства, а деякі з них оголошені на таблиці.

27) Скарбник Старшини Т-ва "Верховина" відбирає вкладки від членів і заплачує асигновані Старшиною або Загальними Зборами належности, веде рахунки.

28) Секретар Старшини Т-ва “Верховина”, веде протоколи Загальних Зборів і засідань Старшини та цілу кореспонденцію “Верховини”, під доглядом голови.

29) Бібліотекар Старшини Т-ва “Верховина” має удержувати список книжок і музейних збірок і інвентаря майна товариства, і дбати про їх консервацію.

30) Старшина обов'язана скласти усне звітження звичайним Загальним Зборам товариства з ведення діл і орудування майном “Верховини” і з приходів товариства та його розходів на писмі.

31) Провірні комісія складається з членів вибраних Загальними Зборами Т-ва “Верховина”. Вона перевіряє діловодство Старшини і складає перед Загальними Зборами звіт і приходиться з відповідним внесенням на писмі, що до затвердження звіту і рахунків Старшини або відмовлення абсудиторії Старшині. Члени провірної комісії не можуть бути рівночасно членами Старшини Товариства.

32) Спори між Товариством “Верховина” і окремими членами товариства, які впливають зі зносин в товаристві, рішає на жадання котрої небудь сторони мировий суд, а доки таке рішення не наступить, має бути сповнене це, що постановить Старшина. Обі сторони вибирають до цього Суду по одному мировому судді, а ті вибирають собі третього, як зверхника, в браку згоди що до виборів зверхника іменує його Старшина на своєму засіданні більшістю голосів по припису парагр. 28 статута. Членами мирового суду можуть бути лиш члени товариства з поза старшини. Присуд того Суду стає правосильний в хвилі його проголошення, а поріженні сторони тим самим зрікаються права відклику до других установ товариства або державних суддів.

33) На зовні заступає тов. “Верховина” Старшина з двох членів Старшини, а перед державною владою, голова або його заступник. На всіх писмах “Верховини”, мають бути підписи голови або його заступника і одного зі Старшини і печатка “Верховини”. Печатка Товариства має напис “Товариство Верховина” в Стрию.

34) Рішаючи про розв'язання “Верховини” /парагр. 17/ Загальні Збори товариства постановляють більшістю голосів що з майном Товариства “Бойківщини” має статися. Коли б такого рішення не було, то майно тов. “Бойківщина”, переходить на власність “Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка” у Львові за письменною посвідкою відбору від куратора товариства або Старшини.

35) Товариство “Верховина” повстає в Стрию по підписанню цього статута через найменше 12 основників, осіб повнолітних, української народности зі Стрия і надто по прийняттю цього статутта через компетентне Воевідство до відома, а розпочинає свою діяльність по виборі Старшини на першій Загальній Зборі членів.

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LAWYER'S AND PUBLIC ACTIVITY OF KOST PANKIVSKYI IN THE 1930-ies

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the professional and public activities of the well-known Lviv lawyer Kost Pankivskyi in the 1930-ies. **Research methodology** – principles of science, historicism and objectivity, biographical and prosopographic approaches to the study of life and activity of historical figures, historical-genetic and historical-typological methods, the method of internal critique of sources. **Research novelty** – for the first time in the historical biography, it has been done a study of the professional and public activity of a well-known Lviv lawyer Kost Pankivskyi in the 1930-ies, which later became a prominent Ukrainian public and political figure, the head of the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in exile. **The Conclusions.** Thus, since 1930, the lawyer K. Pankivskyi started his own law practice in Lviv. His cases can be divided into three categories: 1) political, 2) corporate, 3) private. In particular, he distinguished himself as a defender of those accused of “political offenses” – participants of the UMO, OUN, KPWU, Komsomol of Western Ukraine. At the same time, K. Pankivskyi was actively involved in the work of the Chamber of lawyers and the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers in Lviv. During his work, he gained a good reputation*

among colleagues (including Jews and Poles) and clients and was considered one of the best Ukrainian lawyers in Eastern Halychyna (together with S. Shukhevych, S. Fedak, V. Starosolskiy). The prolonged legal practice in the 1930-ies created the personal and public foundation that enabled K. Pankivskiy to prove himself as a public and political figure during the difficult years of the World War II and the post-war period.

Key words: Kost Pankivskiy, lawyer, Lviv, Chamber of lawyers, Union of Ukrainian Lawyers.

АДВОКАТСЬКА ТА ГРОМАДСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ КОСТЯ ПАНЬКІВСЬКОГО У 1930-х рр.

Анотація. *Мета статті* – проаналізувати професійну та громадську діяльність відомого львівського адвоката Костя Паньківського у 1930-х рр. **Методологія дослідження** – принципи науковості, історизму та об'єктивності, біографічний та просопографічний підходи до вивчення життя та діяльності історичних особистостей, історико-генетичний та історико-типологічний методи, метод внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна** – уперше в історичній біографістиці здійснено дослідження професійної та громадської діяльності відомого львівського адвоката Костя Паньківського у 1930-х рр., який згодом став відомим українським громадським і політичним діячем, головою Уряду Української Народної Республіки (УНР) в еміграції. **Висновки.** Отже, з 1930 р. правник К. Паньківський розпочав самостійну адвокатську практику у Львові. Ведені ним справи можна поділити на три категорії: 1) політичні, 2) корпоративні, 3) приватні. Особливо він відзначився як захисник обвинувачених у “політичних правопорушення” – учасників УВО, ОУН, КПЗУ, Комсомолу Західної України. Водночас К. Паньківський брав активну участь в діяльності Палати адвокатів та Союзу українських адвокатів у Львові. За час своєї праці він здобув добру репутацію серед колег (у тому числі і євреїв та поляків) та клієнтів і вважався одним із найкращих українських адвокатів Східної Галічини (разом з С. Шухевичем, С. Федаком, В. Старосольським). Тривала адвокатська практика у 1930-х рр. втворила той особистісний і громадський фундамент, який дав змогу К. Паньківському проявити себе як громадського і політичного діяча у важкі роки Другої світової війни та післявоєнний час.

Ключові слова: Кость Паньківський, адвокат, Львів, Палата адвокатів, Союз українських адвокатів.

The Problem Statement. The issues of personification of history, the study of the life path, activities and creative heritage of prominent figures have become one of the important tasks of modern historical science. The attention of scientists is attracted, first of all, by the names of those Ukrainian figures whose activities contributed to the social development of the Ukrainian people. These figures included a lawyer Kost Pankivskiy. He was an active participant in the Ukrainian student movement in Prague, a defender of members of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UMO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) at politically motivated trials organized by the Polish authorities, a prominent figure of the Ukrainian Central Committee, Head of the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) in exile. Unfortunately, there is virtually no research in modern historical science that would cover his life and activities. Therefore, the need to conduct a scientific study of K. Pankivskiy's professional and public-political activity, particularly in the 1930-ies, is noticeable.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The chronological first work concerning Kost Pankivskiy was a book by a diaspora researcher Illia Vytanovych, which was devoted to his father, Kost Fedorovych Pankivskiy (Vytanovych, 1954). For the most part, we find a nonfiction description of the Pankivskiy family, a patriotic atmosphere that dominated in the family. Since K. Pankivskiy's life and work were closely linked to the Ukrainian

Central Committee (1940 – 1945), we also find some information about him in studies that dealt with World War II and Nazi occupation. Among them, the work of Volodymyr Kubiiovych, “I am 85” (Kubiiovych, 2000), which characterizes K. Pankivskyi as a person, is of great importance. We will not touch upon those papers that covered the work of K. Pankivskyi during the Nazi occupation and the post-war years, given that they had little relevance to his advocacy activity during the interwar period. Much richer is the historiography of the activity of the Lviv Bar during the interwar period. As early as 1928 and 1938, the publication of a lawyer, Roman Dombchevskyi, appeared, analyzing the organizational activity of Ukrainian lawyers in the 1920s and 1930s (Dombchevskyi, 1928; Dombchevskyi, 1938). Subsequently, this issue was explored by M. Petriv (Petriv, 1998; Petriv, 2002; Petriv, 2014), I. Hlovatskyi (Hlovatskyi, 2003; Hlovatskyi, 2004; Hlovatskyi, 2012), A. Boichuk (Boichuk, 2012), I. Vasylyk (Vasylyk, 2012), N. Mysak (Mysak, 2012), T. Andrusiak (Andrusiak, 2013), O. Arkusha (Arkusha, 2013), O. Lazurko (Lazurko, 2014), S. Kobuta (Kobuta, 2016) etc.

We should note that three books of K. Pankivskyi’s memoirs: “From the State to the Committee”, “Years of German Occupation”, “From the Committee to the State Center” (Pankivskyi, 1957; Pankivskyi, 1965; Pankivskyi, 1970) are an important source for us. V. Kubiiovych, agreeing with the opinion of Ivan Kedryn, considered the memoirs of Kost Pankivskyi as one of the best works of Ukrainian memoirs (Kubiiovych, 2000, p. 151). In addition, while emigrating, K. Pankivskyi published several small memoirs covering the work of Ukrainian lawyers in Lviv in the 1930s (Pankivskyi, 1955; Pankivskyi, 1963; Pankivskyi, 1978).

The purpose of the article is to analyze the professional and public activities of the well-known Lviv lawyer Kost Pankivskyi in the 1930-ies.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Kost (Kostiantyn) Pankivskyi was born on 6 December 1897 in Lviv, in the family of well-known Ukrainian public and political figure Kost Fedorovych Pankivskyi and teacher Yosypa Fedak. Prominent representatives of his family were his brother Stepan Pankivskyi – Sich shooter and a hero of the November Order, his cousin Stepan Fedak – a member of the UMO, executor of the certificate for Pilsudskyi in Lviv (1921), his uncles Fedir Pankivskyi – Colonel of the Army of the UNR and participant of the First Winter Campaign, Oleksandr Pankivskyi – an employee of the Ministry of Military Affairs of the UNR, Severyn Pankivskyi – a famous Ukrainian actor, Stepan Fedak – a member of the ZUNR government, later a well-known Lviv lawyer (Vytanovych, 1954).

K. Pankivskyi studied at home, then at one of Lviv’s public schools, educational institute of St. Mykola, which was headed by his father, later at the branch of the Academic Gymnasium in Lviv. From 1911 he became a member of Plast. In 1915 – 1918 he served in the Austrian army, fought on the fronts of the First World War. He then studied law in Vienna and at the Faculty of Law at Charles University in Prague (1920 – 1924). He was an active participant in the Ukrainian student life and headed the student organization “Ukrainian Gradual Youth Group”. He studied under the guidance of the famous Ukrainian scholar-lawyer S. Dnistrianskyi. In 1924 he received his law degree and soon returned to Lviv (Poizdnyk, 2011, p. 54; Pankivskyi, 1965, pp. 134–135).

In Lviv, K. Pankivskyi worked for several years as an assistant to his uncle, lawyer Stepan Fedak, who headed the Committee for Assistance to Political Prisoners (Pankivskyi, 1965, p. 136). Even then, he witnessed lawsuits by the Polish authorities over Ukrainian nationalists who fought for the revival of Ukrainian statehood. Subsequently, K. Pankivskyi was an assistant to the well-known lawyer Volodymyr Starosolskyi, who often had to defend

Ukrainians – members of underground organizations. Since 1930 he started legal activity as an independent lawyer (Pankivskiy, 1965, p. 136). His office was located on ul. 26 Charnetskyi Street (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 23).

Therefore, in the 1930s, the development of K. Pankivskiy's legal activity occurred. His cases can be divided into three categories: 1) political, 2) corporate, 3) private. It was at this time that he had to defend in courts the persons accused of anti-state activity, members of the Organizations of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. The trials against members of the OUN were especially remembered by K. Pankivskiy, who did not tolerate nationalist ideology. No wonder V. Kubiiovych, who worked closely with K. Pankivskiy within the framework of the Ukrainian Central Committee (1941 – 1945), called him a "liberal" (Kubiiovych, 2000, p. 148). K. Pankivskiy himself asserted that he always tried to take a neutral position between the socialists and the nationalists. While being a student in Prague, he became familiar with socialist and nationalist ideas and groups. "I did not attach to either group, but stood in the middle with a slight deviation to the left, although organizationally I was never a socialist," he later recalled (Pankivskiy, 1965, p. 134). In Prague, K. Pankivskiy was staying with his relative, a convinced Social Democrat lawyer Dr. Roman Dombchevskiy, who had worked for the UNR Diplomatic Mission in Czechoslovakia. He introduced K. Pankivskiy to the secretary of the mission, Olgerd Ipolyt Bochkovskiy, also a Social Democrat. Under the influence of these two personalities, the outlook of a future lawyer was formed. R. Dombchevskiy and O. I. Bochkovskiy were supporters of political ideology and struggle, which would be based on moral grounds, and therefore rejected terror and violence as a means of struggle. At the same time, being committed to the ideas of socialism, they had a deep sense of the national idea, and therefore strongly opposed Bolshevism and fascism. The views of these two intellectuals certainly influenced K. Pankivskiy. He recalled: "I learned to appreciate the ideas they lived on. They are largely indebted to the consolidation of my socio-political worldview, and in particular the conviction throughout my life that the powerful values of liberal democracy are far more worthwhile than the brutality of totalitarian tyranny, whether by the Bolsheviks or nationalists. Regardless of their influence on me, I always had my own opinion on things. I understood that political life and political action are guided not only by cold reason and logic, but largely by feelings and emotions, and often by intuition. In our discussions, we already stated at that time that we, as a nation, are prone to day-dreaming, symbols that are an expression of the irrational page of our national psychology. So while I was critical of our nationalism in its beginnings and overcome its manifestations, which seemed to me unhealthy and harmful, yet I had an understanding and at least tried to understand the motives of those effective manifestations" (Pankivskiy, 1965, pp. 134–35).

Therefore, K. Pankivskiy's attitude towards the radical activities of the Ukrainian nationalists was largely offensive. Noting their positive role in the fight against Soviet philosophy and in raising the national spirit, he also noted the negative aspects of their activities, referring primarily to the terror that targeted not only the representatives of the Polish authorities, but also those Ukrainians who sought understanding with the Polish authorities. He was particularly struck by the OUN's killings of two OUN members in the spring of 1935 – students Mariia Kovaliuk and Volodymyr Melnyk. Moreover, the killing of the latter took place not far from K. Pankivskiy's apartment on Charnetskyi Street in Lviv, so the lawyer saw this assassination with his own eyes (Pankivskiy, 1965, p. 141).

Despite his political views, he took a professional approach to the protection of arrested OUN members. As early as 1932, K. Pankivskiy was involved as one of the lawyers in the

defense of members of the Ukrainian military organization M. Mostenchuk and B. Pashkevych (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 13, p. 1–6). In December 1932, K. Pankivskyi, together with Stepan Shukhevych, defended the OUN fighter Dmytro Danylyshyn in court. It is known that, together with D. Danylyn, other members of the OUN appeared on the dock: V. Bilas, M. Zhurakivskyi, and Z. Kossak. V. Bilas's lawyers were V. Starosolskyi and M. Maritchak, Z. Kossak's lawyer – M. Hlushkevych, M. Zhurakivskyi's – L. Hankevych. In the Polish judiciary in 1931 – 1934 there was the practice of so-called “arrogant”, that is, fast courts – if the criminals were caught rapidly and there was no doubt in their guilt. They were carried out without investigation, and sentenced within a month after the crime. The lawyers who defended the OUN fighters in December 1932 could not deny their client's involvement in the attack on the Horodok post office (prosecutors had unquestionable evidence), so they set out to at least move the case from brazen to ordinary court and thus save the boys from the death penalty. However, these attempts proved unsuccessful; D. Danylyshyn, V. Bilas, M. Zhurakivskyi were sentenced to death penalty (the latter of which was later pardoned by the President of Poland, Ignacy Moscicki) (Posivnych, 2017, pp. 120–121).

Next time K. Pankivskyi had to become a member defender of the OUN on the well-known “Lviv trial” in 1936. This trial was a continuation of the “Warsaw trial” (1935) over members of the OUN Regional Executive S. Bandera, R. Shukhevych and others who were accused of murdering Polish Interior Minister Bronislaw Peratsky (1934). In court in Lviv, K. Pankivskyi defended Yaroslav Makarushka and Oleksandr Pashkevych. It was there that he met Yaroslav Stetsko, who later – in early July 1941 – when organizing the Ukrainian government, invited K. Pankivskyi to become Deputy Minister of the Interior (Pankivskyi, 1970, p. 44). In total, the Ounists were defended by 12 best Ukrainian lawyers in Eastern Halychyna at the “Lviv trial”.

The same year, a group of OUN members (Dmytro Pelyp, Mykhailo Bohush, Teodor Chorny, Danylo Feleshchak) was convicted, who operated in the village of Gole Ravske of Rava-Ruska County. They received different sentences. In particular, T. Chorny was sentenced to 3 years in prison. While serving his sentence, he fell ill and asked the court to give him a break from serving his sentence for treatment. It was K. Pankivskyi who dealt with this case in the summer of 1938 (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 8, p. 1–9 v.). Since 1936, K. Pankivskyi has been involved in the case of Ya. Rak, who was prosecuted for belonging to the OUN (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, C. 9, pp. 1–12). In 1937, the lawyer participated in the defense of OUN members V. Gotts, V. Zelenyi and D. Mark, who were charged with anti-state activity in the Lviv District Court (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, C. 11, pp. 1–10).

In the summer of 1939, K. Pankivskyi again took up the defense of OUN members. This time, in Lviv City Court he represented an appeal against the case of convicted in Chortkiv, students of the Ukrainian Gymnasium of the “Ridna Shkola” Society of Ivan Zapotochnyi and Stepan Vorokh, who were accused of involvement in the OUN. These high school students were detained on 12 – 13 May 1939 by Polish police and, after searches, found their nationalist literature: the OUN Decalogue, “12 Principles of the Ukrainian Nationalist”, and a part of “Resolutions of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists” (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 1–3 v.). On 24 July 1939, the court of Chortkiv sentenced them to a year and a half of imprisonment. Instead, another high school student, Mykola Zubyk, who also had illegal literature, was acquitted by the court (CSHAUL, f. 374, p. 1, c. 9, p. 6–8). Stepan Vorokh's lawyer, Volodymyr Elektorovych appealed to K. Pankivskyi to file an appeal in Lviv city court. The main grounds for appeal were the following aspects: 1) S. Vorokh's affiliation to

the OUN was not proved; 2) only “12 foundations of the Ukrainian nationalist” were found in S. Vorokh’s apartment, which, according to his confession, he received from an unknown person and copied through a tracing paper (for this he was justly found guilty under Article 154 Part 2 of the Criminal Code and sentenced to 8 months); 3) S. Vorokh strongly denied his affiliation with the OUN both during the investigation and during the trial; 4) police witnesses that they had confidential information that there was an organized OUN group among the students of the 4th grade of the gymnasium of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society “Ridna Shkola” in Chortkiv, but they could not prove that it belonged to S. Vorokh and I. Zapotochnyi; 5) the court in Chortkiv, based solely on the fact that S. Vorokh had illegal literature, concluded that the defendant was a member of the OUN as a valid member. But the third accused, Mykola Zubyk, had also illegal literature, but he was released from custody; 6) it should be borne in mind that he was a young man (17 years old) and has not yet been punished, and had kept and copied illegal literature rather out of his awareness of punitive consequences. Therefore, K. Pankivskiyi had to seek a suspended sentence (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 9, pp. 16–17). The case review of S. Vorokh was due to take place on 22 September 1939 (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 9, p. 18–18 v.), but it was at that time that the German-Polish war was in full swing, so K. Pankivskiyi most likely was not able to do this.

In addition, K. Pankivskiyi often had to appear in courts of varying degrees as a lawyer for persons accused of belonging to the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (CPWU). In 1931, Polish police arrested several dozen members of the Komsomol of Western Ukraine and the Communist Party. At the great trial in Lviv, K. Pankivskiyi defended Communist writer Volodymyr Shaian (Pankivskiyi, 1965, p. 67; CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 7, pp. 1–40). By the way, in the process K. Pankivskiyi met a well-known Jewish lawyer, Dr. Leib Landau, whom he described as “a person of high personal culture, a prominent lawyer and a brilliant speaker”. Subsequently, during the Nazi occupation, L. Landau, who was called “The Great Leib” by Lviv lawyers, headed Judenrat in Lviv and often collaborated with K. Pankivskiyi, head of the Ukrainian Regional Committee (Pankivskiyi, 1965, p. 67).

From January to November 1932, K. Pankivskiyi was one of the lawyers who defended 46 members of the CPWU (a group led by Demian Polekh and Leonid Tsymbaliuk). In particular, his client was Serhii Voloshyniuk. The accused communists acted in the Kremenets and Gorokhiv districts of the Volyn Voivodeship (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 1–2). They were accused of having joined the CPWU and being its members from 1925 up to the time of arrest on the territory of Gorokhiv, Lutsk and Kremenets counties, collecting their weapons and ammunition reserves, electing to dismantle the Constitution established by the Constitution by way of rebellion, to detach Volyn from Poland (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 2, pp. 2–3). It is important that S. Pankivskiyi’s client S. Voloshaniuk did not admit to belonging to the CPWU. From 1928 he was a member and later head of the county committee of the Selrob-Unity party in Gorokhiv. In the autumn of 1929, one of the leading members of the CPWU, Volodymyr Zhyhailo, invited him to join the CPWU, but S. Voloshaniuk disagreed (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 2, p. 46).

On 23 November 1936, the case of 15 people accused of belonging to communist organizations began in the Lviv District Court. Four defendants (Mykhailo Smut, Ivan Bzdel, Dmytro Mot, Andrii Stroivas) were defended by K. Pankivskiyi. His wards were charged under Article 97 § 1 of the Criminal Code of Poland (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 4, p. 1). They were arrested in December 1935, living in the villages of Verkhvat and Mryhlody (Rava-Ruska County). Ivan Bzdel had a pseudo “Red”, and A. Stroivas – “Galatsis”. They were accused

of the belonging to the Communist Union of Youth of Western Ukraine (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 4, pp. 1 v–2 v.). In general, they were accused of communist agitation, secret meetings, the spread of illegal literature, propaganda of communism, and holding rallies.

Quite often K. Pankivskiy was engaged in protection of business rights of corporate clients. As early as 1930, he brought the case of the “Dobrobut” Co-operative against the community of the city of Gorokhiv regarding the terms of the contract between them (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 2). In 1938, K. Pankivskiy represented the interests of the Ukrainian Society for Assistance to the Disabled (USAD) (chairman – Semen Ukrainets), who pleaded with Earl Oleksandr Zalesskyi. The latter rented an apartment from the society on 48 Pototskyi Street in Lviv. The agreement between them was made on 1 November 1932 and the tenant had to pay 250 PLN monthly (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 12–13). However, over time, he owed a considerable amount. K. Pankivskiy developed a draft agreement between USAD and the debtor, according to which A. Zalesskyi had to pay the company 700 PLN, but with monthly installments (100 PLN each), starting from April 1938 (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1 c. 28, pp. 5–7).

K. Pankivskiy represented the interests of the Ukrainian Cooperative Bank, headed by S. Fedak in debt cases. As of 2 February 1938, there were 63 such cases (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 25). In August 1937, the “Social Craft” Co-operative (Lviv) granted K. Pankivskiy the power to represent it in all cases of procedural, execution, and indisputable matters, which he would pursue in the courts and authorities as plaintiff and defendant. In November 1937, K. Pankivskiy was granted the same authority by the Women’s Industrial Union “Trud” (a cooperative with limited liability) in Lviv (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 19, pp. 4–5).

The lawyer had to lead the legal affairs of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Thus, he was engaged in a contract of employment between the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Chapter in Lviv on the one hand, and the entrepreneurs Joseph Eck and David Stein on the other one. The Chapter leased an area of tree on two parcels of soil on Gorodotskyi Street. The contract was concluded on one year dated 1 July 1927. For rent, entrepreneurs had to pay \$ 200 per year in two installments – 1 July and 1 October 1927 (CSHAUL, f. 374, p. 1, c. 18, pp. 14–15 v.). Unfortunately, given the lack of documentary sources, the periphery of this case remains unknown.

At the same time, K. Pankivskiy conducted many private cases. Thus, he was a lawyer in the business case of Petro Maksymovych (August 1933) (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 4). In April 1934, in Lviv City Court, K. Pankivskiy acted as defendant’s representative of Abraham Gotholz, who was in Belgium at that time. He was sued by the community of Lviv for not paying the rent quota of 903 PLN 30 gr. K. Pankivskiy managed to defend the interests of his client and agreed to pay the quota only in the amount of 400 PLN (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 8). In May 1937 he brought the case of Stefania Terletska against Hryhorii Terletskiy on the failure to pay alimony (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 9). In October of that year, K. Pankivskiy represented in court the interests of Strezhakova in the completion of her house (roof and chimneys) by builders who, due to unknown circumstances, failed to fulfill their obligations (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 23). He later defended the well-known politician and historian Dr. Matvii Stakhiv with his wife, who rented the apartment but refused to pay the increased rent (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 18, p. 26).

K. Pankivskiy’s home archive kept numerous letters from persons known in Halychyna, including the writer Katria Hrynevychycheva. In a letter dated 21 November 1937, she asked not to involve her as a witness in one of the cases (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 28, p. 1).

K. Pankivskiy was also approached by members of T. Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS) to protect their dignity. In particular, he represented the interests of Slavic philologist Kostiantyn Chekhovych, who was allegedly insulted by a well-known church historian and teacher, Mykola Chubatyi, at one of the SSS meetings. The letter of M. Chubatyi to K. Pankivskiy of 28 December 1937 was preserved, in which the historian assured that he did not remember the expressions he had made to K. Chekhivskiy and requested that the latter be given the following: "I do not mean that I did anything offensive to Chekhovych at the SSS meeting, but if Chekhovych is offended by some of my imprudent words, so I apologize for it. I highly appreciate Mr. K. Chekhovych as a famous scholar and quick literary critic, as a man of great tact, a disciplined and compliant figure on the territory of our institutions, and in particular, as a person well deserved in the fight against the Drahomani and socialist-radical worldview. For this reason, as a Catholic, I would not knowingly offend Mr. K. Chekhovych" (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 39, pp. 11–11 v.). However, K. Chekhovych did not grant such an apology, so in M. Chubatyi's letter to K. Pankivskiy he assured the lawyer that he would act in accordance with the statute of SSS (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 39, p. 12). A letter from Natali Semaniuk from Vorokhta, a client of K. Pankivskiy, dated 23 February 1935, thanking her lawyer for his work, has been preserved (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 35, p. 6).

K. Pankivskiy's contacts with his lawyer colleagues in Halychyna were extensive. It should be noted that K. Pankivskiy was a member of the non-governmental organization "Union of Ukrainian Lawyers" (UUL). This professional law organization was established in May 1923 in Lviv on the initiative of S. Fedak, V. Okhrymovych, Ya. Olesnytskyi, L. Hankevych and other well-known lawyers. For the first time it was headed by S. Fedak (Petriv, 2002, p. 101). In 1932, K. Pankivskiy, along with other well-known Ukrainian lawyers, became a member of the Board of Directors of the UUL (Petriv, 2002, p. 102). Later, he acted as the cashier of this organization, monitored the revenues, expenses, kept the relevant documentation. Dozens of checks, bills, receipts and other financial documents of the UUL for 1934 – 1939 were stored in his home archive (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 21, pp. 1–55). The UUL published the journal "Life and Law", in which K. Pankivskiy published an article in 1938 on the responsibilities of the UUL members (Pankivskiy, 1938).

K. Pankivskiy was a member of the Chamber of lawyers in Lviv. This organization operated on the basis of self-government. However, after the change in legislation in 1935, its powers were limited. Thus, the composition of the lawyer's court has since been appointed by the Initial Bar Council in Warsaw. However, it took into account the position of the Lviv Bar. The authority of the UUL was high, so its position was taken into account in the Chamber of lawyers. Thus, in the spring of 1938, on the proposal of the UUL, the disciplinary judges of the Chamber of lawyers in Lviv were appointed L. Hankevych, O. Syvuliak and K. Pankivskiy, and V. Starosolskyi in the Initial court in Warsaw. It was during his work in the disciplinary court that K. Pankivskiy met Polish lawyer Leopold Teshnar, who headed the Polish Relief Committee in Lviv during the Nazi occupation and worked closely with K. Pankivskiy (Pankivskiy, 1965, pp. 65–66).

K. Pankivskiy was addressed by his colleagues from different counties in Eastern Halychyna with various legal issues. They were not able to file certain cases in Lviv courts, and therefore asked K. Pankivskiy to do that. Thus, on 16 April 1934, a lawyer from Sokal, Dr. B. Tchaikovskiy, asked K. Pankivskiy to act as a defense counsel for Ivan Malitskyi in Lviv court. In November of that year, he asked K. Pankivskiy to represent the community of the village Zboiska in an appeal in Lviv District Court. He repeatedly made the same

request during 1935 – 1936. At the same time he sent a fee from 10 to 70 zł. (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 39, pp. 1–9). In September 1937, a lawyer from Belz Ilia Salahub addressed to K. Pankivskiyi with a similar request. In June and September 1939, a lawyer from Sambir, Ivan Rohutskiyi, wrote to K. Pankivskiyi, requesting to represent Drohobych Yosyp Hevryk in court (CSHAUL, f. 374, d. 1, c. 35, pp. 1–2, 5).

The Conclusions. Thus, since 1930, the lawyer K. Pankivskiyi started his own law practice in Lviv. His cases can be divided into three categories: 1) political, 2) corporate, 3) private. In particular, he distinguished himself as a defender of those accused of “political offenses” – participants of the UMO, OUN, KPWU, Komsomol of Western Ukraine. At the same time, K. Pankivskiyi was actively involved in the work of the Chamber of lawyers and the Union of Ukrainian Lawyers in Lviv. During his work, he gained a good reputation among colleagues (including Jews and Poles) and clients and was considered one of the best Ukrainian lawyers in Eastern Halychyna (together with S. Shukhevykh, S. Fedak, V. Starosolskiy). The prolonged legal practice in the 1930s created the personal and public foundation that enabled K. Pankivskiyi to prove himself as a public and political figure during the difficult years of the Second World War and the post-war period.

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**THE ETHNO-CULTURAL RENAISSANCE
AND PUBLIC REPRESENTATION OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL
MINORITY IN TRANSCARPATHIAN REGION AFTER 1989**

Abstract. The Purpose of the Article. Based on the statistic data, the archival material, the published documents, the scientific papers and the interviews with the public representative of the Germans of the region, we will try to elucidate the following ethno-Renaissance aspects of the social and cultural life of the Germans of Transcarpathia after 1989: 1) the demographic tendencies in the German environment based on an analysis of the migration series and the results of 1989 and 2001 population censuses; 2) the national education and upbringing; 3) the German language mass media; 4) the work in the cultural sphere; 5) the national cultural societies' activities; 6) the ethno-confessional identity of the Germans in Transcarpathian region. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principle of historicism and the structural functional approach. The method of a statistical analysis of the population censuses results of 1989 and 2001, the migration indicators of the German national minority mobility of Transcarpathian region has been used. The results of the interview with

the leader of the public organization “The German Youth of Transcarpathia” have been presented. **The scientific novelty** consists in using the structural and functional methodological approach to the public representation study of the German ethnic community of Transcarpathian region after 1989. **The Conclusions.** Thus, the results of the first All-Ukrainian population census of 2001 illustrated the situational factor of the ethnic identity among the persons, who called themselves the Germans in comparison with the data of the 1989 census. At the same time, the emigration activity during the analyzed period increased every year and in fact led to the decrease in the number of the representatives of the German national minority of the region. However, the above mentioned information also demonstrates the resistance to the assimilation processes that emerged in the creation of the national cultural societies (“The Renaissance”, “The Hope”, “The Germans of Transcarpathia”). Recently active work in the environment of the German-speaking youth of Transcarpathia is carried out by the public organization “The German Youth of Transcarpathia” (Yu. Types, the head). The representatives of the German Transcarpathian ethnic community, with the assistance of the pastoral and material assistance from Germany, affirm the Roman Catholic ethno-confessional identity. All these processes contribute to the renaissance of the ethnic culture of the Germans of Transcarpathia in the new realities of the Ukrainian state formation.

Key words: German national minority, Transcarpathia, ethno-cultural development, national and cultural societies, public organizations.

ЕТНОКУЛЬТУРНИЙ РЕНЕСАНС ТА ГРОМАДСЬКЕ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВО НІМЕЦЬКОЇ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ МЕНШИНИ ЗАКАРПАТТЯ ПІСЛЯ 1989 Р.

Анотація. Метою дослідження є окреслення проблеми етносоціального та етнокультурного розвитку німецької національної меншини Закарпаття після 1989 року. Автори розглядають наступні аспекти розвитку німецької етнічної громади краю: етнодемографічні тенденції, розвиток національної освіти та виховання, активізацію фольклорних аматорських колективів, фестивалів, етнорелігійні пріоритети німців. Окрема увага акцентується на досягненнях німецьких національно-культурних товариств. Констатується роль еліти німецької національної меншини у процесах етнокультурного ренесансу. **Методологія статті** базується на принципі історизму та структурно-функціонального підходу. Використана методика статистичного аналізу результатів переписів населення 1989 та 2001 рр., міграційних показників рухливості німецької національної меншини Закарпаття. Подано результати проведеного інтерв'ю з лідером громадської організації “Німецька молодь Закарпаття”. **Наукова новизна** полягає у застосуванні структурно-функціонального методологічного підходу до вивчення громадського представництва німецької етнічної громади Закарпатської області після 1989 р. **Висновки.** Німецька національна меншина в умовах демократизації українського суспільства зробила важливі кроки у напрямку етнокультурного ренесансу та утвердження власної національної ідентичності. Про це засвідчили позитивні показники етнодемографічних процесів, відродження німецьких національних традицій, мови та культури, розширення напрямів діяльності громадських організацій, зокрема німецької молоді Закарпаття.

Ключові слова: німецька національна меншина, Закарпаття, етнокультурний розвиток, національно-культурні товариства, громадські організації.

The Problem Statement. The post-totalitarian transformations in Central and South-Eastern Europe caused the ethno-cultural renaissance of the national minorities. A vivid indicator of such an ethno-cultural life revival is the rapid creation of the national and cultural societies in Ukraine, Romania, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, their involvement in the political process in these countries, the desire to cooperate with “the language homelands”.

The purpose of our research is to elucidate the most important issues of the ethno-social and ethno-cultural life of the German national minority in Transcarpathia after 1989. The study of this problem will allow to find out the tendencies of the socio-cultural life of the Germans of the region, it will help to reproduce the holistic problem of the national and

cultural development of the ethnic groups of Transcarpathia, which is a topical task at the present stage of the Ukrainian state-building.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. In our article we refer to the statistical materials of Transcarpathian Regional Administration of Statistics, the documents of the State Archives of Transcarpathian Regional State Administration, the former current archives of Transcarpathian Regional Departments of Justice and Education and Science, the Department of Nationalities of the State Administration. A number of important aspects of the ethno-renaissance processes among the Germans of Transcarpathia after 1989 are revealed in our interview with Julia Types, the head of the German organization of the Transcarpathian youth.

The scientific and methodological basis of the article is formed in accordance with the principle of historicism, the structural and functional approaches. The authors use the methodology of the statistical analysis of the population censuses results in 1989 and 2001 and the migration indicators among the representatives of the German national minority of Transcarpathia. The discourse analysis of the interview with the leader of the German public organizations in the region has been conducted.

It is worth noting that some aspects of these issues have already been reflected in the scientific articles and monographs of Transcarpathian scientists. Thus, in 1991, Ya. Karychak outlined the conditions for the creation and the practical tasks of the Transcarpathian Germans "The Renaissance" society, whose foundation conference took place on July 8, 1990. Among the priorities of the newly formed society of the Germans of the region there were the following ones: the restoration of a true nationality, the solution of the cultural and educational problems, finding out the names and the numbers of the repressed Germans, the inclusion in the struggle for the revival of the German Autonomous Republic in the USSR and the others (Karychak, 1991, p. 62). The conditions for "The Renaissance" society revival and the first steps of its activity in the independent Ukraine are analyzed in the article, written by the researchers F. Kulia and P. Petryshche in details (Kulia, Petryshche, 2004, pp. 80–83).

The Ukrainian historians M. Makara and R. Ofitsynskyi point out rightly that most of the Germans of Transcarpathia are at the crossroads and it all depends on how they feel in the independent Ukraine (Makara, Ofitsynskyi, 1995, p. 17). However, the problems of a socio-economic nature solved the fate of the German national minority in the direction, as H. Pavlenko observed rightly, "drang nach Westen". The scientist noted that as early as in 1993, there were about 3,400 Germans, of whom 2,400 were native speakers; in 1992, 248 people left Ukraine. (Pavlenko, 1995, p. 45; Pavlenko, 1999, p. 158). H. Pavlenko and F. Kulia noted that inspite the fact of some achievements in the field of education and the mass media, this fact does not solve the problem of the massive emigration of the Germans to Germany and other countries (Pavlenko, 1995, pp. 46–47; Kulia, 1998, p. 21; Kulia, 1999, p. 185). Some aspects of the ethno-cultural renaissance of the Germans of Transcarpathia, which are analyzed in the above mentioned studies, are also investigated by the home researchers: H. Melik (Melika, 2002), V. Yevtukh and B. Chyrko (Yevtukh, Chyrko, 1994).

Also note-worthy are the sociological analyses of the department of the ethno-political and ethno-sociological studies of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which were conducted in the first half of the 1990-ies in the villages of Pavshyno and the village Nove of Mukachevo district, where the German population was 90 % of the total villages' population. Thus, according to the surveys, 54 % of the respondents thought that the migration wave would be reduced by a dual citizenship; 41 % of the respondents –

by the development of entrepreneurship, 23 % – the development of education, the German language media; 19 % of the respondents thought that nothing could stop the apathy and the “suitcase mood” (Klynchenko, 1995, p. 79). The traditions observance, the family customs, the marriages (71 % ethnically endogamous, i.e., between the representatives of the German nationality) were the factors of the German ethnic identity preservation. Although polylingualism and friendship with the representatives of other nationalities (76 %), the marriages with the Ukrainians (29 %) were observed (Klynchenko, 1995, p. 80).

The Purpose of the Article. Based on the statistic data, the archival material, the published documents, the scientific papers and the interviews with the public representative of the Germans of the region, we will try to elucidate the following ethno-Renaissance aspects of the social and cultural life of the Germans of Transcarpathia after 1989: 1) the demographic tendencies in the German environment based on an analysis of the migration series and the results of 1989 and 2001 population censuses; 2) the national education and upbringing; 3) the German language mass media; 4) the work in the cultural sphere; 5) the national cultural societies' activities; 6) the ethno-confessional identity of the Germans in Transcarpathian region.

The Statement of the Basic Material. According to the census in 1989, 3 470 Germans lived in Transcarpathia. 2 576 of them considered the German language to be the mother tongue (Delo No. 4, 1989); 55.5 % of the Germans lived in the rural areas (Statystychni dani, 1997, p. 216). The largest number of the Germans lived in the city of Mukachevo (815 people) and Mukachevo district (1 745 people). 423 Germans lived in the Tyachiv district; in Svalyava district – 184 people. (Statystychni dani, 1997, pp. 217–222).

The problems of the socio-economic nature caused a large wave of emigration of the Germans of Transcarpathia, basically to Germany. This is evidenced by the dynamic migration patterns of the German national minority of the region. The available material, which dates back to 1994, clearly testifies the ethnic nature of the Germans' emigration, which is well illustrated in Table 1.

Table № 1

The Emigration of the Germans of Transcarpathia

(Potochnyi arkhiv viddilu u spravakh natsionalnosti ta migratsii Zakarpatskoi obldierzhadministratsii. (2001). Mhratsiia nimtsiv Zakarpattia)

Migration Exchange with Germany			The Germans of Transcarpathia			
Years	From Germany	To Germany	To far foreign countries	To Germany:	UIS (Union of Independent States), the Baltic countries	Other Regions:
1994	–	–	migrated – 155			
1995	17	269	191	–	8	–
1996	8	214	127	–	2	12
1997	1	347	213	–	2	4
1998	11	382	216	214	1	2
1999	8	297	158	149	0	2
2000	8	481	266	265	0	1

A particular attention should be paid to the results assessment of 2001 census, regarding the number of the Germans in Transcarpathia. The census testified to 112 persons of increase

(a total number of the Germans – 3 582 people.) (Potochnyi arkhiv Zakarpatskoho oblasnoho upravlinnia statystyky, 2001). Thus, the first All-Ukrainian census recorded a kind of paradox – the growing number of the German national minority, during which the emigration processes took place in the mid-1990-ies, including the emigration to a permanent residence in Germany. In our opinion, this situation is caused by the situational ethno-identity factor, the advantage of the German self-identification to the representatives of the ethnically-mixed marriages, whose ancestors were the Germans. Due to the intensification of the German national and cultural societies work of the region, the religious communities, such ethno-identity choice helps to revive ties with Germany, certain economic benefits, etc.

As Yu. Types, the head of the public organization “German Youth of Transcarpathia”, remarked rightly, the desire of “the ethnic Germans to find the documentary confirmation of their ethnicity was caused, of course, by the desire to move to Germany for a permanent residence under the special programme “Late Migrants”. In the 1990-ies, participating in this programme was usually easy, as compared to nowadays. At present, to emigrate to Germany, as to one's First Motherland, it takes a long process: from passing a special language proficiency test, which, incidentally, equates to an international language proficiency certificate, to a long bureaucratic documentary procedure” (Osobystyi arkhiv Zana M. P., 2019, p. 2).

It should be separately noted, there is also a partial Ukrainization of the Germans of Transcarpathia. Among the total number of the German minority, about 40 % recognized Ukrainian as their first language. A bit more than half (50.5 %) of the German minority spoke German as their first language; 4.8 % – Russian; 4.2 % – Hungarian; 0.9 % – the other language (Potochnyi arkhiv Zakarpatskoho oblasnoho upravlinnia statystyky, 2001; Pro kilnist ta sklad naselennia, 2001).

As a result, the emigration of the Germans of Transcarpathia caused problems of their national culture approval, first of all, in the educational field. There were no German language schools in the region; there was one German language kindergarten group in the pre-school system of the region. In 2001, in the region there were 98 ethnic German children in the kindergartens, and 297 ethnic German school children. At the same time, since the mid-1990-ies the German language group had functioned only in one kindergarten, in which 24 children were brought up in 2001. 324 pupils from the schools of the region studied the German language as an optional subject. However, German was studied as a foreign language in 285 schools of the region (41,247 students). This made it easier to learn the German language in the compact residence places of the Germans.

The German language was studied from the 1st grade in the places of the compact residence of the Germans (the villages of Barbovo, Verkhniy Koropets, Kuchava, Shenborn, Pavshyno, Synyak in Mukachevo district, the village of Ust Chorna in Tyachiv district, the village of Drachyna in Svalyava district). Sunday School in Svalyava was the pioneer in the comprehensive German language training, in which 32 school children were enrolled in 2001 (Potochnyi arkhiv upravlinnia osvity i nauky Zakarpatskoi oblderzhadministratsii, 2001). It should be noted that in the context of the massive outflow of the German population and their linguistic assimilation, these indicators are quite significant. Also during the period under analysis, the Department of German Philology trained the specialists in German Philology at the Faculty of Foreign Philology in Uzhhorod National University.

As Yu. Types notes, “at the majority of the schools in the region, German is a foreign language, which is taught at the parents' and children request. Unfortunately, there is a decreasing tendency of the number of those, who want to learn German as the first foreign language”

(Osobystyi arkhiv Zana M. P., 2019, p. 2). Therefore, the public organization “German Youth of Transcarpathia” tries to implement various measures to promote and popularize the German language among children and young people. In particular, the project “10 Reasons for Learning German” has been recently implemented, during which the youth of the region stated why German was worth learning, how it could help them in the future. With the assistance of the intergovernmental commission, which is held annually with the participation of the German and Ukrainian governments representatives, there emerged the idea of introducing the German dialects of Transcarpathia into the German language textbooks. The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine supported this idea.

For the first time under conditions of Ukraine's independence, the German national minority was given the opportunity to broadcast the television programmes on the regional television channels. In 2001, there was 1,5 hour broadcast time of the Transcarpathian Regional TV and Radio Company in the German language (Mitriaieva, 2001, p. 70). These programmes presented mainly the traditional culture of the Germans of the region, their fate under conditions of the inter-ethnic environment, the history of some famous representatives of the Germans of the region in a historical retrospective and at present. Unfortunately, there were no radio programmes and no German language press. An exception was the page, written in the German language “Am Dorfbrunnen” in the regional newspaper “The Transcarpathian News”, which had been published periodically since 1995. The publications on the German national minority of the region focused on the certain ethno-cultural aspects of the Germans identity preserving, the celebration in Mukachevo Castle, etc. (Zan, 2001, p. 225; Hvozdyak, 2017, pp. 76–79).

The amount of the German language literature was enlarged in the libraries of the region during the 1990-ies. For example, if in 1993 there were 1 714 books in German in the library collections, then there were 4 930 books in 2001. Mukachevo central library system provided the German population with the books in 5 library institutions (Haborets, 1994, p. 37; Mitriaieva, 2001, pp. 72–73).

There were five Transcarpathian club establishments during the analyzed period, in order to protect the ethnic and cultural needs of the Germans. The Germans of the region organized the artistic groups, first of all, represented by Mukachevo, Palanka, Pavshyno, Ust-Chorna, Svalyava, Chynadiyevo. The “Palanok” art center worked effectively. The active participation of the ethnic community of the Germans facilitated the active presentation of their national culture in the framework of the annual folk festivals (Rishko, 2000; DA SATR, f. 1, d. 1, case: Order dated 17.07.1992 N 187 “On celebrating the regional holiday of German folk art”, pp. 257–266; case: Order dated 15.07.1993 N 305 “On celebrating the Holiday of German Folk Art”, pp. 21–24; case: Order dated 21.07.1995 N 413 “On celebrating the Regional Holiday of German Culture”, pp. 50–54; case: Order dated 12.08.1996 N 452 “On celebrating the Regional Holiday of German Folk Art”, pp. 6–11; case: Order dated 01.09.1998 N 305 “On celebrating the Regional Festival of German Folk Art”, pp. 52–57).

The “Palanok” cultural and national center in Mukachevo was visited every year by the foreign delegations, primarily from Germany. In particular, in May 1999 it was visited by Dr. E. Hayken, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Germany to Ukraine. A special attention was paid to the German national minority of the region during those visits and the interview with the first deputy mayor of Mukachevo. In particular, the aspects of the German humanitarian assistance were discussed by means of the charitable organizations, by means of the church, its coordination on the part of the Ukrainian and German authorities.

The ambassador also visited the villages of Shönborn, Kuchava and Pavshyno, where he got acquainted with the life and mode-of-life of the Germans of the region, he had a talk with the heads of the rural communities (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 23, c. IV, pp. 69–72). Germany's support remained an effective catalyst for the affirmation of the ethnic identity of the Germans of the region, which, as stated above, attested to the results of the 2001 census.

Taking into account the historical and retrospective context of our research, it should be noted that, even after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, when Transcarpathia became the part of Czechoslovakia, the German speaking community of the region self-organized and strived for building the national and cultural autonomy. Like other ethnic communities, the Germans of Transcarpathia formed their own society of the German culture at the constituent assembly in Mukachevo in August 1921. The representatives from many villages gathered. Thus, the active cultural and educational work was carried out both in the city of Mukachevo and in many German-speaking communities of the region, including Mokra, Ust-Chorna, Solochyn, Synyak, Pavshyno, Schönborn, Kuchava, Laliv, Drachyn, Zhdeniev and the others. As a result, in the late 1930-ies, 26 German schools and 8 parallel classes functioned in Transcarpathia, with 2 157 students studying. The drama circles and music bands functioned in the villages. During the years 1939 – 1944, the societies and schools functioned within the framework of “The German Union in Hungary”. During the Soviet period, all of the above-mentioned achievements of the German-speaking ethno-cultural segment of Transcarpathia were practically nullified (Kulia, Petryshche, 2004, p. 79–80).

The revival of the social life of the Germans was an important factor in the ethnic and cultural development of the Germans under conditions of democratization in the USSR (Hvozdyak, 2008, p. 98). In the fall of 1989, the first All-Ukrainian Conference of the Germans of Ukraine took place in Kyiv and the society “The Renaissance – Wiedergeburt” was formed (Vasylchuk, 2015, p. 156). Therefore, the public leaders of this organization began the work on the regional organizations formation of the society, including Transcarpathia. In particular, in July 1990, the founding conference of the “The Renaissance” society was held in Pavshyno village, Mukachevo district, with 276 delegates present. E. Kainz was elected the head of the society. The charter document stated that the organization represented a unit of the All-Union society of the Soviet Germans of “The Renaissance”, aimed at promoting the national issues satisfaction of “the Soviet German people”, primarily the revival of the liquidated autonomous republic along the banks of the Volha river, the national settlements revival in the Volga river region, the village councils revival in the compact resident area of the Germans (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 14, case: Decree dated 18.09.1990 N 186 “On Registration of the Statute of the Transcarpathian Regional Society of Soviet Germans “Renaissance””, p. 198).

The founding conference outlined the regional perspectives of the German national minority. In particular, the launch of the German folklore festival (M. Vogel), the initiation of the German language school opening, the organization of the research on the life of the Germans of the region, the exhibition formation of the German settlement in the Museum of architecture and mode-of-life (H. Melik), the German language and culture development (I. Kostruba) and the others (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 14, case: Decree dated 18.09.1890 N 186 “On Registration of the Statute of the Transcarpathian Regional Society of Soviet Germans “Renaissance””, pp. 213–215).

Already under conditions of Ukraine's independence there took place the creation of the society of Germans of Transcarpathia “Hope”. The charter document stated that the society

“... is an independent democratic organization, it conducts the independent political activity ...” (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 14, case: Order dated 29.05.1992 N 91 “On registration of the Statute of Independent Public Society of the Germans of Transcarpathia (NTNZ) “Hope””, p. 376). This formulation caused the failure of the subsequent re-registration in 1993. E. Wisinger was elected the chairman of the society at the founding conference in March 1992.

It is worth noting that the cause of the society “Hope” creation was the confrontation of the elite of the German community concerning the position on the autonomy of the region (Hvozdyak, 2008, p. 98). E. Kainz, the chairman of “The Renaissance” society, on behalf of the entire German population, signed the document “For the Autonomy of Transcarpathia”. In this situation, as L. Schwartz noted, “... we, the democratic group, made the statement in the Carpathian Ukraine, in which they condemned the irresponsibility of Emil Kainz, who spreads the ethnic hatred using such statements” (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 14, case: Order dated 29.05.1992 N 91 “On registration of the Statute of Independent Public Society of the Germans of Transcarpathia (NTNZ) “Hope””, p. 402). M. Vogel left the hall of the House of culture, where the conference was held. L. Schwartz spoke about the about perspective of conducting an independent neutral policy by the society “Hope”. At the conference the democratic forces representatives V. Zilgalov, B. Dykyi expressed the slogans of unity for the common struggle for Ukraine's true independence (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 14, case: Order dated 29.05.1992 N 91, pp. 401–403). On the other hand, the participants of the forum called for the cultural autonomy of the Germans of the region, the expansion of studying opportunities in Germany and the fulfillment of the primary task – “the restoration of the nationality by the Germans, according to the ethnic awareness of their national independence” (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 14, case: Order dated 29.05.1992 N 91, pp. 407–408).

In the 1990-ies, the most initiative was “The Renaissance” society, headed by Z. Kizman. It united 1 260 people. The activity of the society was manifested mainly in the socio-economic support of the Germans of the region. Annually the German culture holidays were held. Thanks to the society's contacts, the young Germans of the region had the opportunity to receive a mother tongue education in Germany (Mitriaieva, 2001, p. 39).

In 2000, the society called “The Germans of Transcarpathia” was registered, headed by V. Tsanko. The society was involved in organizing Sunday school, the German language courses and other cultural and educational issues. Svalyava district organization “The German community” (766 people) was the largest center of the society. Mukachevo German Society, headed by V. Fechtel, consisted of 600 people; in Ust-Chorna village – 95 people (the head – F. Shpachynskyi) (Potochnyi arkhiv Zakarpatskoho oblasnoho upravlinnia yustytzii, 2000).

At present, the majority of the German villages in Transcarpathia have their own societies and centers of German culture, which cooperate. In particular, the German organization “The German Youth of Transcarpathia” organizes the regular coordination meetings on the basis of the Regional information center of the Council of the Germans of Ukraine, which is located in the village of Chynadiievo. As noted by Yu. Types, the head of this society, “In Chynadiievo there is the German house, which also unites the ethnic Germans. We (the German youth of Transcarpathia) are the organization that brings together all representatives starting from 15–35 years old. The idea originated a long time ago, as each village has its own organization that unites the Germans. And our task is to promote the German culture and language. We carry out the social work for children and teenagers. We are assisted by the partners from the German Oberfranken, by the partners of the work group “Ukraine – Pfalz”. Our partner is the Council of the Germans of Ukraine, whose member I am. The organization runs the German

language courses for children at the age of 4 to 6–7 years old, for students and adults. In 2018, with the support of the Federal Government of Germany and the support of the Council the Germans of Ukraine, we held an international festival of the German culture “Karpätenland” in honour of the 290th anniversary of the Schönborn dynasty” (Osobystyi arkhiv Zana M. P., 2019, p. 3).

The German national minority retains the Roman Catholic ethno-confessional identity. In 1989, the liturgy was held in the German language in three communities of the Roman Catholic Church (SATR, f. 1, d. 33, c. 12, p. 52). Under conditions of Ukraine's independence, the number of the communities doubled, in which the liturgy was held in German. The liturgy services were held in German and Hungarian in Chynadiyevo and Svalyava. In a number of villages, the Germans are also the members of the Hungarian Roman Catholic communities (DA SATR, f. 195, d. 23, c. VI, p. 92).

At the end of the 1990-ies, owing to the active pastoral work of J. Trunk, the Roman Catholic missionary priest in the villages of Pavshyno, Synyak and Barbovo in Mukachevo district and Ust-Chorna in Tyachiv district, the revival of the liturgies in German began. The considerable work was done on the social, spiritual and religious protection of the German population. In particular, the church was built on the outskirts of the village of Pavshyno, the house was built for the elderly as well. The church and the hotel were also built in the village of Synyak, and the carpentry workshop was set up in the village of Schönborn under the direction of Pastor B. Noggy (Bedzir, 2001). The mentioned above facts testify to the combination of the spiritual, religious and socio-economic factors, which optimize the ethnic and social well-being of the Germans of the region.

The Conclusions. Thus, the results of the first All-Ukrainian population census of 2001 illustrated the situational factor of the ethnic identity among the persons, who called themselves the Germans in comparison with the data of the 1989 census. At the same time, the emigration activity during the analyzed period increased every year and in fact led to the decrease in the number of the representatives of the German national minority of the region. However, the above mentioned information also demonstrates the resistance to the assimilation processes that emerged in the creation of the national cultural societies (“The Renaissance”, “The Hope”, “The Germans of Transcarpathia”). Recently active work in the environment of the German-speaking youth of Transcarpathia is carried out by the public organization “The German Youth of Transcarpathia” (Yu. Types, the head). The representatives of the German Transcarpathian ethnic community, with the assistance of the pastoral and material assistance from Germany, affirm the Roman Catholic ethno-confessional identity. All these processes contribute to the renaissance of the ethnic culture of the Germans of Transcarpathia in the new realities of the Ukrainian state formation.

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THE YOUTH POLICY HUMANISTIC RELEVANCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD: THE NEWEST NAVIGATION OF FOREIGN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is historiographic analysis and systematization of the newest narrative of American, Italian, German, English, French and Polish historical, cultural, religious, philosophical and historical-pedagogical studies, which highlighted anthropological intentionality, humanistic and humanistic Catholic Jesuit Order in the early modern period. Due to the historiographical controversy, the principles of scientific, historicist, objectivity, continuity, interdisciplinary, historiographical autopsy are presented in the consideration and evaluation of the sociocultural activity of the Jesuit Order, as well as its confessional affiliation, methodological orientations of the research, denominational neutrality, ecumenism, anthropology, and worldview pluralism. In the basis of the study there is a civilizational understanding of historiography that enables a holistic, systematic, integrated and integrated examination of the contemporary understanding of the humanistic context of early modern Jesuit youth in the humanistic context of European and American scholars. The research novelty, first of all, lies in the field of classification, historiographic analysis and contextual commenting of contemporary foreign studies, whose authors considered the historical and sociocultural aspects of the founding and implementation of Jesuit youth policy, revealed its humanistic content, outlined the subject field for the world. The study deepened the understanding of the civilizational methodology of historiographic research, proposed new approaches to the classification of historiographic narratives of foreign Jesuits, introduced the concept of "conceptual and location historiographic cluster". The Conclusions. Contemporary Latin historiography of the humanistic content of Jesuit youth policy in the early modern period is sufficiently voluminous, large in scope and subject of study, which is connected, first of all, with the broad amplitude of Jesuit activities in the world for almost five centuries. The consideration of the topic is proposed on the basis of the separation of six conceptually-location historiographic clusters, within which historical studies are combined on the basis of geographical and subject-thematic criteria: general historical (foreign studies, presenting the historical panorama of the genesis of early modern Jesuits youth policy, its preconditions are outlined, the content of the Catholic Reform (Counter-Reformation) is clarified in which the Jesuit monks operated); anthologically syncretical (combining basic studies of contemporary American, Italian, Spanish, German, English, French and Polish Jesuits); historical and anthropological (historical studies that offer a holistic dimension of the humanistic context of the sociocultural activity of the Jesuits); personal (coverage of historical portraits of the founders of Jesuit youth policy, contextual interpretation of their life and creative path); spiritual and theological (analysis of the value, theological and ethical and moral aspects of the Jesuit early modern youth policy); educational and philosophical (review of Jesuit educational practices, their universal system of education and the educational principles of Ratio Studiorum). It is emphasized that contemporary foreign Jesuitism has taken a significant step in refuting the false statements and falsifications that were widespread in the previous historiographical narrative regarding the anti-humanistic and feudal-reaction content of Jesuit social activity. The contemporary foreign Latin Jesuitism is characterized by a value approach in covering the socio-cultural initiatives of the Society of Jesus. Foreign authors do not resort to engaged rhetoric, a myth-speculative style of presentation, which prematurely distinguished the positions of grata and non grata in the formation of historical narrative by unjustified criteria. In solidarity, the scholars emphasized the humanistic relevance of the socio-cultural and educational initiatives of the Society of Jesus to the human-creative and social-organizing task, their focus on the motivation and development of the spiritual, professional and emotional aspects of the individual. Historiographic analysis confirms that modern Latin Jesuitism as a whole reproduces a holistic image of Jesuit humanism, attests to the historical objectivity and social justification of the formation of a modern Jesuit concept of a holistic, complete, solidary and integral humanism as universal holistic understanding.*

Key words: Jesuit Order (Society of Jesus), humanism, modern historiography, Jesuitism, historiographic dialogue, Latin studies, civilization methodology, conceptual and location historiographic cluster.

ГУМАНІСТИЧНА РЕЛЕВАНТНІСТЬ МОЛОДІЖНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ ТОВАРИСТВА ІСУСА У РАННІЙ НОВИЙ ЧАС: НОВІТНІ НАВІГАЦІЇ ЗАРУБІЖНОЇ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – історіографічний аналіз і систематизація новітнього нарративу американських, італійських, німецьких, англійських, французьких та польських історичних, культурологічних, релігієзнавчих, філософських й історико-педагогічних студій, де висвітлено антропологічну інтенційність, гуманістичний зміст, ціннісно-орієнтовані стратегії і людинотворчу роль молодіжної політики католицького ордену єзуїтів у ранній Новий час. У зв'язку з історіографічною контраверсійністю у розгляді та оцінках соціокультурної діяльності ордену єзуїтів, а також його конфесійною приналежністю, **методологічними орієнтирами** дослідження виступають принципи науковості, історизму, об'єктивності, наступності, міждисциплінарності, історіографічної автоспії за пріоритетами «de visu», історіографічного діалогу, конфесійної нейтральності, екуменізму, антропологізму та світоглядного плюралізму. В основі дослідження лежить цивілізаційне розуміння історіографії, яке дає змогу цілісно, системно, комплексно та інтегровано розглянути сучасне розуміння європейськими й американськими ученими гуманістичного контексту ранньомодерної молодіжної політики єзуїтів. **Наукова новизна** насамперед лежить у площині класифікації, історіографічного аналізу і контекстного коментування сучасних зарубіжних студій, автори яких розглядали історичні та соціокультурні аспекти заснування й реалізації молодіжної політики єзуїтів, виявляли її гуманістичний зміст, окреслювали предметне поле для майбутніх дискурсів світової єзуїстики. У дослідженні поглиблено розуміння цивілізаційної методології історіографічних досліджень, запропоновано нові підходи до класифікації історіографічного нарративу зарубіжної єзуїстики, уведено поняття “концептуально-локаційний історіографічний кластер”. **Висновки.** Сучасна латинкова історіографія гуманістичного змісту молодіжної політики єзуїтів у ранній Новий час є достатньо об'ємною, масштабною за обсягами та тематикою предмета дослідження, що пов'язано насамперед із широкою амплітудою напрямів практично безперервної діяльності єзуїтів у світі вже близько п'яти століть поспіль. Розгляд теми запропоновано на основі виокремлення шести концептуально-локаційних історіографічних кластерів, у межах яких історичні студії об'єднано на підставі географічних і предметно-тематичних критеріїв: загальноісторичного (зарубіжні студії, де представлено історичну панораму генези ранньомодерної молодіжної політики єзуїтів, окреслено її передумови, з'ясовано зміст Католицької реформи (Контрреформації) у форваторі якої діяли ченці-єзуїти); антолого-синтетичного (об'єднав фундаментальні дослідження сучасної американської, італійської, іспанської, німецької, англійської, французької та польської єзуїстики); історико-антропологічного (історичні студії, у яких запропоновано цілісний вимір гуманістичного контексту соціокультурної діяльності єзуїтів); персоналістичного (висвітлення історичних портретів засновників молодіжної політики єзуїтів, контекстуальна інтерпретація їхнього життєвого й творчого шляху); духовно-теологічного (аналіз ціннісних, богословських та етико-моральних аспектів ранньомодерної молодіжної політики єзуїтів); освітньо-філософського (розгляд єзуїтських практик освіти, їхньої універсальної системи навчання та едукологічних принципів Ratio Studiorum). Підкреслено, що сучасна зарубіжна єзуїстика зробила значний крок у спростуванні хибних тверджень і фальсифікацій, поширених у попередньому історіографічному нарративі щодо антигуманістичного та феодално-реакційного змісту суспільної діяльності єзуїтів. Для сучасної зарубіжної латинкової єзуїстики характерним є ціннісний підхід у висвітленні соціокультурних ініціатив Товариства Ісуса. Зарубіжні автори не вдаються до ангажованої риторики, міфотворчо-спекулятивного стилю викладу, у якому за необгрунтованими критеріями передчасно виділялися положення grata і non grata у формуванні історичного нарративу. Солідарним полілогом учені наголосили на гуманістичній релевантності (відповідності) суспільно-культурних і просвітницьких ініціатив Товариства Ісуса людино-творчим і суспільно-організуючим завданням, їхній спрямованості на мотивацію та розвиток духовних, професійних й емоційних сторін особистості. Історіографічний аналіз підтверджує, що сучасна латинкова єзуїстика загалом відтворює цілісний образ єзуїтського гуманізму, засвідчує історичну об'єктивність і суспільну виправданість формування сучасної єзуїтської концепції цілісного, повного, солідарного та інтегрального гуманізму як

універсальної (планетарної) парадигми ціннісних орієнтирів людства, як філософії життєствердного та цілісного світорозуміння.

Ключові слова: орден єзуїтів (Товариство Ісуса), гуманізм, новітня історіографія, єзуїстика, історіографічний діалог, латинкові студії, цивілізаційна методологія, концептуально-локаційний історіографічний кластер.

The Problem Statement. This year, the most significant and influential monastic order of the Catholic Church, the Society of Jesus, celebrates four hundred and eighty-five years since its foundation. The transnational character of the Order's activity was already noticeable during its formation: the founder, the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola, united like-minded people to take the oath of allegiance to the church at French Montmartre, and became the headquarters of the Order's General, quite naturally. Multiculturalism, globalization and dynamic development are the attributes that enrich the international image of the Jesuits, giving it the opportunity to play a significant role in the arrangement of the world cultural, religious, educational and value-meaning landscape.

The proactive nature, innovative methods of work, the personal coloring of the Jesuit Order initiatives, their integration into most countries of the world, planetary in scale, and meaningful social work, give rise to considerable interest in the Society of Jesus, historians, cultural scientists, philosophers, and theologians. At the same time, many Jesuit narratives are marked by critical, anti-Jesuit rhetoric. Historians are faced with the difficulty of separating scientific understanding from their own religious or atheistic motives, sometimes failing to overcome the stencil-pattern interpretations and evaluations of the social activity of Jesuit monks contained in previous historiography. Therefore, virtually unenlightened or unjustly condemned in a large array of historiography, the humanistic content of the socio-cultural and educational initiatives of the Jesuits was manifested, many scholars of the XVIIth – XIXth centuries ignored the fact that the Jesuit Order became the only institutional and unique authority, which in practice embodied the Renaissance-humanist ideas in the European youth policy founded by it. The situation with the study of the humanistic content of the Jesuit youth policy in contemporary foreign historiography was quite different. Scientists, religious scholars, and theologians accumulated a large body of factual and analytical material, whose historiographical understanding has greatly enriched the scientifically correct, historically objective, and unbiased reception of the humanistic content of the Society of Jesus socio-cultural activity.

The historiographical aspect analysis of the Society of Jesus history is also inspired by methodological relevance. There is no denying the fact that the historiographic component in our time is of exceptional importance, the modern method of scientific knowledge is motivated by the idea of rethinking existing stereotypes and quasi-scientific provisions in science, the vector of modern historical science is aimed at overcoming the ideological antinomy, rashness and complexity the reproduction of social phenomena and events of the past. Particularly important is the implementation of such strategies of historiographic analysis in rethinking topics that have been linked to the political, ideological, and denominational spheres of society, such as the socio-cultural activities of the Jesuit Order. The considerable array of the Jesuits is a vivid illustration of the ideologically committed, prescriptive, and overtly populist propaganda narratives that have underpinned anti-Jesuit attitudes, above all, non-Catholic regions of the world. Therefore, rethinking the phenomenon of Jesuitism in the historiographic dimension is cognitive, methodological and ideological. Moreover, exposing

the falsifications, taciturns and atavisms of atheistic totalitarianism in Jesuitism will facilitate the emergence of new historical syntheses, based on the criteria of construction of which will be the depth and integrity of scientific analysis, the involvement of a proper source base, factualism, validity of the conclusions that will provide professionalization of the historiographical discourse.

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Analyzing the “historiography of historiography” of our study’s topic, it should be emphasized that in foreign historical science, interest in comprehending the existing narrative of Jesuitism is quite high. We should mention the rich historical and bibliographical reviews of P. Begheyn (Begheyn, 1981, 1991, 1996), K. Bogart (Bogart, 1991), J. O’Malley (O’Malley, 2018), and S. Rabin (2014), J. Roach (Roach, 1968), A. Udias (Udias, 2019), S. Jakovenko (Jakovenko, 2006) and others. The platform for historiographic studies of foreign Jesuitism was the scientific almanacs “Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits” and the “Journal of Jesuit Studies”. In domestic historical science, the systematization and analysis of contemporary foreign Jesuitism are limited. A review and commentary on some recent historical studies on the humanistic content of the Jesuit Order’s activities have been presented in the studios of R. Basenko (Basenko, 2014), B. and N. Hod (Hod, 2016), H. Navolska (Navolska, 2017), A. Opria (Opria, 2009), A. Papazova (Papazova, 2016), S. Seriakov (Sieriakov, 2012), T. Shevchenko (Shevchenko, 2005). Some contribution to the systematization and analysis of foreign historiography on the subject of the Renaissance and humanistic aspect of the activities of the Society of Jesus as publishing of the bibliographic index “European Renaissance and Youth Policy of the Jesuit Order” by the co-author of the article (Basenko, 2017), which contains 1992 thematic bibliographic evidence; the conceptual review of foreign and Ukrainian historiography of the problem raised in the article is offered.

The Purpose of the Article. We see the research objectives of this article in identifying, researching and interpreting foreign (Latin) studies, whose center of knowledge was the humanistic context and the renaissance character of the social and pedagogical initiatives of St. Ignatius, theoretical aspects and practical dimensions of their realization in early modern European society. The chronological boundaries of the study cover two dimensions: the first one – specifically historical – the deployment of Jesuit youth policy within the space-time limits of European early modern period; the second one is historiographical, covering the development of the latest foreign Jesuitism of the XXth – beginning of the XXIth century.

The Statement of the Basic Material. There is no objection to the thesis that one of the present conditions of a scientific research is to cover the state of a scientific development of the problem under study. This sets the researcher the task of studying, periodizing and structuring the thematic historiography, leads to the disclosure of basic historiographic provisions on the basis of the problem-chronological approach, the principles of historicism, continuity, systematicity, priorities of historiographical facts and historiographic dialogue. In the recent foreign historiographic process, the concrete and historical panorama of the Jesuit Order is represented in a representative way. The presence of academic interests of historical, cultural, philosophical, religious, sociological, theological, spiritual-psychological, historiographic and source-oriented society studies of significant in scope and breadth is caused by the active presence, socio-cultural and social creativity. Based on geographic and subject-specific criteria, we have identified six conceptually-located historiographic clusters, which unite related subjects and origin geography of the study authors.

The first historiographic cluster is universal. It systematizes foreign studios, presenting the historical panorama and the specific historical context of the formation and development of

early modern Jesuit youth policy, outlining its background, explaining the content of the Catholic reform (Counter-Reformation) in the vanguard of which the monks acted. This is, first of all, the scientific works of A. Grafton, M. Jones, R. Mackenney, M. Mullet, R. Osborne and others. First of all, historians paid attention to the socio-cultural prerequisites for integrating the Renaissance and pedagogical heritage into the genesis of Jesuit youth policy, in particular: the disintegration of European society in the early XVIth century, the crisis of religious and educational institutions, request for social life updates and reform movements; state-political, socio-economic and mental-psychological changes that led to the restructuring of the medieval pedagogical ideal; the development of the “New Piety” pro-Renaissance movement and the spread of pedagogical ideas of Christian humanism; extension of the influence of the Renaissance paradigm, its transformation in the context of religious pedagogy formation; integration of the Renaissance values into the environment of Spanish (Alcala, Salamanca) and French (“Modus Parisiensis”) universities; the modernization content of Counter-Reformation and the educational visions of post-Trident spirituality (Osborne, 2006).

Common historical studios make it possible to identify the socio-historical determinants of the Society’s appeal to the humanistic experience of the European Renaissance. Among them, scientists define: the contradiction between the broad amplitude of the Order tasks and the limited initial directions of its activity; the need to train their own personnel with the Jesuit Order, their education and upbringing; the relationship between the innovation of the organizational and ideological foundations of the Order structure and the age-specific trait of youth who felt the need for renewal and innovation, perceived and supported new forms of social interaction (Grafton, 1986; Mullet, 1999).

The second historiographic cluster is *anthologically synthetical*. It combines fundamental studies of contemporary American, Italian, Spanish, German, English, French and Polish Jesuits, whose authors have offered backbone characteristics of various aspects of the Jesuit Order overall history, drew attention to the humanistic focus of youth initiatives.

The anthologically synthetical historiographic cluster is represented, first of all, by the newest American Jesuit. These include scientists such as W. Bangert, R. Bireley, O. Vilches-Landin, S. J.¹, G. Ganss, S. J., J. Donohue, S. J., D. Letson, M. Malachi, J. O’Malley, S. J., R. Maryks, J. Olin, M. Purcell, M. Higgins, and others. The undeniable value of American Jesuitism is, first of all, due to the attention of scholars to issues related to the ideological principles of the Jesuit Order, the system of methods and strategies of its activity. In American historiography, the activities of the Society of Jesus were considered, above all, in the spiritual, cultural, and social fields, and the educational aspect of the Order’s initiative was highlighted. Significant was the fact that the material for American research was a broad source and factual base, and most importantly, a scientific, confessional, non-cognitive method (Bangert, 1986 and others).

A significant array of recent Italian and German scientific and historical traditions is devoted to solving the problems associated with the humanistic history of the Society of Jesus. The authors of the research were mostly members of the Jesuit Order. Among them we name Italian scientists – J. de Hyber, S. J., M. Inglot, S. J., P.-H. Kolvenbach, S. J., J. Aumann, M. Scaduto, S. J., A. Scaglione, A. Tondi, and German scientists – St. Kiechle, S. J., H. Rahner, S. J. Their scientific work highlights the Catholic content of the Society of Jesus history, focuses on the stages of formation of its spirituality, Christian and ecclesiastical identity, as well as reveals the influence of the Jesuit Order on the then European system of religious,

¹ The marking of S. J. by the name of the scholar signifies his membership in the Society of Jesus.

educational and sociocultural ideas. A characteristic feature of most studies of German Jesuitism was its Protestant ideology, which obeyed the content and directions of the Society of Jesus study. Scientists critically analyzed the strategies of its activity, casuistry, “exposed” the counter-reform nature of methods of social and pedagogical activity. Among the studies united by us in this group, we should highlight the work of S. Kihle, who is the founder of the study of Jesuits as “teachers of spirituality”. His scientific findings are of indispensable value in formulating and highlighting research problems in the field of analysis of the humanitarian and renaissance nature of the youth policy of the Jesuit Order in the early modern period (Kihle, 2004).

The general historical dimensions of the social initiatives of the Jesuit Order have been the subject of study in contemporary English and French historical thought. The works of English researchers – J. Brodrick, S. J., J. Wright, M. Mullet, D. Mitchell, Ch. Hollis and others, testify to the exceptional interest of the British in the scientific and impartial coverage of the Jesuit past. The researchers focused on defining and describing the historical stages of the establishment of Order Centers in European countries, characterization of personalities, analysing of the historical, cultural and civilizational significance of the Society of Jesus social activities. On the other hand, modern French scholars J. Lacouture, M. Leroy, Ch. Lomey, in addition to general historical aspects, paid attention to the nature of the tasks and content of the socio-cultural work of the Jesuit Order, the spiritual providing of their educational initiatives, as well as analyzing the perception and reflection of Jesuit activities in public receptions. Thus, S. Lomie thoroughly analyzed the educational section of the “Constitutions of the Society of Jesus” (Lomie, 2005), and M. Lerua proposed a diachronic dimension of the development of the European “black myth” about the Society of Jesus (Lerua, 2001). Also it is worth mentioning the works of historian G. Codina Mir, S. J., who owns a systematic synthetic study of the history of the theoretical foundations of the Jesuit Order formation model.

A special place in the historical narrative of foreign Jesuitism is occupied by Polish historiography, which is conditioned by the dynamic activity of the Society of Jesus in the lands of the Commonwealth. These are the works of L. Grzebien, S. J., R. Darowski, S. J., S. Kot, J. Kochanovich, S. J., K. Len, B. Natonski, S. Obirek, S. J., J. Paszenda, S. J., R. Pelczar, L. Piehnic, S. J., J. Poplatek, I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowej and others. The scholars examined the content of Jesuit schooling, analyzed the teaching staff and structure of the educational process, highlighted the organizational and pedagogical aspects of the Jesuit schools, and studied the functioning of the Order Cells in Polish lands. The field of scientific interest of Polish scientists included the problems of creating the infrastructure of Jesuits – houses, colleges, convents, libraries, theaters, music bursas, hospitals, etc.

As we can see, in the contemporary foreign academic tradition, the historical study of the Jesuit Order activities is shown in a representative way. Historians paid attention to the social aspects of the Order founding, the content, nature and features of its socio-cultural activity, its religious-Catholic motivations, revealed strategies, organizational and institutional mechanisms of the Order’s schooling, analyzed the role of the national factor in the integration of Jesuit teachers into the non-Catholic regions of early modern Europe, etc. However, in most of these studies, the question of the place and role of humanistic ideas of the European Renaissance in the genetic origins, content and implementation of the early modern youth policy of the Jesuit Order has remained superficial.

The first explorations of the value tradition of the Renaissance humanism on Jesuit activity began to appear in Western Europe in the second half of the XIXth and first quarters

of the XXth century. In the last quarter of the XXth century, the study of the renaissance-humanist context of the Jesuit activities became much more active. This was primarily due to the adoption of the social doctrine of Catholicism, which focused on the Christian-humanist content of the spiritual ministry of the church, and emphasized the importance of achieving the full character of the Christian humanism. We have combined historical studies in which we propose a holistic dimension of the humanistic context of the sociocultural activity of the Jesuits into a third one – *historical and anthropological historiographic cluster*. These are the scientific works of A. Borowski, G. Ganss, S. J., J. de Hyber, S. J., A. Grafton, J. Donohue, S. J., L. Lukacs, S. J., J. Olin, J. O'Malley, S. J., A. Scaglione, which examined some aspects of the renaissance basis of the Jesuit sociocultural initiatives in the European youth environment of the early modern period.

Thus, American J. Olin, in his work “Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits: Essays on the Outreach of Humanism”, drew attention to the influence of Christian humanism by Erasmus Rotterdam and the humanitarian-renaissance ideal of “enlightened piety” on the formation of organizational and ideological foundations (Olin, 1994). The Italian theologian J. de Giber considered the influence of the spiritual experience of early Modernism, first of all, the Christian humanism “Devotio moderna”, on the construction of the ethos of the Jesuit educational method, revealed the peculiarities and nature of the relation in its structure of spiritual and secular constituents, analyzed the solution of the “Devon” movement effort and contemplation, prayer and rational initiative in one’s life (Giber, 2010). The Polish researcher A. Borowski in “Renesans a Humanizm Jezuicki” analyzed the Renaissance foundation of the value-semantic and ethical-moral foundations of Jesuit activity (Borowski, 1993).

The works of the Italian researcher A. Scaglione played an important role in the initiation of historical and comparative studies of the European Renaissance and the early modern activities of the Society of Jesus research. In the study “The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System”, the researcher analyzed the genesis of the Jesuit education system as a legacy of the Renaissance humanism, drew attention to the Reformation and the Catholic Renaissance as factors for the formation of the social method of Jesuit monks activity, outlined ways of assimilation of European humanities through the study of humanity (Scaglione, 1986).

An important theoretical and methodological significance for the discovery of early modern Jesuit humanism are the scientific achievements of the American A. Grafton, who in the work “From Humanism to the Humanities. Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Europe” examined the historical specificity of the implementation of humanism in education and the “artibus” of the early modern period, outlined the main lines and strategies for the development of contemporary humanitarian education, including studies of the Jesuit Order (Grafton, 1986).

The undisputed priority in understanding the ways of developing the Renaissance-humanist ideas in the early modern Jesuit youth policy belonged to the American, a member of the Jesuit Order J. O'Malley. In the monographs “The First Jesuits” and “The Jesuits: a History From Ignatius to the Present”, as well as numerous studies, the scientist considered the humanistic content of education in the colleges of the Jesuit Order, analyzed ways to implement the “studio humanitatis” Jesuits program, which he understood as a system of events aimed at shaping the art of being human (O'Malley, 1995, 2014).

At the beginning of the XXIst century, the world saw new works by J. O'Malley, “Jesuit Schools of Humanities Yesterday and Today” and S. Bell, “Jesuit Humanism and Radical Christianity”, where the realization of certain aspects of the Renaissance-humanistic method

of organizing social activity in the youth policy of the Society of Jesus was specified. In order to reveal the humanistic context of the Jesuit Order, it is of utmost importance that J. O'Malley defines the humanistic principles of Jesuit education: professional and literary rhetorical preparation, ethical and moral orientation and virtue, experience, reflection, pedagogical action, public good, art, unity of spiritual, mental and physical education (O'Malley, 2015).

The materials of foreign thematic collections of scientific works substantially enhance the information and factual content of the topic raised. Among them are the following: "Ignacio de Loyola y su Tiempo" (Spain, 1992), "Jezuici a Kultura Polska" (Poland, 1993), "Z dziejow Szkolnictwa Jezuitckiego w Polsce: Wybor Artykulow" (Poland, 1994), "A History of the University of Europe. Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500 – 1800)" (United Kingdom, 1996), "Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy" (USA, 1988), "Church, Culture & Curriculum: Theology and Mathematics in the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum" (USA, 1999), "Jesuit Education 21: Conference Proceedings on the Future of Jesuit Higher Education" (USA, 2000), "The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum. 400th Anniversary Perspectives" (USA, 2000), "Wklad Jezuitow do Nauki i Kultury w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodow i Pod Zaborami" (Poland, 2004), "Jesuit Education and The Classics" (United Kingdom, 2009), "A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence" (USA, 2014).

The fourth, fifth, and sixth historiographic clusters combine far less research, but their systematic work sheds light on important aspects of the humanistic context of early Jesuit youth politics. Thus, in the fourth one – *personal historiographic cluster*, foreign scientific studies are united, which are dedicated to the presentation of historical portraits of the Jesuit youth policy founders, the contextual interpretation of their life and creative path. Separate figures of early modern youth policy (Jesuit founder Ignatius Loyola, the humanists Erasmus Rotterdam, H. L. Vives, Jimenez de Cisneros, and others) are devoted to the works of J. Brodrick, G. Ganss, S. J., H. Gray), P. Emonet, R. A. Maryks), T. O'Reilly and others. The scientists, based on the study of primary sources ("Testament of the pilgrimage" and "Spiritual exercises" by Ignatius Loyola, etc.), identified sources, specified socio-cultural conditions and outlined the formation factors of the humanistic identity of the Jesuit youth policy founders, highlighted the ethical and spiritual content of the spiritualists (Purcell, 1981; Olin, 1990 and others).

The fifth historiographical cluster is a *spiritual-theological* one that presents scientific works on the value, theological, and ethical-moral aspects of early Jesuit youth policy. Genetic origins and Christian-pedagogical content of the spiritual identity of St. Ignatius was reflected in the writings of such scholars as L. Beirnaert, J. Botto, J.-M. Gloria, S. J., F. Imodo, S. J., J. Cousson, J. Melloney, S. J., E. Pusse, F. Rulo and others.

The sixth historiographical cluster – *educational and philosophical*, combines modern foreign scientific studies, where a holistic review of Jesuit educational practices is offered, the universality of the education system of the Society of Jesus is analyzed, and the educational content of the principles of the Jesuit educational standard Ratio Studiorum is outlined. The educational aspects of early Jesuit youth policy are reflected in the writings of such scholars as V. Vincent, G. Ganss, S. J., G. Hmiretek, U. Doveve, V. Zhmudinsky, S J., J.-M. Le Gal, L. Lukacs, S. J., S. Negruzzo, F. Noges, P. Shor, and P. Shor and the others. Important for understanding the value bases of Jesuit education are the findings of G. Ganss, J. Kainulainen, and L. Lukacs about the integrity and civic priorities of Jesuit education, about the humanistic and humanitarian foundations of Jesuit education, features of functioning of the

Society of Jesus schools for the Order and secular youth, literary and humanistic content of Jesuit education (Kainulainen, 2018; Ganss, 1981; Lukacs, 1999). The scientists called the essential ideological and theoretical characteristics of Jesuit pedagogy such attributes as experience, reflection and action, and also paid attention to the interactive orientation, religious pluralism, strategies of realization of individual and linear approaches to education in the Jesuit school system. Of a considerable interest in understanding the educational philosophy of the Jesuits were the findings of the Italian researcher S. Negruzzo on the universalism, integrity and value-meaningfulness of the Jesuit educational program, its conceptual and organizational and pedagogical validity. All this, according to the scientist, gives grounds for considering the Jesuit educational standard “Ratio Studiorum” as the pinnacle and source of Catholic pedagogy (Negruzzo, 2010, p. 88). The scholars also drew attention to the place and role of the entrepreneurial and economic competences of the individual in the Jesuit education system, whose value foundations were interpreting the Protestant ethics of work and economy. Thus, the modern researcher R. Aguado, together with the others, speaks about the Jesuit business education, which was based on the idea of a sustainable development and dignity of the individual (Aguado, 2016).

An important place in the context of the historical extrapolation of the humanistic foundations of Jesuit education to the modern socio-humanitarian landscape belongs to the work devoted to the disclosure of the pedagogical content of the modern pedagogical paradigm of the Jesuit Order – “cura personalis” (personal care). These are the scientific works of General Jesuit P.-H. Kolvenbach, S. J., “Cura Personalis”, “Education in the spirit of St. Ignatius”, B.T. Geger, “Cura Personalis: Some Ignatian Inspirations”, which considered the basic provisions of the concept “cura personalis” – holistic upbringing of the younger generation, the implementation of individual approach, attention and care for the individual as a student, so and the teacher (Kolvenbach, 2007).

The Conclusions. The presented intertext of the contemporary foreign historiography of the humanistic content of the Jesuit early modern youth policy shows that the problem of the Renaissance basis of Jesuit social and pedagogical initiatives has been adequately covered in it. Foreign scholars have stated that the Jesuit method of social activity belongs to the humanistic paradigm of the Renaissance, offered the analysis and scientific understanding of certain aspects of the Renaissance-humanist ideology manifestation in the educational activities of the Jesuits. The content of the scholarly studies combined by us in the six historiographic clusters gives us grounds to speak of a historiographical display as a source of evidence, as the basis for the verification of the Jesuit humanism. At the same time, it should be noted that the foreign historiography did not offer a comprehensive coverage of the European youth policy of the Jesuits in the early modern period. Today there is also no comprehensive historical synthesis, the content of which would comprehensively and systematically reveal the development of the main tendencies of the Renaissance experience of education and upbringing in the socio-cultural initiatives of the Society of Jesus. The prerequisites, stages, character, directions, levels and features of integration of the Renaissance and pedagogical heritage into the social and religious activity of the Jesuit monks appeared out of the attention of the analyzed narratives.

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ANTARCTIC AS OBJECT OF THE GENERAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY AND TERRITORIAL CLAIMS ON IT

Abstract. *The purpose of the study* is to analyze the history of the formation of the legal regime for international peace and security on the sixth continent. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of historicism, systemicity, scientism, verification, the author’s objectivity, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systemic, historical and chronological) methods. **The scientific novelty** is that for the first time approaches to solving the problem of Antarctica governance have been generalized, the threats to international security related to the presence of territorial claims of some states on part of the sixth continent have been highlighted, the ways of formation of these threats and measures of the international society for their elimination have been shown. **The Conclusions.** The essence of the second legal regime is to recognize Antarctica as a common heritage of humanity, which should positively affect the continued ban on geological exploration in the area, by extending the Madrid Protocol for an unlimited period or adopting a new document for this purpose. Antarctica can be qualified as an

object of particular international interest. Analyzing the above possible legal regimes and trying to give preference to a fairer mechanism in resolving the issue of the international legal regime of Antarctica, the conclusions obtained are that the sixth continent would be more expedient to consider the concept of the common heritage of mankind along with the opinions of all interested countries of the world – with different levels economic and social development and completely different legal systems and traditions.

Key words: Antarctica, territorial claims, human heritage, legal regime.

АНТАРКТИКА – ОБ’ЄКТ СПІЛЬНОЇ СПАДЩИНИ ЛЮДСТВА І ТЕРИТОРІАЛЬНІ ПРЕТЕНЗІЇ НА НЕЇ

Анотація. Мета дослідження полягає в аналізі історії формування правового режиму забезпечення міжнародного миру і безпеки на шостому континенті. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об’єктивності, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний, історико-хронологічний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше узагальнено підходи до розв’язання проблеми управління Антарктидою, виокремлено загрози для міжнародної безпеки, пов’язані із наявністю територіальних претензій деяких держав на частину шостого континенту, показано шляхи формування цих загроз та заходи міжнародного товариства до їх усунення. **Висновки.** Аналізуючи вищевказані можливі правові режими і прагнучи віддати перевагу більш справедливому механізму при вирішенні питання міжнародно-правового режиму Антарктики, отримані висновки зводяться до того, що шостий континент доцільніше буде розглядати згідно з концепцією спільної спадщини людства разом з урахуванням думок усіх зацікавлених країн світу з різними рівнями економічного і соціального розвитку та абсолютно різними правовими системами та традиціями.

Ключові слова: Антарктика, територіальні претензії, надбання людства, правовий режим.

The Problem Statement. Considering the Antarctic as a region not under the jurisdiction of any state, it is customary to adhere to the opinion that, given its importance for all mankind in terms of ecology, the importance of its mineral and living resources, the need to ensure international peace and security, as a common heritage of mankind.

The Analysis of Previous Research. Some lawyers, such as E. Honnold, (Honnold, 1978) believe that since Antarctica should be qualified as a common space, the principles of such spaces are applied to it automatically and no special agreement is required for this. Others prefer the realization of the rights of the international investment community by concluding an appropriate agreement on the international management of the Antarctic as the common heritage of mankind. At the same time, the existing mechanisms in the Antarctic (the Antarctic Treaty and other related documents) are being questioned, since they were not authorized by the international community.

The well-known New Zealand scientist K. Beeby (Beeby, 1986) sees the presence of territorial claims for sovereignty in Antarctica as the main reason for the impossibility of applying the concept of common space, which in his opinion significantly distinguishes this region from the seabed and outer space. This argument is also presented in a 1984 study prepared by the UN Secretariat on the new international economic order. In which it is said that the application of the principle of the common heritage of mankind to areas for which there are already claims connected with great difficulty. For the proclamation of such areas as the common heritage of mankind, the rejection of these claims and the general consent to the application of the common heritage regime to them is necessary, which is politically difficult to implement (The General Assembly, 1987).

The purpose of the study is to analyze the history of the formation of the legal regime for international peace and security on the sixth continent.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Attempts to apply in Antarctica the concept of the common heritage of mankind with the reluctance of countries that have made territorial claims, to abandon them, will inevitably lead to political tensions, friction, and military confrontation.

S. Joiner and E. Teis write that any internationalization of the Antarctic region through the regime of the common heritage of humanity can put an end to the political compromise that made the Antarctic Treaty and mark the beginning of a new period of confrontation on the ice continent (Cherniaiev, 2014, pp. 54–59).

According to S. Joiner and E. Teis, there is no reason to rely on the recognition of the concept of the common heritage of mankind for the Antarctic by countries that refused to recognize it relative to the seabed and the moon. There is laid, as they believe, another hotbed of possible conflict and misunderstanding (Cherniaiev, 2014, pp. 54–59).

Numerous documented sources draw attention to the fact that, unlike the seabed and the moon, the Antarctic has been operating for a relatively long period of time with an international legal regime based on the Antarctic Treaty, which includes the main elements of the development of state cooperation in the area including in relation to the use of Antarctic resources. It is noted that the concept of the common heritage of mankind does not correspond to a number of important components of the current regime, such as CL IV agreement on the freezing of the decision of the question of territorial claims, the requirement of increased attention to environmental protection, the provision on freedom of scientific research.

An active participant in the III UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, Professor B. Oksman believes that the experience of this conference shows that in seeking to declare Antarctica the common heritage of mankind, Third World countries will oppose Antarctic research or sharply limit it.

Some researchers, for example, New Zealanders K. Beeby and W. Mansfield, believe that the concept of the common heritage of mankind has an emphasis on resource exploitation and completely ignores environmental protection. On this basis, they view it as unacceptable in Antarctica, where environmental protection should be given special attention and should take precedence over the exploitation of natural resources. The concept of the common heritage of mankind focuses on the development of resources in the interests of all and especially developing countries, and not on the protection of the environment in which resources are located, notes K. Beeby. He believes that advocating tough environmental control measures in the Antarctic and at the same time establishing a common heritage regime for humankind in this region is to pursue two incompatible goals (Golitsyn, 1983, p. 312; Honnold, 1978, p. 849).

B. Teitenberg and W. Mansfield (Mansfield, 1984, pp. 26–27) draw attention to the fact that the common heritage regime of mankind can be established in Antarctica only with the general agreement of all states. Since the chances for this consensus are insignificant for various reasons, the probability of proclaiming Antarctica the common heritage of humanity, in their opinion almost unbelievable. At the same time, they emphasize that with regard to the seabed and space, the situation was different (Rybakov, 1986, pp. 23–31).

We can single out another approach to the problem of applying the concept of the common heritage of mankind in the Antarctic. Without rejecting the possibility of its announcement as the common heritage of mankind, the Norwegian researcher F. Solly, states that not only privileges but also burdens should be distributed evenly. When an inheritance is

claimed, as F. Solly states, applicants are obliged to pay debts and inheritance tax. In the case of the Antarctic, there is still no income, but there are huge amounts invested in the study of the region. F. Solly believes that there are no problems with declaring Antarctica the common heritage of mankind if all applicants for an inheritance in this area are willing to bear the costs of ongoing research and support of the administrative apparatus necessary to manage the area (Honnold, 1978, p. 849).

In the Soviet literature in the works of A. P. Movchan, S. Molodtsov, Y. Rybakov, I. Tunkin, expressed a unified view that the legal regime of Antarctica, including the regulation of the use of its resources, should be the subject of agreed decisions between the interested states (Hackworth, 1940, p. 452; Beeby, 1986, p. 477; Garritson, 1961, pp. 162–168; Hayton, 1960, pp. 359–360; Honnold, 1978, p. 849; Sollte, 1985, p. 334).

A real democratic and legal solution to the issue of the regime of this territory is possible only on the basis of an agreement between all interested states, on the basis of recognition of their mutual interests and rights, as unanimously noted by Soviet researchers, the Soviet Union, given the priority of navigators in the discovery of Antarctica, as well as the enormous contribution introduced by Soviet scientists to an Antarctic study undoubtedly has the right to participate in any negotiations aimed at making decisions affecting its legal status. The Soviet researchers' approach to the issue of the Antarctic regime is based on the documents already mentioned, which state the Soviet Union. It is a memorandum of the USSR government on the Antarctic regime (1950) and the responses of the USSR Embassy in Washington to the letter of the USA State Department 2 May 1958.

Since the Antarctic Treaty is the outcome of the agreed decisions of the interested states, its provisions on the peaceful use of Antarctica, its non-militarization and neutralization, the declaration of the Antarctic as a nuclear-free zone, freedom of scientific research and cooperation of states for these purposes constitute the main elements of the international legal regime of this region. Further development of the existing regime should take place on the basis of these elements, as well as taking into account other norms adopted on the basis and in development of the Antarctic Treaty. The USSR resolutely opposes any attempts aimed at revising this important treaty, writes Y. M. Rybakov, regardless of the pretexts put forward to justify them. The Soviet Union is a supporter of the comprehensive strengthening of the Antarctic Treaty as one of the most important international legal documents of our day, aimed at maintaining peace and security, both in the Southern Hemisphere and throughout the world. The document on the Antarctic issue submitted by the Soviet Union to the UN in 1984 regarding the international legal regime for the development of Antarctic mineral resources states that it “should not contradict the Antarctic Treaty, but be fully based on its provisions, logically developing and supplementing them with new content, and thereby serve to strengthen this important international act” (Hayton, 1960, pp. 359–360; Honnold, 1978, p. 849).

So, on the basis of the above, it can be said that the problems of modern territorial claims to the Antarctic arise, more and more often to justify their claims, countries formally filed claims to Antarctic lands, to one degree or another adhere to the “theory of sectors” that justifies the distribution of Antarctic to sectors. The sectoral section means the presentation of rights not only to the studied lands, but also to completely unknown ones, which could not always be guessed.

The principles of the geographical neighborhood were put forward to substantiate the rights to the sectors, which makes it possible to refer to the influence of the Antarctic climate

or the military-strategic importance of the polar region; the presence of the state of the coastal strip, the continuation of which supposedly should be the Antarctic lands; parallel latitude, limited to common meridians; the right of geographical discovery.

Considering the ever more decisive role in Antarctic state research, they do not claim sectors, some of the “theorists” of the sectoral section slightly transformed their views. So, Jean da Costa in 1958, still arguing that dividing the Antarctic into sectors seemed to him the simplest and most acceptable way to resolve the issue, he had to admit that the legal grounds for declaring the property of a particular sector were not enough and, ultimately, the issue of rights in Antarctica should be decided by the activity of the state in this sector.

The sectoral division of the Antarctic was sharply criticized. The American lawyer R. Hayton, rejecting the notion of “area of attraction” as the basis of the theory of sectors, writes: “In and of itself, there is no right to own the Antarctic ... One cannot assume that the rest of the community of nations is ready to cede all rights to uninhabited lands, which may be of strategic importance to states randomly located closer to these lands, and it does not matter whether these lands are from time to time the objects of settlement or exploitation” (Tunkin, 1960, p. 120).

The failure of the sectoral division of the territory of Antarctica is obvious. Antarctica is of particularly important international interest, and any unilateral establishment of any sectoral division contradicts the interests of most countries of the world.

The activity of states in the study of Antarctica is largely determined by the requirement of the science itself, immanent to the laws of its development. No one scientific problem of global significance can be solved without knowledge of phenomena in such a huge space as Antarctica. Research in the Antarctic gives impetus to the development of not only geographical or geophysical knowledge, but also many others. The director of the Polar Institute, G. Robin, emphasized that the expenditures on research in the Antarctic should now be justified by the results of solving major scientific problems to a much greater degree than by exploiting the continent’s natural resources or income from applied sciences. The American Scientist L. Howard stated that most of the interesting problems in the field of geophysics and biology were solved by those who had been in Antarctica as young specialists. According to him, it is in the interests of the United States to increase the number of scientists engaged in polar research.

When analyzing the factors of global order that influence the process of studying and mastering the Antarctic, it would be wrong to ignore the fact of rivalry between industrialized countries. It hampered the process of integrating scientific research, the cooperation of scientists from different countries, often led to the scientifically unjustified costs of creating Antarctic bases, which mainly have political goals to confirm the sovereign rights of a particular country. But in some cases, this rivalry stimulated the development of the ice continent. The adoption of the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 became the most important factor that allowed to overcome this rivalry, accelerated and deepened scientific cooperation.

The Antarctic Treaty appeared in this situation in a finely balanced compromise. On the one hand, the states that made territorial claims went for an international settlement of the regime for using the Antarctic. But they are far from giving up their rights and continue to persistently remind of these rights.

As for the current situation with territorial claims in Antarctica, currently seven states are making territorial claims for the following sectors of Antarctica: Argentina – between 25 ° and 74 ° west longitude; Australia – between 45 ° and 136 ° east longitude, as well as between

142 ° and 160 ° east longitude, Chile – between 53 ° and 90 ° west longitude; France – from 136 ° to 142 ° east longitude (Adelie Land) Great Britain – between 20 ° and 80 ° west longitude; New Zealand – between 160 ° east longitude and 150 ° west longitude; Norway – between 20 ° west longitude and 45 ° east longitude (Queen Maud Land).

On the other hand, a number of states, for example, Russia and the United States, could themselves put forward territorial claims, but have not yet implemented these rights for the peaceful use of Antarctica, by all states.

Obviously, the Antarctic Treaty has not solved all the problems of this area, and over the past four decades' new ones have emerged. The latest achievements of science and technology, the general development of the productive forces made the Antarctic more accessible and, in fact, made possible the commercial exploitation of Antarctic natural resources. It is the resources of the Antarctic that have caused such heightened interest in this area in recent decades.

In the modern period, the problems of legal regulation of international relations, in particular those directly related to the use of natural resources, are of particular importance. The solution of these problems, in fact, is closely connected with the most important issue of our era – the struggle for peace. It is precisely in connection with the use of resources that the interests of various states most sharply collide, and how these interests can be coordinated depends largely on whether international cooperation will be established or strengthened, or, on the contrary, a situation fraught with dangerous aggravation of relations will be created.

The geopolitical interests of various countries in the Antarctic region are primarily determined by the natural resource potential of the Antarctic (hydrocarbon and mineral resources, biological resources of the Southern Ocean, freshwater reserves in the continental ice sheet, etc.), is also one of the last reserves of humanity. studies of the Antarctic environment, related to the study of global processes (climate change, the “ozone hole” effect, the rise of the World Ocean level under the influence of global warming and the melting Antarctica's species cover, the practical absence of anthropogenic impact on the continent, makes it possible to determine the extent of natural planetary-space processes). Therefore, the Antarctic is becoming increasingly important, both strategically and economically, which is also associated with the territorial claims of a number of countries to certain areas of the Antarctic continent and increases interest in the areas of the continental shelf.

The United Nations General Assembly adopted in 1985, 1986 and 1987 a number of resolutions on the Antarctic issue. It is significant that many states did not vote for him, mainly the parties to the Antarctic Treaty of 1959, including the USSR. The resolutions recognized the interests of mankind as a whole across Antarctica, called for the need for a fair distribution of material benefits arising from the exploitation of Antarctica, but, nevertheless, nothing is said whether the Antarctic is “Common heritage of humanity” or not (Lukin, Klovov & Pomelov, 2002, pp. 11–12).

Proposals that provide for the rejection of territorial claims and the establishment of an international regime in Antarctica based on the concept of the common heritage of mankind are objected to or viewed as unrealistic by a fairly significant group of states.

To solve the problem of developing an international regime of Antarctica in the presence of territorial claims, other proposals were put forward. One of them, which meant freezing the solution of the question of territorial claims, which in 1959 formed the basis of the Antarctic Treaty, and later the whole system of agreements based on this treaty.

Meanwhile, although the Protocol on Environmental Protection of the Antarctic, which introduced a 50-year moratorium on any exploration activities in the Antarctic, act, a num-

ber of countries under scientific cover have long been carrying out geological exploration. According to American experts, a trial of oil production in the Antarctic is scheduled to open no later than 2050.

Today the course of events after 2041, after the end of the moratorium on exploration activities, which was established by the Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty, is difficult to determine.

One can agree that “primitive territorial division is still a thing of the past – in any case, it is secondary. The ability of applicants to develop new lands economically comes to the fore. Simply put, a tough battle begins for those whose technologies are more modern, safer, more efficient in terms of returns and who have enough money for them”.

The Conclusions. Based on the foregoing, and guided by the current international regulatory and legal acts, the following conclusions can be made, namely:

1. to save from plundering the natural resources of Antarctica, not only by those countries that have certain territorial claims to Antarctica, but also by a number of other countries, there are two ways:

- maintaining the ban on exploration activities in the Antarctic Treaty area by indefinitely prolonging the Madrid Protocol or adopting a new instrument for this purpose;
- recognition of the Antarctic as an object of the joint heritage of mankind, taking into account all the considered circumstances, the second way in my opinion is the best.

2. The international legal regime of Antarctica and the efforts undertaken to strengthen it leave less and less chances for the realization of territorial claims in this region. At the same time, the transformation of the Antarctic into an object of common use would mean the emergence of the advantages of individual states that are technically and economically capable of developing Antarctic resources. Therefore, again, a fairer solution to this problem is to grant the status of the common heritage of mankind to Antarctica.

3. In the current circumstances, until the concept of the common heritage of mankind has received universal acceptance, in Antarctica, the best way to solve the problem of its resources is to consolidate the efforts of the world community aimed at further strengthening the international legal regime of this territory and strengthening responsibility for its violation.

4. The fair resolution of the issues of the international legal regime of Antarctica, according to the concept of the common heritage of mankind, is possible only with the views of all interested countries of the world – with different levels of economic and social development and completely different legal systems and traditions. It is obvious that the coordination of the positions of states on this issue requires a long time.

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РЕЦЕНЗІЇ / REVIEWS

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**CULTURE AND SETTLEMENT CHANGES IN THE RIVER VYSHNIA BASIN
IN THE BRONZE AND EARLY IRON AGES IN THE CONTEXT
OF PRE-HISTORICAL AND EARLY MIDDLE AGES**

**(Review on the collective monograph: S. Chopek, K. Trybala-Zavisliak,
H. Voitseshchuk, O. Osaulchuk, D. Bobak, P. Gembitsa, A. Yatsyshyn, V. Pasterkevich,
D. Pavliv, V. Petegyrych, V. Poltovich-Bobak, A. Vatsnik. Rzeszów, Wydawnictwo
Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego Opracowanie, 707 p.)**

**КУЛЬТУРНО-ПОСЕЛЕНСЬКІ ЗМІНИ В БАСЕЙНІ РІЧКИ ВИШНЯ В
ЕПОХУ БРОНЗИ І ЗА ДОБИ РАНЬОГО ЗАЛІЗА В КОНТЕКСТІ ЗМІН
ДОІСТОРИЧНОЇ І РАНЬОСЕРЕДНЬОВІЧНОЇ ОЙКУМЕНИ**

**(Рецензія на колективну монографію: С. Чопек, К. Трибала-Завісляк,
Н. Войцещук, О. Осаульчук, Д. Бобак, П. Гембіца, А. Яцишин, В. Пастеркевіч,
Д. Павлів, В. Петегірич, М. Полтовіч-Бобак, А. Вацнік. Жешів, Wydawnictwo
Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego Opracowanie, 707 с.)**

The monograph presents the result of complex long-term research of archaeological finds of the river Vyshnia basin situated on the borderline of two neighboring countries – Ukraine and Poland. This fact was not beneficial for the archeological research in this region since the 1940-ies of the XXth century. However, the situation had considerably changed for the last decades since the Soviet Union split. This monograph serves a bright example of efficient work of investigators from Ukraine and Poland.

It was published thanks to the implementation of the extensive Polish-Ukrainian research project sponsored by the National Center of Science in Krakow “Cultural and Settlement Changes in the river Vyshnia Basin in the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age in the Context of Changes of Pre-historic and Early Medieval Oikumens” carried out by the Institution of Archeology of Rzeszov University (Poland) and Rescue Archeological Service of the Institution of Archeology of the National Academy of Science in Ukraine. To perform the project the prominent Ukrainian and Polish specialists on archaeology, geology, and paleogeography were involved at different stages of the archeological research. Silvestr Chopek’s high level editing of the monograph deserves a special attention.

The work is the assumption of long term Ukrainian and Polish research of the archaeological sources in the region. The area of the Vyshnia basin spreading to the considerable part of Ukraine and Poland comprises 1260 km. in the process of the archeological research (excavations, reconnaissance and laboratory-cameral analysis of the material) on this territory 1772 archeological finds were discovered and examined. It is necessary to mention that besides the reconnaissance on the 12 settlements the stationary excavations were carried out being though less extensive and aimed at to clarify the cultural and chronological differences of certain objects. The lion’s share of the revealed archeological finds on the territories of both Ukraine and Poland contains material samples of the Bronze Age and early Iron Age. Nevertheless, the materials belonging to the Stone Age, the Middle Ages and Modern Period were also included to the analysis.

One of the main tasks of the research group was to reveal the importance of the river Vyshnia basin in the process of settlement and bring to light the intercultural contacts during the Stone, Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The river Vyshnia (tributary of the Sian) is located on the border of the Black Sea and Baltic basins. The geographical position influenced the natural climate environment of the region defined as border territory of Central and Eastern Europe.

The introduction of the monograph deals with the history of discoveries and research of the local antiquities performed by archeologists since the second fourth of the XXth century, it provides the characteristics of the source basis and analyzes the results of a modern research of the culture and settlement changes during the Bronze Age and Early Stone Age in the river Vyshnia basin. The authors represent the modern periodization and chronology of the archeological phenomena taking into account the issue of a cultural and chronological situation.

The priority of the Polish archeology played the leading role in the studying of the settlement system of certain territories during various historical periods. It is evidenced by a number of the research works. This project continues the tradition with the participation of Polish and Ukrainian specialists. Apparently this experience should promote the implementation of innovative methods in the Ukrainian research tradition.

In Chapter 2 the natural conditions are characterized as a factor that determines the features of an ancient settlement. Geomorphology and soil description of the territory as well

as palynological studies are considered. On the basis of studying the sequence of layers of the stratigraphic sections and pollen samples from the settlements the monograph suggests the detailed paleoreconstructions implying flora and landscape changes in the river Vyshnia basin in Early Holocene. It lets the authors define the place of the region in the ancient landscape of Central and Eastern Europe.

In Chapters 3–6 a complex analysis of the archeological finds is considered according to a cultural chronological periodization of the pre-historical time and the early Middle Ages of the Vyshnia basin.

Despite the lack of information on paleolithic period the authors make quite bold assumptions related to the first settlement of the territory in the Early Paleolithic. The archeological material gives the opportunity to trace the cultural changes among hunters-gatherers in the Late Pleistocene and the beginning of Holocene during Upper Paleolithic and Mezolithic periods.

Chapter 4 is designed to investigate the antiquities of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. This chapter appears to be highly ensured with the archeological data considering the source basis. The author of the chapter is Sylvestr Chopek. The researcher reasonably states that the absence of the only chronological relative system of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age in Eastern Europe caused by the considerable area and notable cultural (and civilizational) differences. However, the relative growth of the radiocarbon dates enabled to perform the adequate comparison similar to those taken place in Central Europe. The series of treasures and imported things of the “Overdanubian” origin being found in the southern and south-western regions of Ukraine made possible to synchronize them according to the system of relative chronology of Central Europe offered by Paul Reineke. This chronology is regarded as the universal archeological scale for the borderline territories of Ukraine and Poland.

After the classification of all archeological sources gained in the process of archeological reconnaissance and excavation in the river Vyshnia basin for the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age it offers the following “chain” of cultures: Mezhanovits culture of the Early Bronze Age, Tshenets culture of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age has not been studied yet in the cultural aspect, Early Iron time. The last one includes the Late Hallstatt (phases C and D) and the Late La Tene (phases C and D represented by Scythian and Pomeranian-Yastorf circle finds. Each of the defined periods is provided with the detailed system of location of the settlement finds, concentration zones of settlements and cemeteries, analysis of the paleozoological materials, various archeological artifacts etc. Some periods are provided with certain settlement models typical of Sandomyr upland. Main attention is paid to the comparison of the local cultural phenomena being much better studied in the western part of the Vyshnia valley with the synchronic cultures of Central and Eastern Europe.

Chapter 5 of the monograph focuses on the analysis of the cultural changes of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age regarding the cultural changes in Central-East Europe (Sylvestr Chopek). On the basis of the analysis of some chronological indicators and modern radiocarbon dates the author offers the following scale of the absolute chronology of the antiquities of the region. Late III – first centuries of II century BC – Mezhanovits culture since its early stage: the XVIIIth (XIIth?) BC – the occupation of the new territories by the representatives of Tshchenets culture circle; the XIIIth – IXth centuries BC – the period of a demographical development though with a blurry cultural relation (the population of Tarnobzhesk-Luzhytsk or Holograd cultures?); IX – VIII c BC – transitive period between the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age which is still impossible to identify with

a certain culture community; the second half (end) of the VIIth-Vth centuries BC – the period of domination of the local community with the Scythian culture model (Khotynangglomeration); the end of the Vth – IVth centuries BC – the period marked by the emergence of numerous enclaves of Pomeranian culture that could have existed in the IIIrd century BC and appeared to be the part of mixed Pomerania-Yastorf complexes; the end of the IIIrd – the beginning of the IIrd centuries BC – the reveal of later Yastorf materials with possible Celt component.

Thus, a certain connection with the synchronic archeological cultures enabled the authors to find out the participation in the cultural-historical processes taken place in the river Vyshnia basin of both residents and emigrants. It is reasonably to suggest that the lower basin of the river could have belonged to the specific enclave of the “Scythian world” typical of the whole forest-steppe zone of the “Scythian” population in the Central-Eastern Europe and particularly around Khotynets microregion.

Chapter 6 refers to the issues of occupation of the Vyshnia Basin during the pre-Romanian and Romanian periods and in the Early Middle Ages (Natalia Voitseshchuk). Archeological materials of the first half of the I st century AD are represented by the things of the Celtic and Roman origin, the coins and complexes of the so called “Gothic” circle particularly Pshevorsk culture. The issue of the existence of Cherniakhiv culture in the region remains problematic. The next stage (the second half of I c AD) is related to the settlement processes on the provided territory of the early Slavs – the representatives of Prague and Raikovets cultures. Since the beginning of X c in Sian and Vyshnia basins the town centers appeared. One of them was Przhemsl.

Chapter 7 deals with the significance of the Vyshnia basin for the pre-historical settlers and intercultural contacts (Sylvestr Chopek). The materials belonging to all the epochs evidence the inhabitation of the territories throughout the historical periods. The detailed analysis enabled the researchers to reveal the periods of intensive settlement processes and those where one can observe their decrease. The collective monograph includes a lot of illustrative materials and maps, comparative and summarizing charts etc., the catalogue of all the archeological finds in the river Vyshnia basin had been revealed before 2014 and after 2014 – 2016. The catalogue of ceramic materials and archaeological finds represented by CD is attached to the monograph. It is necessary to mention that the edited collective monograph will definitely promote the preserving of the archeological heritage in Poland and Ukraine where the issue is of great importance.

Thus, the monograph serves an example of a modern archeological research aimed at complex investigation of a certain region in a certain water unit. Due to the long term research the authors managed to reconstruct the settlement systems of the territories in various historical periods. Moreover, some periods of a “cultural indefiniteness” are revealed demanding further thorough work to fill in the “gaps”. The presented materials evidence that the authors managed to highlight the peculiarities of the cultural diversion and to raise the new questions about the ancient past of the Vyshnia basin and to define its importance in the history of Central and Eastern Europe. This approach is highly perspective for the research of similar phenomena not only on border territories but in any other regions.

Such monograph serves a bright example of international, interdisciplinary efficient work to reveal, to reconstruct and to preserve the archeological finds in Poland and Ukraine. The results of this monograph should definitely be published in any format.

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ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF WORLD WAR II

(Review of the monograph: Homenyuk I. The Harbingers of World War II. Border Conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe. From the collapse of the Empires to Gliwice Provocation. Kharkiv: Book Club "Family Leisure Club", 2017. 352 p.)

ЕТНІЧНЕ ТЛО ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ

(Рецензія на монографію: Гоменюк І. Провісники Другої світової. Прикордонні конфлікти в Центрально-Східній Європі. Від розпаду імперій до Гляйвіцької провокації. Харків: Книжковий клуб "Клуб Сімейного Дозвілля", 2017. 352 с.)

The creation of a high-quality popular science literature is an important public task. History fulfills its social and cultural functions by means of the popular science literature. The latter is the mediator between professional historians and society. "Translating" the information from a special (narrowly specialized, scientific) language, into the language, understood by a wide readership, the science literature functions as an effective educational and cognitive information channel.

"The Harbingers of World War II ..." – the second monograph of the founder and editor of the historical Facebook page "The Mischievous Acts of the Eastern European Cleo", by Ivan Homenyuk, the lawyer. The monograph "The Harbinger of World War II ..." came to light in the framework of the public educational project "LIKBEZ. Historical Front", whose purpose is to popularize the Ukrainian history in various forms. The initial motivation for its creation was to counteract the Russian propaganda, in which the falsification of history occupies a prominent place. And Ivan Homenyuk's book emphasizes that the new Russia's tactics in the modern hybrid war against Ukraine and Europe is not a new one. Even then, in the conflicts there were used the theories of "the historical injustice" and the contemporary "resentment of the neighbour", replicating them both domestically, in neighbouring states and in the international arena.

It's not a secret that the history studios, the object of which are the peoples of the Central European region and the processes of their development in the Central European region, are extremely topical and important for the national history.

Analyzing the conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe, Ivan Homenyuk appeals to the earlier historical events – the territorial, national and economic disputes among the countries of the Central Eastern region of the interwar period. The diplomatic intrigues, the territorial claims, the border conflicts and the provocations are exactly the focus of Ivan Homenyuk's attention. And there is no coincidence, as the author notes, "all the neighbouring states of the region had the territorial claims to the neighbours, not to mention those, who did not gain their independence after World War I" (p. 6). That is why the monograph is based on the problem territorial principle, when the peculiarities and the course of the German-Czechoslovak, the Polish-Czechoslovak, the Polish-Lithuanian, the Hungarian-Czechoslovak and the Hungarian-Slovak relations in the interwar years are considered. Accordingly, the conflicts in the Balkans, the territorial expansion of the Soviet Union and the disputes, involving the non-state nations of that time (in particular, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians), were out of the interest circle.

The relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia were, perhaps, the most controversial since the end of World War I. And Hitler made a good use of the mood in the Sudeten land. A generous funding came from Berlin, the party literature was sent, the skilled agitators came, not only they: within a year or two, there appeared the skillful organizers of the mass riots and the individual terror against the political opponents. The author pays a special attention to the diplomatic conflicts between Prague and Berlin, backing them with the official documents and statements of the politicians. From the point of view of a modern period, the thesis is interesting about the success of the Reich propaganda, which exposed the Sudeten Germans on the international scene as the innocent victims of the Czech arbitrariness and persecution (p. 40). A chain reaction was also noticeable when the territorial claims of the Third Reich intensified the claims to Czechoslovakia by the Poles and the Hungarians, who demanded the restoration of the historical justice in accordance with the ethnic principle.

That is why, the following extract of the book seems logical about the disputes between Czechoslovakia and Poland over Teshin region, which immediately after World War I became the apple of discord. According to the decision of the Entente, the region and the city of Teshin were divided between the two countries. This division did not satisfy any of the two countries. Interesting, among other things, are the information wars waged by the two Slavic states. Thus, with Prague's submission to the Western press, it was increasingly heard that only Czechoslovakia in Central and Eastern Europe was an "island of peace and democracy" in a sea of "anarchy and reaction", convincing in a priori Polish insolence (p. 116). On the other hand, they widely popularized the words of Józef Pilsudski that "the Czechoslovak Republic, artificially and ugly formed, is not only the basis of European balance, but, on the contrary, it is a weak link" (p. 133).

The culminating moment was September 30, 1938, when Warsaw presented the ultimatum to Prague, demanding that all the troops and police be withdrawn from Zaolzia. Czechoslovakia, broken by the Munich Treaty, had to obey. However, more important here is another thing – within a year the mutual claims of the Czechs and the Poles made no sense: neither Czechoslovakia nor Poland remained on the map of Europe. Just as the post-war fate of the disputed territories was decided neither in Prague nor Warsaw, but in Moscow (pp. 170–174).

It seems remarkable how far the events of the mid-20th century are the echo, as in the case of the Ukrainian-Polish, in modern Polish-Slovak relations. When Lech Kaczynski, the President of the Republic of Poland, inaugurated the monument to Józef Kuras-Ogny in 2006, who was accused of the deaths of the civilians in the Slovak village of Nova Bela, it provoked a strong reaction from the Slovak and European civic organizations (p. 176).

The relations between Lithuania and Poland in the interwar period were significant for the European history. Even so, as Ivan Homenyuk points out, before the outbreak of World War I, it would be very easy for the skeptics to deny the very likelihood of Lithuania's declaration of independence. One of the roots of the future conflict, the researcher sees in the active struggle against the Polish influences of the Lithuanian national revival representatives. At the same time, as in Ukraine, the choice of the Lithuanian (as well as the Ukrainian) or Polish identity became the cause of family enmity, as it was in the case with Andrzej Ronomanski or Michal Quint and the others (p. 187).

The agreement in Suwalki on October 7, 1920, according to which Poland recognized Vilnius and Vilenshchyna as the part of Lithuania, bound Pilsudski's hands. Therefore, the solution of the topical issue was planned in the guise of the "rebellion". It is notable how General Lucian Zheligovsky was perceived. Ivan Homenyuk draws attention to it. Although his popularity during the interwar period in the Polish society, and especially in Vilnius region, was huge, he became one of the most negative characters in Lithuania (p. 217, 218). This refers to the subject of the heroes and the anti-heroes of the national stories. In general, the author draws parallels between the current "L. Zheligovsky's" method and modern events in the Crimea and the Donbass.

The Polish-Lithuanian conflict is mentioned, when the two states during the interwar period, were in the state of a deaf confrontation without any diplomatic and trade contacts. If desired, the Polish army could quickly break the Lithuanian resistance – at the expense of the quantity superiority. However, this did not happen because the ruling top of Poland did not want the annexation of the Lithuanian territories, and the consequences of the Lithuanians to the Polish occupation were unpredictable, and that was deadly for the Polish economy and statehood.

The defeat of the Austria-Hungarian Empire in World War I led Hungary to a national disaster. According to the Treaty of Trianon, signed by the Entente countries at the Trianon Palace of the Versailles Complex, Hungary received only one third of the land considered to be Hungarian in the Austria-Hungarian Empire, including Transcarpathia, which was the part of Czechoslovakia. Hungary lost 3 million ethnic Hungarians, about 90 % of the forest land, more than 80 % of the mining and metallurgical complex, and the major part of the banking system. During the interwar period the losses caused the revanchism, which exists in Hungary at present.

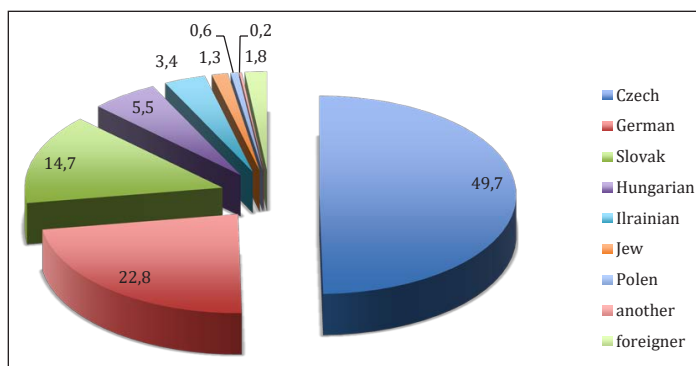
As nowadays, the political expediency pushed the countries of Central and Eastern Europe into paradoxes, for instance, the union of Hungary and Poland, "reaffirming the thesis of the absence in politics of the eternal alliances and eternal enmities" (p. 279). For the Ukrainian reader, the part of this section is likely to be particularly interesting and useful as it relates to the events of the Carpathian Ukraine and the joint struggle of our neighbours against the Sichovyks.

From the history of Central and Eastern Europe (with its territorial claims almost all to all) we can make very interesting conclusions. So, the book provides a great deal of material (to which the author draws a reader's attention from time to time) to understand the origins of the "hybrid war" that Russia is currently conducting against Ukraine and Europe. The experience of the Central European peoples during the interwar period allows to trace the similar methods and approaches of provocations, the organization of the terrorist groups, etc.

Despite the obvious positive items of the publication and a clear recommendation to all concerned, reading the monograph has raised a number of reflections that are subjective.

Recognizing a rather light author's style (which is obviously necessary for the popular science literature), the text appears to be overburdened with the military terminology and details, concerning the involvement of the certain military units into the border conflicts during the interwar period. Instead, it would be logical to include at least a minimum amount of the maps that would only add some information on the border conflicts.

To our subjective point of view, more attention should be paid to the ethnic composition of the states as one of the elements of the conflict in Central and Eastern Europe (though, for the sake of justice, Ivan Homenyuk does not omit this issue). More informative and obvious, probably, would be the following diagram but not a simple statement of the residence of 3,25 – 3,3 million ethnic Germans in Czechoslovakia, or about 23 % of the total population of the country (p. 16).



Without any doubt, the monograph will be of value not only to the professional historians, but first and foremost (what the author counts on) for the average Ukrainian reader, partly confusing and poorly oriented in the vicissitudes of the war conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, Ivan Homenyuk not only reveals a historical fact, but also encourages the formation of his own view on the difficult pages of the past.

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